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CENTENNIAL DISCOURSES

of the

NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA

EEN-DRACHT MAAKT MACHT

REFORMED (Dutch) CHURCH,

IN AMERICA

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CENTENNIAL DISCOURSES.

A SERIES OF SERMONS

DELIVERED IN THE YEAR 1876,

BY THE ORDER OF

THE GENERAL SYNOD

OF THE

REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH IN AMERICA.

NEW YORK:
BOARD OF PUBLICATION
OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA.
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PREFACE.

In June, 1875, the General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church directed the preparation and delivery of a series of discourses on topics appropriate to the Centennial year of the Republic. The object was to set forth the general relations of religion to liberty; to compare our national struggle with that of Holland; to exhibit something of the denominational history during the colonial period; to indicate the large Huguenot element which entered into this branch of the Church; and especially to set forth its character, doctrine, usages and spirit, as developed and tested during the first century of its independent existence, with the view of exciting profounder gratitude to God for his signal mercies, and of stimulating a heartier consecration to His service. These discourses are now printed. To them is appended the Latin inaugural address of the Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston, who was unanimously elected Professor of Theology by the General Synod, 1784. He was a graduate of Yale College in 1762, and of the University of Utrecht in 1770. This oration, delivered in 1785, is supposed to have been the first address of a formally appointed Professor of Theology in this country.

The undersigned were directed by the General Synod of the present year to superintend the publication of the volume. We strove earnestly to secure its appearance at an earlier period, but circumstances quite beyond our control made delay unavoidable; this, however, is the more easily borne, since the work is one of permanent value, embracing as it does a variety of useful and interesting matter, not easily attainable in any other form. As such it is commended to the Christian public with the invocation of the Divine blessing.

T. W. Chambers,
E. T. Corwin,
James Anderson.

New York, December, 1876.

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THE

RELATION OF RELIGION

TO

OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES.

BY

REV. RUFUS W. CLARK, D. D.,

OF ALBANY, N. Y.

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RELIGION AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation."—PROVERBS, xiv: 34.

IN this passage righteousness is not, according to the views of many, restricted to the idea of virtue, but comprehends moral and religious rectitude, in all the relations and duties of life. It includes justice, honesty, purity of heart, and strict conformity to the Divine will. In the Scriptures it is often used as nearly equivalent to holiness, including holy principles and affections.

Righteousness as thus defined exalteth a nation. It not only renders a nation honorable, but promotes the general elevation of the people in intelligence, virtue, influence and prosperity.

In the instructions that God gave to Israel, and in his dealings with that nation, he reveals the principles that underlie national stability and prosperity. After giving to them his laws, he says: "Oh! that there were such an heart in them that they would fear me and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them and with their children for ever." (Deut., v: 29.)

In looking at the history of that nation we see that its success and prosperity were accurately measured by the obedience rendered to God's commands. The growth or decay of righteousness indicated the national condition as truly as a thermometer indicates the state of the atmosphere. And from that day to this, the precepts and principles of God's Holy Word have constituted the basis of every free, just and prosperous government. Its laws establish the relations between rulers and the people, and its light illumines the conscience. It creates and sustains the doctrine of human rights. It is as intimately connected with the growth and destiny of nations, as with the development of individual character and happiness.

"For more than a thousand years," says Coleridge, "the Bible, collectively taken, has gone hand in hand with civilization, science, law—in short, with the moral and intellectual cultivation of the species, always supporting, and often leading the way. Its very presence as a believed book has rendered the nation emphat-

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ically a chosen race; and this, too, in exact proportion as it is more or less generally known and studied. Of those nations which in the highest degree enjoy its influences, it is not too much to affirm that the differences, public and private, physical, moral and intellectual, are only less than what might be expected from a diversity of species. God and holy men and the best and wisest of mankind, the kingly spirits of history, enthroned in the hearts of mighty nations, have borne witness to its influences, have declared it to be beyond compare the most perfect instrument, the only adequate organ of humanity."

Inspired by God with this grand truth the founders of our Republic adjusted the various departments of government, the systems of education, to the idea that national liberty, to be successful and permanent, must rest upon a people enlightened by conscience and guided by religion. They knew that only those are capable of sustaining free institutions who are a law to themselves.

Where allegiance springs from higher motives than such as are presented by human authority—where the government itself is but the expression of the principles of the individual life that would be conscientiously obeyed, even where there was no civil power to enforce them, and where the conviction exists that the laws and penalties of the government are in accordance with the will of God—there the glorious fabric of national liberty rests upon a solid foundation. It is for the want of these elements that the attempts to establish republics upon the continent of Europe have so signally failed. It is easy to cry "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity;" easy to overthrow despotism, write constitutions and elect officers; but the fabric is sure to fall unless based upon individual integrity and social morality. Civil liberty and personal virtue are twin sisters. They cannot be separated. Private virtue is the seed from which liberty springs. It is not the public institutions that make a people. The people make the institutions. The force is within and works outwardly. This is the philosophy of republicanism. It is a philosophy founded upon eternal laws. The attempt of France to establish a republic upon immorality and Atheism was as futile as it would have been to attempt to build the Louvre upon the waters of a tempestuous ocean. The very year that the French Revolution began (1789), the address of the American Continental Congress was issued, containing these prophetic words: "If justice, good faith, honor,

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gratitude, and all the other qualities which ennoble a nation and fulfil the ends of government, shall be the fruits of our establishments, then the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and a lustre which it has never enjoyed, and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favorable influence on mankind. If, on the other hand, our government should be blotted with the reverse of these cardinal virtues, then the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed. The last and fairest experiment of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends will be silenced by the insults of the votaries of tyranny and oppression."

Looking at these prophetic words in the light of the first century of our national history, how does the case stand? Is "the last and fairest experiment of human nature" a failure or a success? Are "the patrons and friends of freedom silenced by the insults of the votaries of tyranny and oppression?" Listen and you will hear all along the last hundred years shouts that grow clearer and louder over the fact that liberty, based upon justice, honor and virtue, has acquired a dignity, and a lustre, and an influence over mankind never before enjoyed. This problem has been worked out for all nations and ages. The fact has been demonstrated that free institutions can live, and prosper and increase in all the elements of strength, when they are imbedded in the affections and virtues of the people. As long as the people are true to the higher laws of self-government the institutions will stand.

There are in our day loud cries against the alliance that our fathers established between free institutions and religion. Claims are set up that government is purely secular, and that the line must be strictly maintained, separating national institutions from religious institutions.

It is true that forms of union of Church and State have existed, and now exist, that deprive the people of their rights, are detrimental to every national interest, and make the State a mere appendage of the Church, that absorbs everything. But this is far different from the alliance between political liberty and the religion of the Bible, from which it springs, and by which it must be sustained. As certain as a fountain is necessary to a stream, so certain is true religion necessary to the existence and continuance of free civil institutions. There are those who demand that religion be divorced from the government and public educa-

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tion; that chaplains be removed from the army and navy and legislative bodies, and that all appointments by our rulers for public religious services cease, on the ground that the civil authorities have nothing to do with the religion of the people. And not a few native Americans, beguiled by their sophistries, are joining them in promulgating sentiments that directly tend to undermine the Republic. Politicians, who are ready to sacrifice the national interests to their own selfish schemes, join in the cry; and already in some parts of the land the poison has taken effect, and religion has been divorced from public education.

We expect from a superstitious priesthood, owing allegiance to a foreign power, and from their deluded adherents, hostility to our civil institutions, though we might reasonably expect from them sense enough to see the folly of pulling down the political fabric that shelters them, and gives them so much more of prosperity than they found in the homes they have so cheerfully left to come to America. But the strange thing is that Protestants, who have been educated to use their own eyes and ears, unite with them in denouncing the inheritance received from our fathers, and give them a helping hand in prying out the Bible, which for one hundred years has been the corner stone of the Republic.

All we can say is, that if a people cannot appreciate their advantages, and are disposed to crowd God out of the nation, they do not deserve to have a free country, and God will, sooner or later, show them that the nation or kingdom that will not serve him shall perish. The Almighty has not resigned his throne because America has come into existence. He has not suspended his laws so that our nation can run a career of prosperity upon the basis of irreligion, superstition and stupidity. But, thanks to his merciful kindness, we are inclined to believe that these plots against our institutions will be a failure, and that the nation and the Bible will continue to live.

It is a most encouraging fact in the history of the last hundred years, that the increase of those in our land who have embraced Christianity has been proportionally greater than the increase of the population. Going back to the year 1783, we find, in all the colonies, about 1,400 ministers and 1,900 churches to a population of three millions. In 1870, according to the census of the United States, we had 72,459 churches, with sittings for 11,395,542 persons, to a population of 38,558,371. Had the increase of churches simply kept pace with the increase of the population, we should

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have had, at this last census, only 24,066 churches instead of the actual number, 72,459. During the decade between 1850 and 1860 the increase in the various denominations was very rapid. The Baptists increased in these ten years twenty-seven per cent.; the Presbyterians thirty-two per cent.; the Episcopalians forty per cent.; the Methodists fifty per cent.; while the gains were still greater in the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches. The latter were greatly augmented at that period by emigration, as well as by other causes.

The increase in church property from 1850 to 1870 was enormous. In 1850 the total value of church property was $82,328,801. In 1870 it had advanced to $354,483,581—being an increase of four hundred per cent.

Of the 72,459 churches, 68,332, that is, all but about 4,000, are Protestant churches, from which pure Bible influences are flowing over the land. The membership of these churches is about 7,000,000, while the number of adults and children that they directly reach and benefit is three times this number.

To every American patriot these figures are eloquent for truth and liberty. Keep Christianity in the hearts of the people, and you need not fear for the government. Among the wise sayings of George Washington there is none more full of truth than this, uttered in 1789: "Whilst just government protects all in their religious rites, true religion affords government its surest support." We have expressed in these words the precise connection between religion and the state. A just government will protect the religious rites of all; but a government, in order to have the justice and the power to do this, must be supported by true religion. It will not do this by ignoring all religion and claiming that it has only a secular character. The chief fact about any nation is its religion; this moulds its public institutions. It forms the character of the government, the laws, the magistrates and the people. Washington, with his clear vision, saw this and said: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to politital prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firm props of the duties of men and citizens. *The merest politician*, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace their connection with private and public felicity."

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The vital connection between religion and our system of popular education is equally apparent.

In making provision for the education of the people, the enlightened men who laid the foundations of our Republic saw the necessity of providing for such a system as would make them good citizens, qualified to sustain free institutions. They knew that mere intelligence was not sufficient, and that more depended upon the moral character than upon intellectual acquisitions.

In Massachusetts, where the first laws on education were passed, the presidents, professors and tutors in colleges, teachers in academies, and all other instructors of youth, were required to use their best endeavors to impress upon the minds of the children and youths committed to their care the principles of piety, justice, a sacred regard to truth, love of country, etc.

"And it shall be the duty," the law further says, "of such instructors to lead their pupils into a clear understanding of the above mentioned virtues, to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness."

The same principle substantially entered into the laws passed in Connecticut as early as the year 1650. It was enjoined upon all the officers of government to see to it that every child and apprentice "attain at least so much as to be able to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable books in the English tongue, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds of the Christian religion." In this and the other States that early adopted the free school system, the earliest efforts were characterized by an earnest desire to promote morality and religion, as the only safe grounds of a permanent and prosperous republic. Governor Clinton, in recommending the establishment of common schools, said: "The advantage to morals, religion, good government, arising from the general diffusion of knowledge, being universally admitted, permit me to recommend this subject to your deliberate attention."

It is an erroneous idea to suppose that this system of free education was established simply to qualify men to be good farmers, mechanics and merchants. It aimed higher. It sought to make citizens qualified to live under, protect and expand a free government. These men knew that mere intelligence, not guided by morality, would be an evil rather than a good; that it would peril rather than sustain civil liberty; and to-day, if you should divorce

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the tens of thousands of schools, academies and colleges scattered all over the land, from moral culture, you would sound the death knell of the Republic. There is intelligence enough in other countries to build free institutions upon if they could rest upon this alone. But they cannot. They never have and they never will. A just government must obviously rest upon an enlightened sense of justice in the hearts of the people. A people's government must embody their principles. Nothing can be plainer. Individual character certainly rests upon the moral nature. The heart is exercised before the mind unfolds its powers. The intellect gathers knowledge, while the heart dictates what shall be done with that knowledge. Where is the government of the United States to-day? It exists in the opinions of its citizens. Its force is the popular will, silently but irresistibly expressed through the ballot box. This will appoints the officers, makes the laws, retains what it pleases of the past, and decrees measures and influences for the future. It can strengthen the foundations of the government, or send a tidal wave of anarchy over the land. It can carry the hopes and expectations of our enlightened ancestors to a glorious consummation, or it can set back the march of civilization for centuries. Such a power—so vast, so susceptible to every variety of influence—must be controlled; and, thank God, now for more than a hundred years it has been controlled. The youth have been trained in virtue as well as instructed in knowledge. When the clock struck the hour of July 4th, 1876, the people rejoiced, not only over a century of American independence, but over the success of the educational plans of our fathers to carry forward that independence, with its untold blessings, into the coming centuries. They rejoiced over more than six millions of children and youth in our public schools under training for American citizenship; over 45,350 youth preparing to enter the classical and scientific departments of our colleges; over 323 colleges and universities, besides colleges of science and agriculture; over 8,450 female students in colleges or preparing to enter them, five of which are in this State, and 205 other institutions for the superior instruction of women; over 110 theological schools, with 573 professors and 3,838 students. Harvard and Yale Colleges, the two oldest in the land, have given about 8,000 graduates each to the country.

The close of the first century of our American nationality finds the system of popular education a perfect success, with schools,

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academies and colleges in a most prosperous condition. The enormous sums cheerfully expended for education show the strong hold it has upon the public esteem. Without detaining you with the statistical reports of other States, I would mention that, according to the annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York, transmitted to the Legislature February 20, 1874, the actual expense of maintaining the common schools for the year ending September 30, 1873, was $10,944,007.21. For the maintenance of public educational institutions, not including appropriations made to orphan asylums and other public charities in which instruction is given, there were also expended $11,343,349.01. This includes the appropriations for academies, normal schools, Cornell University, salaries of school commissioners, etc.

During the last twenty years New York State has expended for the maintenance of its public schools alone $127,508,937.78.

But while we rejoice over what has been accomplished during the past century, we cannot be unmindful of dangers that threaten us, and of duties that demand our utmost vigilance and untiring efforts. Against the forces of morality, freedom, education and religion that have worked out for us such rich benefits, there are the counter forces of vice, ignorance and superstition among large classes, and corruption in high places, that must be met and overcome. There always have been, and always will be, until the world is regenerated, questions to settle, perils to face, and pressing duties to perform. It seems to be the mission of individuals and nations to fight evils in some shape. When one is suppressed, another rises to confront us. One peril passed, another looms up in the distance.

The air even now is filled with bitter denunciations against our free institutions, our schools and Protestant churches. The boast has been repeatedly made that ere long our government must yield to foreign influences, and that on the grave of Protestantism will be reared the superstructure of ecclesiastical and civil despotism. Some hostile writers have fixed upon the year 1900 as the period when the American Republic is to fall, and Papal dominion is to be established in our land. To this end, the demand is made that the Bible be removed from the schools, that the light of God's Holy Word may not enlighten the young, and thus educate them to sustain civil liberty. The enemies of freedom also ask that the school funds may be divided, so that they may draw from the

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public treasury the means for building and maintaining the citadels, under the fire of which our free and religious institutions are, in 1900, to be destroyed. Should their children remain in our public schools, they are in danger of imbibing a spirit of independence of priestly authority; in danger of growing up in love with liberty, and thus be totally unfit to wear the chains of Papal despotism; in danger of thinking for themselves, and thus depriving the Pope and cardinals and bishops of their exclusive and divine prerogatives; in danger of having a higher regard for the City of Washington than the City of Rome. Already the Romish Church has greatly suffered from our free schools. The light and intelligence that pour forth from them over the land are very repulsive to them and very disastrous. Therefore, they ask that we furnish them the means of shutting out this light and intelligence, and fostering elements with which they propose soon to shatter our national institutions. In times of conflict it is usual for nations to use their funds and forces for their own defence, and for enemies to rely upon their own resources. And in the present case we think that it is best for us not to divide the school fund. We think this best for the perpetuity of our civil liberties, for the interests of civilization, for the growth of Christianity, and for the hopes and welfare of mankind. And while there are some whose eyes are blinded by sophistry, and whose patriotism easily succumbs to party or selfish ends, we are of the opinion that there are a sufficient number of American citizens who think as we do on this vital question.

There is another evil from another source that bears with it a great peril to our country. With our national expansion and the increase of wealth and luxuries, there has come a laxity of moral principle, especially conspicuous in the halls of legislatures and in those elevated to positions of public trust and responsibility, that is truly alarming. The extent to which the public treasury has been plundered; the large number of officials who have been ready to sacrifice principle and patriotism for pecuniary gain; the various ways, direct and indirect, in which bribes have been offered and taken; the ease with which money can thwart justice, control elections and corrupt legislation, are features in our political history that demand the gravest consideration and the strongest reprobation. At home and abroad these villanies and these rings, that have encircled such a prodigious amount of rascality, have been and are still looked upon as a disgrace to the Republic.

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I am aware that it is far easier to point out these evils than it is to remedy them. But it is certainly time for the people to arouse themselves to a comprehension of the magnitude of the peril from this source. It is time for all good men to act in the arena of politics as faithfully and conscientiously as they discharge their religious duties. Indeed, I regard patriotism with an American citizen as next to his religion, if not a part of it. When we remember that the Bible is the source and guardian of our civil institutions and national blessings; when we have reason to believe that the interests of freedom, civilization and Christianity are largely involved in the perpetuity and prosperity of our republic; when we look upon the streams of influence for good or evil that must flow from us, far beyond the boundaries of our own land, we cannot but regard it as a Christian duty to do all in our power to elect men of principle to office, and to preserve the purity of all departments of our government. There is power enough among the good citizens in these United States to purge our national legislative assemblies, and our State and municipal governments of the corruptions that are eating into their life. By organization and unity of purpose; by earnest and persistent effort; by a portion of the zeal, daring and heroic fortitude of our fathers, who, under God, created the national fabric, we can purify it and give hopes to this new century, such as were given to the last, and have been realized by forty millions of people. If we are faithful to the trusts committed to us, a hundred millions may in the future thank us, and unite in giving glory to God for wide spread national blessings, that flow from the union of liberty with a pure national religion.

Finally, from the fruits of this union that have ripened here, benign influences have flowed to other nations during the past century.

Nations, like individuals, are intimately related to each other. They influence each other for good or evil. A strong despotic government will tighten the chains of tyranny in other lands. A free government will scatter widely the seeds of civil liberty. An educated people will excite in the masses of other nations a desire for knowledge. A strong Christian nation will send forth in every direction streams of moral influence. Ever since our Republic was organized it has been a disturbing force among the nations of Europe. It was hailed by the friends of liberty and humanity and hated by the supporters of despotism. With its growth and pros-

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perity the disturbing influence has increased, and only the Eye that sees all events, and every chain of influence, can know the connection between our success and the establishment of constitutional liberty in other parts of the world.

We have affected heathen nations and awakened desires for higher sources of national prosperity. Some are introducing our form of education, railroads, telegraphic communication, and receiving, to some extent, the blessings of the Christian religion.

The argument that we present to the world, in favor of a free and Christian government, is the argument of a century of facts that cannot be refuted or resisted. National institutions that protect the rights and encourage the aspirations of all classes; that place the benefits of education within the reach of every child; that give the privilege of suffrage to every citizen; that open the avenues to wealth, usefulness and honor to all who seek them; that have developed the resources of the country with a rapidity unparalleled in history; that have grown stronger amid adversities and become firmer from the shock of rebellion, certainly speak with an eloquence and authority that cannot fail to be heard. May the opening century exceed the past in every thing that gives dignity to a nation, happiness to a people, and glory to God.

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THE POINTS OF SIMILARITY

BETWEEN THE

STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

IN HOLLAND

AND

IN AMERICA.

BY

ALEX. R. THOMPSON, D. D.,

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

19

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THE POINTS OF SIMILARITY

BETWEEN THE

STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

IN HOLLAND AND IN AMERICA.

"Now, therefore, stand still, that I may reason with you before the Lord of all the righteous acts of the Lord, which he did to you and to your fathers."—FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL, xii: 7.

THE web of human history is woven on a divine warp. Human nature, in the long run, proves itself to be a unit. There is as plainly a development of the race as there is of any individual of the race. Evolution is beginning to be recognized as the divine law. The intense interest of history lies in its record of this evolution. The contemporary chronicler of events gathers material for the true historian. Often only at the distance of ages can true history be written. Then, unwarped by passion, men can see how clearly an evident purpose has evolved in the living of men; how plainly vast principles have been put to the trial in the living of nations; and in the end how evidently that survives by which the average of human living comes up higher, as if according to some antecedently apprehended ideal, which is being slowly

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but surely reached in the struggles of ages, and which men of Christian faith devoutly believe to be God's idea of human nature.

This great fact is to be apprehended both by its approximations and by its contrasts. The problem of human life—individual, social, national, universal—needs for its solution all the light that can be thrown upon it by man's testimony, and, above all, by God's testimony. Its possibilities are the prophecy of its future. Its history is the prophecy justified by fact. All lower modes of life are the parable of the higher. The one stupendous principle is found to govern all. Life is germinal. It never comes all at once. Its slender beginnings need favorable conditions, and having them, it evolves. Every separate stage is the proper precedent of that which comes next. The possibilities of an oak lie in an acorn. The possibilities of the richest cluster that hangs purple from the laden vine lie in the acid fruit that hangs tough and hard on the wild vine to set the teeth on edge; and the higher does not come first, but the lower. Forever onward is the divine way.

The dream of men, who having lost God's testimony had nothing but man's testimony, and that only in part, was that the Golden Age lay in the past. The faith of Christian believers is that it lies in the future. They have been certified of Heaven that the perfect man is ever "He who is to come." All down the record of the early ages that was testified in psalm and prophecy. At length appeared among men a single Life that yet boldly announced itself in the words, "I am He." Then it passed away, leaving men to find out whether those words were true. All down the ages, since the manger cradling the human abe in Bethlehem, and the cross holding the awful self-sacrificed Life on Calvary, Christian faith has been growing surer that thus in the centre of the ages, by the coming of the Divine into the human, was pure and perfect manhood made manifest. In Jesus the Christ the divine ideal has been realized, and the pattern set, up to which human nature shall come, under the redemptive providence of the divine creative love, whose absolute wisdom cannot be put to fault, and its omnipotent strength cannot be thwarted.

In contrast with the ideal of human manhood thus set before us of Heaven, the ages of ignorance, and animalism and crime, whose millions have gone out in hopeless darkness, reveal their fearful failure; and in every even remote approximation to it the struggles upward, the agonies ending in any victory of human

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nature following the Christ, reveal themselves to be an inestimable achievement.

Ranging the broad field of the Christian centuries, the task before us now is to put side by side two successive developments of this great human struggle, each of which, although two centuries asunder, carried the human victory so much higher and nearer the goal of final redemption. It will, perhaps, grow evident in our brief review of them, that they were not two disconnected efforts which, by a sublime accident, fell within the lines of a startling resemblance, but rather two intimately related and inherently successive developments—the grandest, withal, that earth has ever seen—of the one great human advance to the possession of its birthright of civil and religious freedom.

We propose to consider, in their relation to each other, the achievement of national life in the sixteenth century of the United States of Holland, and in the eighteenth century of the United States of America.

At the first glance, the contrast between the two, geographically considered, is simply absurd. The sunken corner of sand that lies beneath the level of the ocean at the northwest edge of Europe, around the mouth of the Rhine, is not large enough for this stupendous continent to put its foot upon; yet out of that sunken hook of sand broke the pellucid stream of liberty that bears on its bosom the Anglo-Saxon millions.

It is noticeable at what a remote period the instinct of freedom in this wonderful people is traceable. Julius Cæsar found no foe men more worthy of his steel than the Belgic tribes; and after his day, until Rome sunk in helpless decrepitude, she had no braver soldiers than the famous cavalry of the Batavian provinces. The record left by the Roman historian, Tacitus, is that while other men went to *battle* these men went to *war*. The other fierce tribes of the north the Romans at the hardest brought under. These men they called their friends. Their country was but a morass; but it never paid tribute. The Nervü were exterminated, because only thus could they be conquered. Life without liberty they would not have. That was no vain boast of the Frisians that "so long as the wind blows out of the cloud they would be free." To be sure, it was the wild freedom of a barbaric people, every man of whom was a soldier. But they had it. They riveted on the neck of every man-child among them an iron ring, which could not be taken

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off until he had slain his foe. The instinct was palpable—to have freedom and to keep it, and, if it could not be kept, then to die. Once, under Claudius Civilis, Batavian by birth, soldier by Roman training, these wild Batavians had nearly rescued themselves and all their northern neighbors from the power of Rome. Only the relentless weight of the gigantic power of the Roman empire crushed their revolt. Amid the centuries that intervened until Charlemagne, the free Frisians, as they call themselves, kept the often unequal struggle, and never unworthily. And when that second Augustus, in his rude but gigantic attempt to reconstruct the empire on a basis at least nominally Christian, laid his iron hand upon them, they succumbed, not to perish, but to endure and reappear in after ages, the germ of the yet future people of the Netherlands. The religion of the cross began to make for itself a foothold among them, and in Utrecht was established the first Christian Church in Friesland. What material these first Christian teachers had to work upon may be judged from the sudden and discouraging lapse of one of their chieftains, who, having just stepped into the water to be baptized, suddenly bethought himself to ask the question of his baptizer, "Where are all my dead forefathers?" Who received the prompt reply, "In hell, with all other unbelievers." In a moment his feet were out of the baptismal water, with the words, "I had rather be with my ancestors than to be with your little starveling band of Christians in Heaven." Eventually these Frisians were constituted into the bishopric of Utrecht, which held its own against the power of Rome in the days when no reformation of the Church had yet been thought of, and in more than one item the free spirit of the Frisians received substantial acknowledgment from the princes of the house of Charlemagne.

Passing over the centuries from the 8th to the 15th, we find the Netherlands coming under the power of the house of Burgundy. And the conflict fairly begins between the branches of that house and this part of their subjects, which was to know no cessation until the grand agony and sublime victory of another century. Even then, in all the fateful changes which had swept over Europe, had steadily developed in the dwellers in the Netherlands those elements of character which made them fit to march in the van of freedom. Not that anything of freedom worth the name had been attained by them, but the education had more than begun. The ancient blood was there, after centuries. Be-

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ginning with the stern necessity of fighting the ocean for every inch of soil, recognizing in every tempest and billow a deadly foe to do battle with at every hazard, and succeeding in the struggle, they had been nurtured to vigor of effort, tenacity of purpose, disregard of danger, intrepidity of courage, out of which was built up a magnificent manhood. The necessities of their situation made them as much at home on the water as on the land. While, therefore, with well nigh superhuman efforts, they rescued from the jaws of the fierce Northern Sea the very soil on which they dwelt, they were able to spare from themselves men who became masters of the ocean—rovers on every sea—and in them, more nobly than in Venice floating on the Adriatic, began the commerce of modern ages. In their fisheries there were none to excel them. Whatever commerce could add to manufactures, and both could add to agriculture, was made subservient to their use and welfare. It was not long before the wealth of these bold artisans and traders grew to be a recognized power in the world. Lying just where, in the inexpert navigation of the day, the whole trade of the Baltic needed an *entrepot* with the South; creeping their resolute way wherever there was advantage to tempt them; bringing English wool across the channel to send it back Flemish cloth; the crafts and guilds that clustered in every town of size were gaining from greedy princes chartered rights and privileges which were destined to be the swift precursors of more personal freedom. Then, in its time, came the grand emancipator, the word of God. Near the middle of the 15th century Lawrence Koster, the sexton of Harlem, had succeeded in printing from movable types. When in the next century the protest of Luther was made, the soil of Holland was ready for the seed. As early as the 12th century the authority of the Papal power had been boldly called in question at Antwerp; and for the next 400 years an unbroken line of "Reformers before the Reformation" had struggled for the pure truth of Christ. Waldenses, Albigenses, Lollards, Bohemians had all their army of martyrs in the Netherlands. The Word of God had been put in rhyme in the Netherland tongue, and no ferocious persecution could exterminate it. Already the Church, by its greedy extortion and cruel persecution, had wakened horror and hatred. And when the word of God came, it came like the breaking of the morning on the ignorance, and sin, and shame of ages. Before the 15th century John Wicklif had a multitude to follow him. The Netherland soldiers sent to Bohemia to destroy

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the followers of John Huss, returned infected with his doctrines. The leaven was at work among a people intelligent, brave, hardy, resolute; and the result needed no prophet. Scarce a child but was taught to read, and the new art of printing had given them the Bible. Meanwhile, all the arts and luxuries which follow in the train of commerce had come triumphantly in. Painting and architecture had wrought their marvels. Over two hundred walled cities, one hundred and fifty towns, and more than six thousand villages lay guarded by sixty impregnable fortresses.

Such were the Netherlands, as they had fallen into the hands of Charles V. By him, at his abdication of the imperial power, they were transferred to his son, Philip II. This despot was by title "King of England, France and Jerusalem; King of all Spanish kingdoms and of both Sicilies; Absolute Dominator in Asia, Africa and America; Duke of Milan and of both Burgundies; and Hereditary Sovereign of the Netherlands." But his character can be given in a breath. Approaching, as he did, mastery of the known world, he was a blind, false, stupid, cruel bigot. Husband of bloody Mary, of England, he ravined over his vast empire with the same wolfish ferocity as she over her narrow kingdom. He was an utter stranger to his subjects of the Netherlands. Charles V, his father, cruel and despotic as he was, had really cherished an attachment for the people of the provinces, and by his personal presence among them had kept them quiet under his tyrannical hand. But from the time when Philip acceded to power over them he never saw them again. The alpha and omega of his dealing with them was, above everything else, to crush out, by fire and sword, every vestige of liberty among them—civil, and especially religious. His power of falsehood was simply transcendent. He was a grim, ferocious tyrant. He began by reënacting the bloodiest edicts of his father. He at once established in Holland the Inquisition. It was his hideous exultation that he had made the Inquisition in Holland more pitiless than it had been in Spain. Beginning with the very beginning of his reign, he made it known that he infinitely preferred the extirpation of the people to tolerating their heresy. It was this infernal crusade of his which drove the people of the Netherlands, in the madness of despair, to revolt. A bold, courageous, patient, intelligent people, for the crime of being suspected by the wretched minions of a Spanish bigot, were pursued by halter and faggot, by hideous torture and merciless cruelty, under threats of utter extermination,

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until they were forced to make common front against their destroyer.

Of the struggle that ensued, in which the United States of Holland achieved their independence from Spain, there were five eminent characteristics, which reappeared, two centuries afterwards, in the struggle in which the United States of America achieved their independence of Great Britain. These were, that each was—

1. The movement of the people.
2. In repugnance to tyranny.
3. Committing itself by an irrevocable documentary act.
4. Under grand leadership.
5. And its final achievement palpably in the interest of human kind.

Each of these claims a brief consideration.

I.

It is plain enough that the slowly ripening agony of revolt in the Netherlands provinces was the movement of the people; and in that we notice the first point of resemblance between the two conflicts.

In one sense, and that not an unfair one, the movement of an army is the movement of its leader. His brain must plan, his wit must anticipate the perilous possibilities, his promptitude must meet swiftly every sudden exigency; and so the shame of the defeat or the glory of the victory may fairly rest on him. Up to the day of which we now are speaking it had been one man's right, however gained, to plan, to attempt, to lead; and the place of all other men to follow him. As brave Richard Rumbold, standing under the gallows in the next century in England, protested that it was hard to receive it, "a few men seemed sent into the world ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden." Every attempt at the contrary had proved a wretched failure. Cæsar was Rome in his day; and Charlemagne, France; and Philip II solemnly believed himself to be the world. And under him was what Granville, his priestly counsellor, called "that vile, mischievous animal, the people," to be driven, goaded, and haply destroyed. But in the will and counsel of Almighty God the hour had come when, under the tutelage of His holy truth, men were to be made to recognize their own manhood; and beginning with the right to think, and read and worship as the instinct of their human nature craved, they were to

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be forced to fight to save that and themselves from extermination, and in the fight for it ever to come to know better and more truly the value of this, their heritage of manhood. And so against the master of the known world stood up this nation of Netherland traders, too stubborn to betray their manhood, and knowing, as Seneca of old put it, *how to die*. With all the entanglement of feudal relation that yet clung to them, nothing but sailors, and merchants, and artisans and tillers of the soil—"vermin," as the courtly chronicler of the Spanish bigot calls them—they stood by each other till, in the school of defeat they learned to be soldiers, and with dauntless purpose risked and sacrificed everything to save their manhood, until they wearied out the tyrant, and two generations of them had died for the right. Never on earth before had the cause been so plainly the cause of the people, undertaken by the people. No imperial Roman, with the legions of the empire at his back; no princely Frank, with armies of serfs and retainers behind him; no soldier of fortune, with his bands of mercenaries—but the people, risen up in the consciousness of right to fight for it, and if so be, to die for it.

II.

And God had kindled the impulse in them of repugnance to tyranny. This is the second point of agreement between their struggle and that which came after, that we notice. Slowly and very gradually they had been led along, something being evidently due to their grain and texture, and more to His mode of training them. Coming at remote distance from men to whom, when all the rest of the world were content to be slaves, it was everything to be free, they found themselves born to an inheritance so peculiar withal that, in a true sense, they may be said to have made it. The sea had rolled over the meadows where their cattle browsed, and the plains adorned with their goodly cities. The line of heaped-up sand that lay tangled in the scanty belt of meagre growth on the sea-border, suggested, perhaps, how the sea was to be made to furnish the sand by which its waters were to be walled back; and, foot by foot, it was compelled to give them room in which to dwell. Uncomely and worthless as it might have seemed to other people, to them, who had wrested it at the hardest from the jealous deep, and who, to keep it, must watch with endless vigilance the cruel sea, it was twice over their own, worthy to live for and worthy to die for. What its scanty

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pasturage would not give, the bold fisherman could bring from the ocean, or the busy artisan could earn by his loom. What a school was this in which to develop freedom, when men came so deftly to own the soil which their own hardy fortitude had rescued from the waters, and no man had ever been able to bind on them a vassalage such as other men by millions submitted to! That scanty strip of northern sand reared men such as no vine-clad hills and olive groves of a more southern clime produced. Where it required bravery and fortitude to live, men grew in bravery and fortitude. Men grew manlier in struggling with and overcoming the great forces of nature; and when the word of God came in, and the angel of the printing press stood ready to scatter it broadcast among them, they could "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" the truth; and it was the truth, after all, that made them free. For with their eyes once open to behold Him who is THE TRUTH, they were never willing to close them again. And being "strong and of a good courage," threats, and even suffering did not terrify them, and they could die more easily than they could yield. Then they had learned, in experience of it, how easy it was for their princely rulers, who meant to tax their industry, to foster that industry, and ripen thus the field for their own harvest by granting to guilds, and crafts, and even commonwealths, immunities; and the transition was easy from that to more strictly personal freedom. And so, meaning at first only to stand for freedom of thought and faith, God brought them to stand for and achieve civil liberty as well.

III.

The third noticeable point of resemblance between the two conflicts is that each seemed to have the consciousness of committing itself irrevocably by a documentary act.

From the year of the accession of Philip of Spain (1555) to the early part of the year 1566, the mortal conflict in the Netherlands between tyranny and liberty, although sending its roots through and through the body of the people, can scarcely be said to have committed itself to any irrevocable procedure. These eleven years of anguish and horror had killed every trace of hope for anything better from the tyrant than the mercy of faggot and halter; had welded the mass together in the community of peril and suffering; and at first from sheer pity, and afterwards from deep and true conviction, had won over to the cause of the people

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princely men, who proved, in the end, capable of leading it to victory. While all the while the inconceivable duplicity and falseness of the monarch betrayed themselves more completely, and his hideous purpose to destroy the people, if that were needed to root out the heresy, became more apparent. At length, in the year 1566, 210 years before the American Declaration of Independence, a company of nobles, who had assembled as if for worship, at Brussels, "resolved that a League against the barbarous and violent Inquisition should be formed, and that confederates should mutually bind themselves, both within and without the Netherlands, to this great purpose." As the Inquisition was the proximate cause that drove into revolt the people of the Netherlands, so this League was the decisive step that made the revolt irrevocable. There was no such signing the document in open assembly as the walls of Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, saw two centuries later. The original copy bore only the three names of Brederode, Mansfeld and Louis of Nassau. The Thomas Jefferson of this earlier charter of liberty was probably Saint Aldegonde. But beginning thus with men of noble birth, it was industriously circulated for signatures, and in the course of two months bore 2000 names. The presentation of this "*Compromise*," as it was called, to Margaret of Parma, sister of Philip, broke down the bridge between the people and their rulers as effectually as the Declaration of Independence cut afterwards the cord that bound this country to Great Britain. Many who signed it were destined to die ignominiously for the act. The bitter scorn of Berlaymont, which characterized the signers of it as *beggars*, gave a rallying cry in the fearful struggle that was impending. They accepted the scornful jest, and Spanish ears lived to hear with terror the word. "*Vivent les gueulx*"—"Long live the beggars!"—rang over trampled fields of slaughter, and devastated homes, and waters red with blood, until the words earned for themselves a fearful immortality.

IV.

A fourth and superb point of similarity in these conflicts of the centuries is in the men who were elected of God to be, respectively, their leaders.

Foremost among the first in the struggle in the Netherlands was William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. His traditional appellation, *William the Silent*, was earned, not by any impassive taciturnity, but by that amazing wisdom of self-control that lifted

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him head and shoulders above all the men of his generation. Born to princely rank, and inheriting vast wealth, he owed everything in the formation of his character to the wise and devoted training of his godly mother, Juliana of Stolberg. Her rare excellence left its impress on all her children, and on none more radiantly than on her eldest born. At the age of eleven years he succeeded to the title and domains of the principality of Orange, and, although his father was a Protestant, was sent to be educated at the Catholic Court of Queen Mary at Brussels. Becoming ere long a page of the Emperor Charles V, long before he reached his majority, he had won the Emperor's confidence to that degree that he was unwilling to have him separated from his person. The penetrating eye of Charles saw in his youthful attendant the germ of that magnificent character that was destined in the end utterly to eclipse his own, and while he was but a youth, he made him his trusted counsellor and gave him the command of one of his armies. Young as he was, he was sent by the Emperor on delicate and difficult diplomatic errands; and Charles leaned on his arm in the stupendous pageant of abdicating his imperial crown. He commended the young prince to his son and successor, Philip, who at first seemed to respond, as far as his cold and suspicious nature was capable, to his father's commendation. One of the first acts of Philip was to send him, along with the infamous Duke of Alva, to the Court of France, to negotiate the arrangements which ended in the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis. It was here that he first won his surname of "*the Silent.*" For being then but twenty-six years old, and of the easy and luxurious habit of all high born men of his day, when in a spasm of sentimental confidence the French king, Henry II, supposing him to be like Alva, deep in the secret counsels of his master, Philip, discoursed to him of the stupendous plot which these regal assassins had laid to exterminate all the Protestants in their world-wide dominions, William gave no sign or token of the horror with which he heard the revelation of this fearful conspiracy, but from that moment devoted himself, Catholic though he was, to foil the murderous craft which was really the sole aim and end of Philip's reign. His first procedure, on his return to the Netherlands, was by every possibility to procure the removal of the Spanish troops, who were to be the instruments of this royal butchery. His rank and position compelled Philip to keep him in the councils of Margaret of Parma, who administered, as Regent, the government of

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the Netherlands; and on him, as Stadtholder, devolved especially the control of Holland, Friesland and Utrecht. But with as yet no sympathy with the religion of the Protestants, simply from his abhorrence of the cruel, persecuting edicts of Philip, and from his own wise and provident regard for the people, he exerted all the wisdom and force of his nature to thwart the execution of the edicts; and by a fiction of statecraft, with which Europe was afterwards to grow familiar, in the name of the monarch, opposed to the utmost, short of rebellion, the cruel will of the monarch, in flat resistance of his less scrupulous and more subservient retainers. As Philip's imminent purpose of introducing the Inquisition into Holland grew more evident, William's resolute but wise resistance became, if possible, firmer. That infamous purpose the king accomplished, and the wedge thus driven in was destined to rend forever the Netherlands from Spanish domination. But in the wild and passionate resistance of the people, William, full of pity though he was, took at first no share. Even in the procedure of their leaders in forming the League of the Beggars he had no hand. But when at length it became evident that if his people were to be saved from extermination there was nothing for it but resistance by arms to the bitter end, William came to his place as the natural leader of the people. "Father William," they learned to call him. And both by his tongue and pen, by his ample fortune and superb generalship, by his masterful wisdom and indomitable courage, he became the father and saviour of the people. To follow him in all the changes of the fearful struggle that ensued is simply impossible; but with unswerving patriotism and ever deepening sympathy becoming at length from conviction a devout Protestant, both in counsel and action, in endurance and achievement, until the bullet of a dastardly assassin in his own palace cut his heart in twain, this chieftain, counsellor, soldier, hero, martyr, led the van in the fight of fearful odds between the herd of crushed but enduring people and the stupendous power of Spain, and did not die until he saw the nation well on its way to the grand and final triumph.

V.

We have but to indicate briefly the last point of resemblance in the two great conflicts, and that is, that palpably in each, the best interest of human kind came to superlative achievement.

It was the shrewd cunning of Augustus Cæsar, that while he

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was in reality Rome's master, all that he did was done in the name of the Senate and people of Rome. The four initial letters, S. P. Q. R. (*Senatus populus que Romanus*), glittering on the standards of the legions and blazoned on the imperial decrees, were the silken thread woven so adroitly over the iron fetters with which her despotic ruler had bound Rome, that she was content to admire them for an ornament rather than chafe in their constraint. The slender but sufficient snare of calling himself (*Imperator*) Commander, rather than Master or Lord, completed the easy deceit. Some petty barbaric monarch might revel in open sign and token of his despotic will, while the real despot of the world was content to keep the reality, and veil his tyranny in the name of the Senate and people of Rome. We ourselves have lived to see the Augustan expedient tried, not without success, on the soil of unhappy France—frantically shrieking in the hearing of the world that her chief magistrate was but the Emperor of the French, while the rains of heaven had not yet had time to wash out the purple stains of the blood of the people of France through which the adventurer went slipping to his unquiet throne. But here stand forth in the clear white light of God two grand achievements in human history which challenge the scrutiny of all men. That of the 16th century, coming *from* the people, wrought *by* the people, was as evidently wrought *for* the people, and in them for *all* people. In an age which as yet had not dreamed of dispensing with prescriptive rights, and an aristocracy of birth, simply because by the power of the printing press God gave his Bible to men to read, and men did read it, came out of that such an emancipation of human kind as human eyes had never looked upon before. The leader in the grand and awful conflict was the silent Prince of Orange. But the ploughshare that ran with keen edge through the traditions and forces of ages and compelled the conflict, was held by the firm hand of that new mechanic who, with his grimy fingers stirring restlessly amid the types, was destined of God to be the true *avant courier* of truth, and the true breaker of the yokes that had bound the necks of men. The shadow on the dial has never gone backward. From Holland the emancipation passed over to England. And while Holland lay over the sea, a timely Canaan of refuge in the hour of sore need, the heart of the English people caught the heavenly impulse. John Wicklif came first. Then William Tyndall. Then Oliver Cromwell. First the printer of Bibles—then the man

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of war. England did not see what God was trying to do *with* her and *for* her. And so she thought scorn of the goodly heritage, and craved a Stuart again and had him; to come stumbling down the ages, with too much liberty in her blood to make her easy under any monarch, and too much reverence for traditional advantage to make her equal to her own superb opportunity. But for the sake of gaining a pitiful quiet she drove out her best and bravest, and left Holland to pick them up and nourish and educate them, and to send from her own port of Delft-Haven the Mayflower, to drop her anchor by Plymouth Rock, and on this western continent to plant the seed picked up from under the tree of Liberty in Holland, here to grow as God should nurture it, and become as it is this day, a great tree in whose branches all the fowls of the heaven have their habitation.

Now, briefly, we complete our task by gathering up the threads of our comparison and tying them in a bow of beauty. More has been said of the earlier struggle than will need to be said of the later. For the story of the later is in every man's heart and household.

I.

The first point of likeness suggested was that each was a movement of the people.

A century of familiarity with the Word of God—and which had given to England Pym, Hampden and Cromwell — had done its work. Not all had bowed the knee to Baal when the reign of the saints had been rooted out, and England made her palace ready for the 2d Charles and his harlots. To a free Bible she infinitely preferred a beneficed hierarchy, and so the 2d James gave her hierarchy with a vengeance. But for another William of Orange, whom God opportunely provided, doubtless England had never been what she is to-day. But the seed of God was in the soil—the living and imperishable Word. And fines and imprisonments, and nose slitting, and ear cropping, and halter and faggot could not eradicate it. And so from Scrooby, in the east counties, fled to Holland the handful who were God's hot-bed of American liberty. In Holland air and sunshine, by Holland faith and love, and sweet hospitality, to be trained for what great things God had for them to do. On this vast continent, which God had kept hidden under His hand until the use of the compass coming to men on the one side, as the printer came on the other, enabled Christopher Columbus to

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search it out, the new civilization was to develop. But it was not the old worn out faith of Rome that was to lead in it. So Columbus was led by the angel of the waters to the islands of the Caribbean and not to the shores of the continent; and to the rock-bound coast of New England were led the English Puritans. And to the quiet Hudson the sons of Holland's heroes. And to the pine forests of Carolina the Presbyterian of Scotland and Ireland. And to the orange and palmetto groves of the farther south the Huguenots of France. And between, to the Old Dominion, some of the best blood of England. To the Delaware devout Swedes and English Quakers. To Maryland men of the ancient Catholic faith, but of a most tolerant spirit. And from these centres began and widened, till it shaped itself at length in the thirteen provinces along the seaboard, the America of a century ago.

II.

The second point of similarity between these men and the heroes of two hundred years before, was their ingrained love of liberty, their intense repugnance to tyranny.

A word will testify it all. Leave liberty out of American history and there is no history to be written. Pilgrim and Puritan thought it better to brave a wintry sea and savage foes, and live and die on the edge of a wilderness, than to put in peril the freedom to believe in and serve and worship God.

We hold to-day the birthright devised to us by the men who came from Holland bringing Christ's pure truth as their most precious treasure. The Church of which we are the children is that Martyr Church of Holland that came to her vigor in the awful eighty years' war with Spain and Rome, in which liberty was won for all men who are worthy of it. She called herself "*the Church of Christ in the Netherlands sitting under the Cross.*" Driven out of cathedrals, the monks who had become obedient to the faith, clad yet in the serge of their order, preached Christ in the open fields. Congregations of tens of thousands gathered behind rude barricades of branches or overturned wagons, watching for the troopers, but ringing up to heaven the Psalms in Clement Marot's version, and drinking in the Word of Life. No dragonades could prevent them. No violence could intimidate them. No cruelty could daunt them. Their cities were given over to sack and slaughter. They perished in frightful numbers. They suffered horrible indignities. In their desperation they cut with

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their own hands the dykes and drowned out their substance, to rid themselves of their deadly foes. But they fought thus for LIBERTY, and never gave up Christ's Gospel. And when the intolerable agony was at an end, and the free republic of the Netherlands came forth to greet the eyes of men, hand in hand with it, a bride in her beauty, came our Mother Church; and HER children colonized the very places where we dwell to-day.

The world knows too well the meaning of the word Huguenot, even if it cannot guess its derivation. Men and women were they, who, for God and liberty, were willing to be chained to the galleys, burned at the stake, hanged on the gallows. And whom France, in a spasm of superlative folly, if possible more hideous than crime, rooted out of her soil. She has never ceased to expiate, in unparalleled horrors, her blunder and her sin. But there came no purer, holier, truer lovers of liberty to help form the new nation than they.

And so with the men who left behind them, on Scottish hills, the heather stained with the blood of their kindred. Who had trampled the moors and lain in the dungeons, whose kindred had perished on scaffolds, had writhed under boot and thumbkin, and had been shot to death on their own door stones rather than betray the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. Of such stones was the new home for freedom builded. And this was the kind of blood that ran in the veins of the thirteen provinces.

III.

The third point of conformity was the documentary act by which decision was given to each struggle.

As in the League of the Beggars, so, a hundred years ago this very summer time, it came to that—that the tyranny which threatened to crush out the life of the American provinces was to be finally resisted, or they were to sink into thraldom. As surely as the sun on the seed-sown soil; as surely as the frost in the rock, came the event. One hundred years ago the bell that had been prophetically labelled with the words "Proclaim liberty to all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," rang out in fulfilment of its own prophecy to announce the signing and setting forth of that Declaration of Independence with which our national life began. The stripling giant of one hundred years stands unabashed to-day before the Methuselahs of the old world—and his baptismal record is the Declaration of Independence.

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IV.

And the leader! fourth and grandest point of resemblance.

It is worthy of notice that his filial piety saved George Washington for the struggle that was coming; and that the millions that rejoice in American freedom owe a debt of gratitude to Mary, the mother of Washington.

God gave no nobler gift to the nation that was coming than this great leader and commander. We shall only interpret him aright if we believe that the same divine love that gave Moses to the children of Jacob, who, until that gift of a leader, were in hopeless bondage to the Egyptian; that made the staff drop from his fingers on the border of the promised land into the hand of Joshua; that sent Elijah to gather to himself the wasted remnant of fidelity in treacherous Israel; that led Alexander to sweep the world over with Grecian culture; and Augustus, with Roman law, to open thus a highway for the Gospel; that chose and called St. Paul the Apostle to bear to the world of Gentiles the tidings of Christ's redemption; that trained the Saxon monk for the service which he rendered of putting in its place again the pure truth of heaven; that marshalled the defenceless people along the Netherland sands behind William of Nassau; and England's hearts of oak under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, gave to our fathers and to us George Washington; God's gift as really as if prophecy had foretold his coming and angels had announced him at hand.

We ask and wait the answer: What charge of crime or shame has ever been able to fasten itself to his name? What blur or blot tarnishes his spotless fame? He rises among the people like a king of men. Born at the very hour of need. Trained first in homely religious truth, and sterling honor and faithful love, by the mother that bore him. Trained then in hearty athletics, and by daring service as a ranger in the wilderness, to manly strength and beauty. In border warfare taught the tactics of a soldier, the skill of a chieftain. Trained by years of patient labor in the legislature of his native State to be a ruler and statesman. But under all this training, first and last, having in him God's gift of incorruptible, undying love for the land of his birth. Of unflinching courage. Of a clear, comprehensive intellect. Of vehement energy, curbed and held in absolute control. Of a marvellous power of ruling men. Born withal to an inheritance so princely that considerations of personal advantage could not easily reach

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him; and temptation withered and died in his presence. Kept of heaven, too, for the service to which God had separated him. Once, loving friends had secured for him in his youth a coveted appointment in the Royal Navy, and only his mother's heart failing her, after his luggage had gone aboard the vessel, induced him to relinquish it. Once again, he sought preferment in the army of his, at that time, sovereign, and was unable to attain it. The third time, he planned for himself a connection by marriage with a powerful but afterwards disloyal family, and was thwarted in his plans.

He appears in the retrospect at the head of the undisciplined mob that went by the name of the Army of the United Colonies. With the veterans of Europe before him, under leaders of tried skill and valor; and behind him confusion, dissension, poverty, intrigue and every disheartening thing, save only the union made by common danger, and the hearts of the people trustful of him. Three several attempts were made by men about his person to thrust him out of his place of leader and cover his name with disappointment and disgrace. His great soul proved itself in turning his very defeats into advantages. His men were taught by their repulses to be soldiers. Amid frequent reverses, under his leadership the good cause advanced steadfastly to triumph, and after seven years toil and vigil, refusing any compensation and receiving none, save success in his grand undertaking, God set on his head the laurel of complete achievement, and the land of his love was free.

In the dust and din of that encounter along the Atlantic seaboard, the men who were in it were but indifferently able to articulate their place in the great progress of human nature, and to weigh the stupendous results of their own success. They only knew that, clinging fondly to the mother country, they had been driven by grievous and persistent and intolerable oppression to strike for national existence of their own. But it was for all time—for the millions of human nature—that this struggle was kept. The leaven of the gospel working long among the masses of the people, and compelling every man to a recognition of his personal relation to his Maker, by that had wakened in him the consciousness of his power of self-government; and hierarchies and thrones had been compelled to recognize this power, or had been cast as a broken yoke away. But here were problems of self-government to be attempted on a scale which the wildest

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human enthusiasm had never as yet conjectured. The continent, hid for ages as if for this very purpose, had been thrown open at this very juncture; and to it as to an arena had been led the forces of human government, like wrestlers stripped and ready for the encounter. It was won for God. It was won for the people. It was won for the inheritance of man; aside from nationality, from descent, from tradition, from rank, from condition, simply for *man*. Behold the result. Men of every clime and faith have here sought and found refuge. Human industry has here come to its noblest development. The race has here breathed an atmosphere freest on earth from taint of evil, and fullest of life and blessing. The land stands in her place among the proudest and most powerful nations of the world. This starry flag, blue like the heavens, red like the risen sun, white as the light, has become the symbol of self-controlled freedom. Thirteen States have grown to thirty-eight. Four millions of population to thirty millions. Christian civilization has gone over the prairies and beyond the mountain-ranges and sits on the gold-bespangled Sierras, dipping her feet in the waters of the Pacific. And the chieftain in the struggle that saved this continent for God, that won it for the people, was George Washington.

V.

It remains only that, with a closing word, we notice that the achievement of our patriot sires was not alone for themselves but for all mankind.

This is evident, not simply from the citizenship which has come at length to rest in simple manhood; which refuses to recognize any distinction of race, or color, or condition; which gives equal welcome to the broad heritage to men born under any sky, who by obedience to law shall entitle themselves to be heriters of a heritage so splendid. But it is to be seen as well in the reactive influence wielded by the history of this country of ours, the earth around. To her, men have come to look for sympathy in every struggle towards freedom and self-control. And it is no vain boast to claim for her the van of the redeemed millions, as in her mighty youth she stands, with the truth of God in her right hand and constitutional freedom in her left, herself the incarnation of the vital principle of human redemption, that before God "all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

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God grant that her children, to the latest generation, may preserve in holy jealousy their magnificent heritage. Covering the continent with common schools and churches; with myriad industries and cheerful homes; and honoring God and blessing human kind, by showing that men living under law, self-governed, need no other rulers but them of their own choosing, and will bow the knee to no master, whether of body or soul, save to our God and His Christ.

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THE CHARACTER

— AND —

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMED CHURCH

IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

BY

EDWARD T. CORWIN, D. D.,

MILLSTONE, N. J.

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THE CHARACTER

AND

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMED CHURCH

IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

"Remember the days of old."—DEUT., xxxii: 7.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE Reformed Church in America is the oldest body of Presbyterians on the Western Continent. As the pioneer, therefore, of those doctrines and forms of government which we believe to be most in harmony with Scripture and our own political constitution, she occupies a unique place in our country's annals. Other religious bodies of the same general character may be larger, but none can take away her birthright. The Reformed Church of Holland—*the Church under the Cross*—has the honor of having first planted Presbyterianism upon the shores of the New World.

We are to present the character and development of this church during the colonial period. This embraces about a century and a half. We have not, therefore, the privilege of dealing with the later and more energetic period of the church's history, but must confine our attention to its planting and infancy, and early strug-

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gles in the wilderness; to its peculiar relations to the commercial company under whose protection it lived for the first half century of its existence; to its civil relations to the English government after the Dutch surrender, as well as its peculiar ecclesiastical position in reference to the Church in Holland. We must consider its quiet and slow, yet steady growth, amid many peculiarly adverse circumstances; the several sources of its ministry, and the warm discussions which arose respecting ministerial qualifications and American ecclesiastical independence. As we now look back over her history, from our present maturer age as a denomination, and with all the advantages of a century's experience of an unprecedented national life, we can easily discover mistakes. But is it not possible to do this in every department of history? Posterity ever scans the past with clearer vision than the actors themselves. A century hence our manifest errors will be dealt kindly with, in the judgment of charity. We are ever to remember, in studying the history of the Church, that good men were contending for those things which seemed right to them under their circumstances.

A formative period is always a peculiarly important one. We are prone to forget what we owe to preceding times, when foundations were laid deep and strong. While earlier generations may not compare with later ones in ostensible results, in the number of souls converted, in works of benevolence and the development of institutions of learning, yet this latter progress could not have existed without the preliminary toil. In general, early struggles are the *necessary antecedents* to subsequent success.

We are also naturally eager to gather up all the threads of the past, and to weave them again into some sort of lifelike shape; to *un*roll the dusty rolls of former generations, and gaze upon the passing panorama and make the bygone live again. The fewer the facts the more precious do they become, and the more anxious are we to combine them, and to philosophize upon them, that we may know the influences which were once at work to make us what we are.

II.—The Dutch Colony in the New Netherlands.

The Dutch did not flee from oppression as did the Puritans, for Holland was at this time the open asylum for the oppressed of all lands, but they came hither on great commercial errands. Their small fur trade with the city of Archangel suggested the

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possibility of a vast trade with America. It was soon perceived that the peltry of the New World could be made a business immensely profitable. At first there was no intention of planting permanent agricultural colonies, but a few armed trading posts were established. This resulted finally in the chartering of the West India Company (1621) for the development of this traffic, the humbling of Spain, the Christianization of the Indians, and colonization in general.

For a quarter of a century already the Dutch East India Company had been trading in the Indian Ocean and on the shores of the Pacific. By its daring enterprise and success, building up a Dutch empire in Asia, by the floods of wealth which it brought back to Holland, it had excited the admiration of the world. And now a similar West India Company was organized, having the monopoly, so far as the Dutch could give it, of the Atlantic Ocean on all its uncivilized shores. It was an armed commercial corporation, possessing almost unlimited powers to colonize, govern and defend its possessions. It planted colonies not only in New Netherland but in South America, in the West Indies and on the shores of Africa. By its instrumentality were parts of our Middle States rapidly and systematically colonized with emigrants from Holland. It brought to New Netherland, also, many Walloons and Huguenots, most of whom fell naturally into the fold of the Dutch Church.

Now this great corporation grandly succeeded for a while in a worldly point of view. The power and prestige of Holland was vastly increased, while Spain and Portugal were humbled. But the intoxication of their brilliant and marvellous success brought on at last an overwhelming bankruptcy, and indirectly caused the Dutch colonies to fall an easy prey to the English. For when the fleet of England appeared (1664), and demanded their surrender, the company was not on hand to defend them, and they passed without a blow under the dominion of the conqueror.

III.—The planting of the church—1628.

But in the midst of all this traffic the Gospel was not forgotten. The ships of the company carried the message of anxious souls who longed for the bread of life. The presence of the *Krankbesoeckers*, or comforters of the sick (1626), preceded the more formal ecclesiastical services. Many of the first colonists brought their church certificates with them, and a list of these names may

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have given rise to the supposition of an organized church as early as 1622, or possibly 1619. But the Rev. Jonas Michælius actually organized a church in 1628. In his recently discovered letter, after referring to his long and tempestuous voyage, the loss of his wife seven weeks after his arrival, leaving to him the care of three small children in the wilderness, he says: "Our coming here was agreeable to all, and I hope, by the grace of the Lord, my services will not be unfruitful. The people are for the most part free, and somewhat rough and loose, but I find in most of them both love and respect toward me. We have established the form of a church, and two elders have been chosen for my assistance, and for the proper consideration of all such ecclesiastical matters as might occur. We intend the coming year, if the Lord permit, to let one retire, and to choose another in his place, from a double number lawfully presented by the congregation. We had at the first administration of the Lord's Supper full fifty communicants, not without great joy and comfort for so many, consisting of Walloons and Dutch. Of these a portion made their first confession of faith before us, and others exhibited their church certificates. Some had forgotten to bring their certificates with them, not thinking that a church would be established here, and some had lost theirs in a conflagration which occurred. We administer the Holy Sacrament once in four months. The Walloons and French have no service on Sundays other than in the Dutch language, of which they understand very little. The Lord's Supper was administered to them in the French language, and according to the French mode, with a preceding discourse, which I had before me in writing, as I could not trust myself extemporaneously."

IV.—THE CHURCH DURING THE RULE OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY—1628-64.

The condition of the Reformed Church before the surrender was somewhat peculiar. The company was, substantially, the absolute ruler of the colony, and the American Church was related to the company, as the Church in Holland was related to the State. The company appointed directors or governors and other officers, and through them administered justice generally. The company formally established the religion of the Church of Holland, and actually promised to maintain proper preachers, schoolmasters and comforters of the sick. These duties, however, were not always well performed. Other sects, as in Holland, were cheer-

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fully tolerated, and Director Stuyvesant was sharply rebuked for oppressing the Lutherans. Calls of ministers were not valid until endorsed by the company.

The particular care of New Netherlands was committed to the Amsterdam Chamber. They naturally turned to the Classis of Amsterdam to furnish them with ministers for their colonies. Accordingly, before the conquest, the company, through the Classis, provided thirteen ministers for service in their North American possessions. Seven of these were officiating at the time of the surrender. Eleven churches were in existence, besides one or two out stations. At the time of the conquest only thirty-six years had elapsed since the arrival of the first minister; and the whole of the American Dutch Church, (with the exception of the recent accession of Hollanders in the west, and a few German churches,) has developed under peculiarly adverse circumstances from these small beginnings; for, with the surrender, emigration from Holland practically ceased.

The English conquest was a sad blow to the Dutch colony. Charles II, by repeated falsehoods, had deceived the Dutch minister in England about his intentions, and hence the easy victory. Rev. Samuel Megapolensis was one of the commissioners to arrange the terms of surrender. He took care that the rights of the Dutch Church should be carefully guarded. Article VIII reads: "The Dutch here shall injoy the liberty of their consciences in Divine worship and church discipline." They were also to enjoy their own customs concerning inheritances, and many other privileges were granted them.

Domine Drisius wrote an interesting letter soon after to the Classis of Amsterdam, detailing the circumstances of the surrender. Provision was made by the burgomasters and schepens, who were continued in power, for the due support of the Dutch ministers until governor Nicholls should make proper arrangements. According to the terms that all public buildings should remain in their former uses, the Dutch had exclusive right to the church in the fort; but the chaplain of the English forces had no proper place in which to celebrate the English service. The Dutch, therefore, kindly allowed him to do this in their chapel, after their own services were ended. Thus was the Episcopal service begun in New York, and remained on such a footing for a generation.

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V.—THE FIRST DECADE UNDER ENGLISH RULE—1664–1674.

The English conquest gave a sudden check to the development and prosperity of the Reformed Church. The number of the ministry was soon reduced from seven to three, and it continued at this small number for a half score of years, although there were 10,000 people to be ministered to. Two ship loads of Hollanders speedily removed to the Carolinas. When the people were required to take the rigorous oath of allegiance to Great Britain, they refused until these words were added, "conformably to the articles concluded on the surrender." The three Dutch ministers thus became subjects and citizens of the British Empire. Only about 250 of the inhabitants of New York took the oath.

The relations of the Dutch ministers and churches to the Classis of Amsterdam were modified by the destruction of their relations to the West India Company, but they were not clearly defined. The exact character of these relations afterward became an important point in the discussions for independence. Were the American churches an integral part of the Reformed Church in Holland, or were they foreign wards? And while the American ministers were in some sense members of the Classis of Amsterdam, yet could they be ministers of the established Church of Holland when they had sworn allegiance to the King of Great Britain? Although they were naturalized Englishmen they were not members of the Church of England, but neither were they dissenters. They had belonged to a collateral national church of the Reformation, of purer faith and a more scriptural polity than the Church of England. Their peculiar position was sure to give rise to conflict sooner or later.

But during the first decade after the surrender there was not much opportunity for strife, as the population was overwhelmingly Dutch. It would have been absurd to have attempted to found an English establishment at once. The earlier governors, Nicholls and Lovelace, understanding the necessity of conciliation, were kind and well disposed. The laws of England, moreover, could only be justly enforced in harmony with the terms of surrender. This gave the Dutch certain advantages over even some of the English colonies. The Dutch Church in America was absolutely independent of all English ecclesiastical laws.

Accordingly, the "Duke's Laws," which were exhibited the

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year after the conquest (1665), provided that no Protestant denomination should receive special favor. The English Church was not established; the Dutch Church was to preserve its ancient system. But in every *parish* a church must be built, the expense of which, with the maintenance of the minister, was to be provided for by the churchwardens, appointed yearly by the overseers and constables.

We even find governor Nicholls, in the year after the surrender, directing the city authorities to levy a tax to pay the arrears of salary of the Dutch clergymen. Five years later governor Lovelace writes to certain commissioners at Albany that he considers the minister and church, which he and his predecessor found established, as the parochial church of Albany, which was to be maintained by taxation or otherwise. In the same year he guaranteed a salary to any Dutch minister who would come over to assist Drisius at New York, who was now becoming feeble. This offer brought over Domine Van Nieuwenhuysen, the first recruit to the Dutch ministry after the surrender, although seven years had passed. The governor's promise, however, was not well redeemed.

Some doubt was thrown upon the validity of the original articles of surrender, by the recovery of New York by the Dutch power, and its re-surrender by the *States General* (1674). Holland hoped for a brief season that, although the colony had languished under the rule of the West India Company, it might thrive with new vigor when belonging to the Dutch Republic, and that a worthy Dutch state might grow up between the Puritans and Cavaliers to teach new lessons of civil liberty. But Providence ordered otherwise.

VI.—The Struggle with the English Governors—1674–1696.

The recent civil convulsion and temporary loss of the province by England exerted an evil influence on the English governors. They became more arbitrary. A considerable English population had also come in, and the possibility of an Episcopal establishment could not fail to suggest itself. Only the next year (1675) Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer appeared with a recommendation from the Duke of York to Governor Andros for a *living* in one of the Dutch churches. The attempt to foist him, an Episcopalian, although previously a clergyman in Holland, on the church of

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Albany, already under the care of Domine Schaats, was stoutly resisted, and only finally successful when he promised to submit to the Classis of Amsterdam. The next year, however, the governor was obliged to remove him on account of his scandalous life.

Twelve years had passed away since the original surrender, and only one regular minister had come from Holland. Only three were now in the country (1676). Two had died, and two had returned home. The Episcopalians had only a single clergyman, the chaplain of the troops. The dearth of gospel privileges was severely felt. The Dutch and English of Kingston, therefore, petitioned the governor to find means for the ordination of young Tesschenmaeker, a licensed Bachelor of Divinity of the University of Utrecht, who had been serving them, and who could use both languages. But the governor was wary of meddling so soon again in church affairs, remembering the matter of Van Rensselaer. No response appears. After a visit of Tesschenmaeker for a couple of years to Guiana, the people of New Castle, Delaware, requested the Dutch clergy to form a Classis and ordain him. The ministers were disposed to help this people to the gospel, and the governor was disposed to strengthen his distant colony. He therefore now ventured, understanding the general feeling, to authorize and direct the clergy to do this. Accordingly, Van Nieuwenhuysen, Schaats, Van Gaasbeek and Van Zuuren, (the two latter having recently arrived, and Polhemus having recently died,) actually formed a Classis (1679), and examined and ordained this *proponent* as a minister for New Castle: and the proceedings of this first ecclesiastical body, convened at the call of an Episcopal governor, were subsequently approved by the Classis of Amsterdam. But did these American ministers, in accepting the ratification of their act, acknowledge their want of right to organize independently, and perform ecclesiastical acts for themselves? And was this the beginning of that humiliating subordination of the American churches, and of that claimed prerogative of the European Classis, which, seventy-five years later, produced the great discussion which divided the church? Thirty years later domines DuBois and Antonides refused to obey an order of governor Nicholson to ordain Van Vleck. And domine Boehm, of the German church in Pennsylvania, when requesting ordination under the most pressing circumstances, only received it after express permission (1729) from the Classis of Amsterdam.

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The liberal government of William Penn (1680), in which the people were allowed representation, made the people of New York clamorous for greater franchises. They wanted a popular Assembly as well as a Governor and Council. The duke promised these to the people, and actually signed a most liberal "Charter of Liberties" for New York, under which, provisionally, the assemblies were held; but when he became king he repealed the charter. Pending these circumstances, domine Selyns had returned to America to take the place of the departed Van Nieuwenhuysen. He possessed, in an eminent degree, that rare combination of faculties which unites the zeal of the preacher, seeking the salvation of souls, with the prudence of the presbyter, looking after the temporalities of the church. He was systematic, energetic and industrious in his ministerial and pastoral duties. He was the chief of the early ministers to enlarge the usefulness of the Church, and to secure for it a permanent and independent foundation. He was of a catholic spirit, when liberality was not so common, speaking kindly of other denominations and rejoicing in their success. His amiable character endeared him to all around him. He was on terms of friendship with the heads of government, and in correspondence with distinguished men in the neighboring colonies. He was also a poet, versifying in both Latin and Dutch. Cotton Mather remarks of him: "He had so nimble a faculty of putting his devout thoughts into verse that he signalized himself by the greatest frequency, perhaps, which ever man used, of sending poems to all persons, in all places, on all occasions; and in this, as well as upon greater accounts, was a David unto the flocks of our Lord in the wilderness." The Honorable Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn, has published an elegant biography of him. (*See Murphy's Anthology of New Netherland.*)

(Oct., 1683.) In writing to the Classis of Amsterdam, Selyns gave an interesting account of provincial church affairs, alluding to the different churches and to the ministers then in the country. Tesschenmaeker was at Schenectady; Dellius, afterwards famous in the great land grants, had just come over the sea to become the colleague of Schaats at Albany; Weekstein was at Kingston, and Van Zuuren on Long Island. A stone parsonage was in course of erection in New York, "three stories high, and raised on the foundation of unmerited love." Domine Petrus Daillé, late professor at Salmurs, was preaching to the Huguenots in New York. "He is full of fire, godliness and learning. Banished on

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account of his religion, he maintains the cause of Jesus Christ with untiring zeal." Rev. John Gordon officiated in the fort for the English, and Daillé followed him for the French; but Selyns himself hedged about both these services by two sermons in Dutch. Governor Dougan had recently arrived—a polite and friendly man, who had called on Selyns and informed him that the duke intended to allow full liberty of conscience. "What is to be done for the good of our country and church will be made manifest in the approaching Assembly, which is summoned to devise reasonable laws for us and our posterity."

We can only here allude to the complicated entanglements which followed the abdication of the papal James, and the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England. England received in William III a Dutch king. The failure of speedy despatches authorizing the officials of James to continue in office, together with the arrest of governor Andros by the people of Boston, gave opportunity to a demagogue, the illiterate Leisler, to usurp the government of New York. He professed to do this in order to raise the standard of William and Mary and to protect the cause of Protestantism. By his falsehoods and exaggerations concerning Catholicism, from which it was impossible that there should have been any danger to the province, he excited the prejudices of the lower classes, and almost a reign of terror, in which the Dutch clergymen were involved as his opponents, prevailed for nearly two years (1689–91). While the troubles and dangers to which the ministers were now subjected do not properly belong in the account of the aggressive policy of the English government in reference to Episcopacy, yet they deserve a passing remark. When governor Nicholson fled, and Leisler possessed the government *de facto*, the Dutch ministers still continued their opposition and preached against his authority. This bitterly excited him, but Selyns committed no overt act, so that he was permitted to remain at his post, and was, for a time, the only Dutch minister on duty in the province. He was, however, in close communication and sympathy with the leaders of the opposition, and was under constant surveillance. His services in the church were interrupted by Leisler himself, and his letters to Holland intercepted.

Domine Dellius, of Albany, was summoned to appear in New York for similar conduct, and a failure to recognize Leisler's authority. He secreted himself first in New Jersey, and then on

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Long Island, and was for a time in Selyns' house in New York. He afterwards fled to Boston. Leisler charged him with being a principal actor in the French and Indian difficulties, and an enemy of the Prince of Orange, refusing to recognize the English Revolution. He styles him a *Cockaran* minister, and says that he refused to celebrate thanksgiving day for the accession of William; that he shut his door when the new king and queen were proclaimed. Dellius, however, wrote to England, representing Leisler's character in its true light. It was not hostility to the Prince of Orange which animated the Dutch clergy, but an unwillingness to recognize an illiterate usurper as governor, under any pretence.

Domine Varick, on Long Island, exhibited similar boldness. He was patient for a long time, but at length felt compelled to denounce the usurper. He found it necessary to flee to Delaware. On his return he was charged with being acquainted with a design to rescue the fort from Leisler. He was dragged by a force of armed men from his house (1690-1) and kept in confinement in the fort for six months. He was charged also with speaking treasonable words against Leisler, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £80 by La Noy, a pretended judge, to be deposed from his ministerial functions, and kept in prison until the fine was paid. Domine Selyns, with great magnamity, offered himself and property as bail for Varick when he was first imprisoned; but he was refused, and threatened with imprisonment himself. Varick was at length released without the payment of his fine, but he ultimately died from the effects of his ill treatment.

Selyns rejoiced over Leisler's downfall, and preached a sermon on the occasion from the words of the Psalmist, "I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." But his course divided his congregation, and his salary was withheld by some of them for several years. Selyns wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam that domine Varick and himself had to exercise and endure more than could be believed. Leisler and Milbourne, his son-in-law, were finally executed for treason and their estates confiscated; but Queen Mary, the following year, in compassion, granted an order to restore them to their families. But the province was divided for several years into Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. Nine years after their execution (1698) Lord Bellomont, then governor, against the protests of all the clergy of the city, of all denominations, and especially of the

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Consistory, had their remains exhumed with great parade, and buried under the floor of the Dutch church in Garden street.

Colonel Sloughter, who succeeded Leisler, died in four months. He brought over, however, a commission from King William to restore the Assembly, which was accordingly done (1691). Governor Fletcher, immediately upon his arrival (September, 1692), recommended the Assembly to pass a bill for the *settling of a ministry*. The Assembly, however, did not second his proposal, consisting mostly of Dutch members, and being strongly inclined to the Dutch language and the model of the church in Holland. The governor subsequently (March, 1693) warmly rebuked them, saying, "Gentlemen, the first thing that I did recommend to you at our last meeting was to provide for a ministry, and nothing is done in it. There are none of you but what are big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta, which is your right; and the same law doth provide for the religion of the Church of England, against Sabbath breaking and all other profanity. But as you have made it last and postponed it this session, I hope you will begin with it the next meeting, and do somewhat toward it effectually."

At the next session (September, 1693) the governor labored to procure the establishment of a ministry throughout the colony, and the erection of an English chapel. In reference to this matter he said: "I recommended to the former Assembly the settling of an able ministry, that the worship of God may be observed among us, for I find that great and first duty very much neglected. Let us not forget that there is a God who made us, who will protect us if we serve him. This has been always the first thing I have recommended, yet the last in your consideration. I hope that you are all satisfied of the great necessity and duty that lies upon you to do this, as you expect his blessings upon your labors." The zeal of the governor induced the house at last (September 12, 1693) to appoint a committee of eight members to agree upon a scheme for settling a ministry in each respective precinct throughout the province. The bill, as presented, was debated and amended for a week; and the act, as finally adopted, limited the establishment to *certain parishes in four counties*. When sent to the governor (September 21), he returned it with the request to amend it, so as to invest him with an episcopal power of inducting every incumbent, adding to that part of the bill near the end, which gave the right of presentation to the people, these words,

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"And presented to the governor to be approved and collated." But the house refused, declaring that "in the drawing of the bill they had had a due regard to that *pious intent of settling a ministry* for the benefit of the people." This exasperated Fletcher, and he at once broke up their session in an angry speech. Among other things, he said: "Gentlemen, there is also a bill for the settling "of a ministry in this city and some other counties of the government. In that thing you have shown a great deal of stiffness. You take upon you as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of three or four words in that bill, which, though very immaterial, yet was positively denied. * * * It seems very unmannerly. There never was an amendment yet desired by the Council Board but what was rejected. It is the sign of a stubborn ill temper. * * * * * But, gentlemen, I must take leave to tell you, if you seem to understand that none can serve without your collation or establishment, you are far mistaken; for I have the power of collating or suspending any minister in my government by their Majesties' letters patent, and whilst I stay in the government I will take care that neither heresy, sedition, schism or rebellion be preached among you, nor vice and profanity encouraged. * * * * You ought to consider that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the government, and ought not to take all upon you, nor be so peremptory. You ought to let the Council have a share. They are in the nature of a House of Lords, or upper house; but you seem to take the whole power in your hands, and set up for everything. You have set a long time to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance, and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the government. Why did you not think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance? * * * I shall say no more at present, but that you do withdraw to your private affairs in the country. I do prorogue you to the tenth of January next" (1694).

This bill, therefore, stood in the form in which the house had prepared it. The act required a certain number of vestrymen and churchwardens to be annually elected in the counties of New York, Westchester, Queens and Richmond, who should choose "a good and sufficient Protestant minister" for each district; and for the support of the minister so chosen they were authorized

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to levy a certain sum, to be paid by the people of all denominations. The act itself made no invidious distinctions, but it was intended by the government only to apply to the Episcopal Church. But two years after the people petitioned the Assembly upon the matter, when the act was explained, "that the vestrymen and churchwardens have power to call a dissenting Protestant minister, and that he is to be paid and maintained as the law directs." But the people were not deceived as to the real design of the law. It was well understood that the vestrymen and churchwardens would call only Episcopalians; that it was a virtual establishment of the English Church by law.

Selyns was not satisfied with the legal condition of the Dutch Church. Her privileges might at any moment be withdrawn. He and his Consistory, therefore, applied for a charter, which was the first church charter issued in the colony. It was not obtained, however, except through a considerable service of plate presented to the pious governor. It is dated May 11th, 1696. This charter secured to the Dutch church in New York its independence. Besides permitting them to choose their own ministers, to hold property, etc., it also provided for a compulsory payment of church rates by the members. This latter feature was stricken out at the confirmation of the charter in 1784. Selyns felt now that the liberty of the Dutch Church was secure.

After this, while there was sometimes considerable annoyance, as in Cornbury's time, there was no general disturbance between the civil government and the Dutch Church. The astute Assembly, consisting mostly of Dutch members, had not bound the whole province; and the speedy procurement of a charter by the church of New York, which was soon followed by similar charters for the other Dutch churches, greatly embarrassed the execution of the tithe law among the Dutch. Indeed, this law did not serve any Episcopal minister until nine years after its passage. Governor Cornbury said, in his speech at the opening of the Assembly (1705): "The difficulties which some very worthy ministers of the Church of England have met with, in getting the maintenance settled upon them by the act of 1693, moves me to propose to you the passing an act explanatory of the forementioned act, that those worthy good men who have ventured to come so far for the service of God in his church, and the good and edification of the people, to the salvation of their souls, may not for the future be vexed, as some of them have been, but may enjoy in

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quiet that maintenance which was by law provided for them." * * * A supplementary act was accordingly passed, but it failed to come up to the expectations of the governor. The inoperative character of these acts, especially in their application to the Dutch Church, may be seen from a statement made two generations later, in reference to the position of this church under English rule. For domine Ritzema could write (1765), when thinking of invoking the civil power to suppress the Coetus party, that "our Netherlandish church has always been regarded by the Episcopalians as a national church, and for that reason held in esteem; and the kings have always provided our churches with charters, not only to manage their affairs according to the Netherlandish constitution established in the Synod of Dort, but also as a body corporate, to have and to hold the property belonging thereto; which is denied to all other churches." In the resistance to the tithe, and the lawsuits which followed, it finally came to be understood that the ecclesiastical statutes of Great Britain (*Smith's N. Y.*, 181) had no relation to the colony of New York. Even a so-called dissenter had no necessity of justifying himself by the English Act of Toleration. Legally, there was a perfect parity among all Protestant bodies. Nevertheless, the Presbyterians and others suffered constant annoyance from unscrupulous governors, who extorted from them, by an iniquitous law, the means for the support of an established church. But after the preliminary struggle it is not probable that the limited tithe act was as detrimental to the growth of the Dutch Church as has been generally supposed. For, notwithstanding these contests with the civil power, the number of churches more than doubled in the first generation under English rule. The attempted oppression of Cornbury, moreover, led to emigration to the Raritan valleys and elsewhere, so that by the close of the century there were no less than twenty-nine Reformed churches under the care of the Classis of Amsterdam. A few of these were French Reformed, and one was partially German. In these, during the whole period from the planting of the church, thirty-three ministers had labored, four of whom officiated in the French language, while some of the Dutch ministers occasionally preached in French, and perhaps also in English. Several of them had acquired facility in preaching to the Indians. In the year 1700 there were ten ministers in actual service.

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VII.—The generation preceding the request for a coetus—1701-37.

This was the most quiet and peaceful period in the history of the church at large, although there were some local troubles which we cannot here detail. The privilege of securing charters was a substantial triumph. Opportunity was now allowed for reflection on the past and the devising of plans for the future. The true position of the Church began to be understood; yet in the year 1705 only six pastors of the Reformed faith remained in the country. Most of the congregations could have services only two or three times a year. The English Society for Propagating the Gospel had begun its labors in 1701. It was designed "to provide for the *ministrations of the Church of England* in the British colonies, and to propagate the Gospel among the native inhabitants of those countries." As its labors were, therefore, largely of a proselyting character, and it depended chiefly upon the tithe act, it is not surprising that the results were for a long time very small. It exerted a good influence, however, among the Indians. Several Dutch ministers were urged to serve under its banner, and a few, finally, under peculiar circumstances, consented, but chiefly as missionaries to the Indians.

As early as 1694 Bertholf, who had come to America several years before, as catechist, *voorleser* and schoolmaster, and who had become a leader in the devotions of the people at Hackensack, was sent to Holland for ordination. This was the first example of this custom, if we except the case of Samuel Megapolensis (1658), who was sent over privately by his father. In 1709 Rev. Joseph Morgan, having come from the Congregationalists, gave three fourths of his time to the Dutch church in Monmouth county, N. J., and the remainder to a Presbyterian church, he being a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. The scarcity of ministers, and the expense, trouble, delay and danger of procuring them from Holland, drove John Van Driessen, with a letter from Patroon Van Rensselaer, to Yale College for ordination (1727); while Mr. Boehme, before alluded to, was ordained by the ministers at New York (1729), by special permission of the Classis of Amsterdam. The same necessity compelled the Classis to grant permission (1736) to Domines Haeghoort and Erickzon to ordain John Schuyler to the ministry. But these circumstances, with the necessary discussion excited thereby, and the absolute

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necessity of preachers, paved the way for the preliminary request of the Church for semi-ecclesiastical powers and partial independence.

It was also in this period that a spirit of revival began to show itself (1730). "The Great Awakening" changed the character of the whole American Church. This was a principal reason of the desire for greater facilities to meet the spiritual wants of the people. These necessities led to some justifiable ecclesiastical irregularities. It was also in this period that Rev. Theodore J. Frelinghuysen came to America (1720), destined as he was, in himself and in his family, to exert a moulding influence upon the history of the Dutch Church. Fighting with formality and the dead orthodoxy which he found prevailing in his locality, caused by a lack of Gospel privileges; misunderstood and persecuted by the people, he persevered in preaching the truth until his opponents were converted. Large accessions to the Church crowned his labors. Several extensive revivals were the result of his ministry. Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards refer with commendation to his zeal and success. He was also the first pastor of the Reformed Church who began to train up young men for the ministry, and was, perhaps, the first minister in favor of the independence of the Church in America. Although he helped to initiate, he did not live to take part in the assemblies of the Coetus; but it was largely owing to his zeal, his foresight and his persecutions, with their happy results, which finally brought about the entire reorganization of the Dutch Church. He probably first suggested a college for the denomination in which to train up young men for the ministry.

We can only mention the names of Van Santvoord and Freeman, men who adorned this period, as well as that of the excellent Du Bois, with his ministry of fifty-two years in New York City (1699–1751). His influence was ever exerted to conciliate and heal. He was so universally honored that, by virtue of accorded merit, he was, says the historian Smith, more like a bishop among the Dutch churches than the pastor of a single congregation.

During the generation preceding the request for a Coetus, the church, considering its circumstances, made remarkable progress. No less than thirty-six new congregations (1701–37) were organized, making now sixty-five in all. Twenty-seven new ministers also began their labors during this period, of whom nineteen were in service at its close.

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VIII.—THE REQUEST FOR A COETUS AND THE DELAY—1737-47.

The reflection and quiet growth of the Church during the preceding period, and the actual necessity of more ministers than could be obtained from Europe, pressed the subject of association and American ordination upon the attention of all. There were more than three times as many churches as pastors. Of the sixty ministers who had labored in the Church up to this time, all but seven had come directly from Europe. Three quarters of a century had passed since the English conquest, and the tie which bound the people to Holland was becoming weakened. Only a few octogenarians remained who had seen the fatherland. The people were American. The Church in general began to feel that they must take their business more entirely into their own hands, and ordain young men for the ministry, if they were to continue a separate body in the land.

But at some previous time, the date of which has not been ascertained, a decree of the Synod of North Holland committed the American churches, no longer under the West India Company, to the care of the Classis of Amsterdam, and this decree was reiterated more than once subsequently. It is probable that this took place soon after the formation of that Classis already alluded to, which ordained Tesschenmaeker (1680-90). This subordination was very generally acquiesced in. And while the fathers of a century ago almost universally assert the jealous prerogative of the Classis, yet at times, owing, perhaps, to the presence of more liberal minded men, a better sentiment prevailed; for, when certain ministers were sent to serve the German people who had settled at the Camp (1710), they had an order in their commissions (*in mandatis*) to hold a Classis there, although we have discovered no record of their obedience. But it was the Classis of Amsterdam which stimulated Domines Haeghoort and Peter Van Driessen (1736) to propose a Coetus. These brethren accordingly wrote to the Consistory of New York (March 15, 1737) "a statement of reasons for the necessity of a Coetus," or Association. The matter was carefully discussed in that Consistory, and resulted, finally, in a circular call to all the ministers and churches inviting them to meet in New York (September 5, 1737) for the consideration of this matter. Besides Haeghoort's statement of reasons which accompanied these letters, domine DuBois, who wrote the circular, referred to the nature of the proposed body, the

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need of it to give information abroad, and to settle disputes at home. At the time appointed seven ministers, viz., DuBois, Haeghoort, Freeman, Van Santvoord, Curtenius, Mutzelius and Mancius met together, and drew up a plan for the proposed Association. Mancius and Mutzelius argued that they were bound, not only personally but *mutually*, for the general edification of the church; that the classical *Acta* say that the provincial ministers are to exercise not only the pastoral office, but ecclesiastical government in every respect; that all the congregations, except two, were in favor of the plan; that they intended to seek the approbation of the Classis, having already the approbation of individual members of it; that Van Driessen and Haeghoort had been encouraged by the Classis to bring about such organization; and the commission of the ministers to the Camp had actually directed them to hold a Classis. A provisional plan was adopted which need not be here detailed, and another circular was sent out by domine DuBois arguing their right to seek association; that it was needed to heal divisions and doctrinal errors, to give effective counsels, to promote unity, and to attract ministers to America.

The following spring (April, 1738) the same ministers, with the exception of Mutzelius and Mancius, together with Frelinghuysen, Erickzon, Boehme and Schuyler, and eleven elders, met in New York and received the answers of the churches; and after amending their plan sent it to Holland for approval. A speedy and happy consummation was surely expected.

But now the Classis did seem jealous of their prerogatives, for they wrote the following year (1739) to some disaffected parties that they would allow a Coetus, "under the express condition that care was taken not to have a word uttered against the doctrine, and to have no preparatory or final examinations for candidates or ministers; these being matters which were by the Synod of Dort restricted to the respective Classes, and which, therefore, were reserved by us in forming a Coetus some years since in the colony of Surinam."

Subsequently the Classis sought to effect a union of the Dutch with the Presbyterian and the German Churches, but without success. Nine years elapsed before they granted a favorable reply. The Presbyterians had been fully organized for more than a generation, and Dorstius was preparing students for the ministry of the German churches in Pennsylvania. In the same year that

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the request for a Coetus was sent to Holland, Dorstius and Frelinghuysen ordained Goetschius on their individual responsibility. At length the Classis was morally compelled to grant a Coetus to the German churches (1747), after which they could no longer withhold it from the Dutch. The organization of the College of New Jersey during the preceding year (1746) may have also stimulated them.

Although Frelinghuysen had acted irregularly in ordaining Goetschius, he soon after sent his sons, Theodore and John, to Holland for education and ordination. During this interim of delay eight new ministers began their labors; five had come from Holland; two American youths had returned from Holland, whither they had gone for ordination, viz., Fryenmoet and Theodore Frelinghuysen, afterward of Albany; and Goetschius had been privately ordained here. Twenty-three ministers remained in the country. Two new churches had been organized. Among the new comers from Holland was Ritzema (1744), who was destined to play so important a part in the future destinies of the Church.

IX.—The Coetus—1747-1754.

The plan of the Coetus, as finally adopted by the delegates in this country and ratified in Holland, provided for delegates, both ministers and elders, from every church, the transaction of only ecclesiastical business, while acknowledging subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam; yet, for the greater advantage of the congregations, *Circles* were to be established, to which the questions of congregations were first to be taken, and ultimately, if necessary, to the Coetus. It was also stipulated that all ministers hereafter arriving should belong to the Coetus.

But within a year after the formation of this body (1748) they were exhorted by the Classis not to ask permission to examine and ordain students. But three had applied at their first session, viz., Vanderlinde, John Leydt and Verbryck. The Coetus had previously gained permission to examine and ordain the first two of these; but in behalf of Verbryck they fairly had to plead for permission, which was at length reluctantly granted. Frelinghuysen, of Albany, was at first opposed to American ordination, but finally became its most zealous advocate. The body was obliged to send one young man away because of the reluctance of the Classis, and others were prevented, therefore, from applying. Their inability to do anything decisive in the troubles of Aron-

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deus, on Long Island, and of Mutzelius, at Tappan, made them feel their subordination and their helplessness most keenly. Some also refused to recognize the shadow of authority which they thought they possessed. Their only privilege seemed to be to send a joint letter once a year to Holland. Their desire to assist the church more conveniently and rapidly to a ministry adequate to its necessities was completely balked. Two young men whom they had sent to Holland for ordination had thereby lost their lives, viz., Ferdinand and Jacobus Frelinghuysen, having died of small pox at sea.

The friends of the Church, therefore, soon became convinced of the necessity of having a more efficient judicatory. This growing feeling induced them to propose a Classis (1753). It gave rise, naturally, to considerable discussion, and Haeghoort at first protested against the change. A year later some amendments having been adopted, a draft of the general features of the proposed Classis was adopted (Sept. 19, 1759), *nemine contradicente*, by eleven ministers and eleven elders. DeRonde was not present; but Ritzema, Haeghoort, Curtenius and Vanderlinde, all of whom a year later had seceded, were present, and appeared to be in favor of it. The draft states that they were "constrained in conscience to seek to become changed into a Classis, in view of the defective, fruitless and disagreeable nature of the present organization." It further stated that "the Coetus could give no satisfactory reason from the Church order for its present constitution," being neither a Consistory, a Classis or a Synod; that it could give no decisive judgment; it could not ordain to the ministry; that the delay of sending all matters to Holland was very great; that the expense and danger of sending young men across the ocean was likewise great; that candidates would seek ordination from other bodies, an example of which had already occurred; that as a Classis they would be in a condition to attend to all matters promptly, as they arose; that they could furnish congregations with ministers; and, therefore, they requested the aid of the Classis of Amsterdam, and of the Synod of North Holland to reach the desired consummation.

The plan was sent to the churches for their action upon it. The answers were to be sent to Ritzema, Schuyler and Verbryck, as a committee, who were to send the draft and the answers of the churches to the Classis and Synod in Holland. Little did they imagine the events which were speedily to follow.

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During the period of the Coetus proper (1748–54) fifteen ministers were added to the Reformed Church, but only four of these by authority of that body. Six students had passed by them and gone to Holland for ordination, and five Europeans had immigrated to America. Four new churches had been organized, and twenty-nine ministers were in service.

X.—The disruption of the church—1754–5.

1. *Its Remote Causes*—1750–54.

We can only understand the cause of the division of the Church by referring to the position of the general community upon the subject of education; and here we ask the privilege of being a little more elaborate. The people had become aroused as to their deficiency in this matter, and a discussion had been in progress for nearly half a century about the necessity of a college in New York. The main obstacles were variety of population, denominational distinctions, and opposition to Episcopacy; but about the middle of the century all parties were animated, not only by the growing prosperity of Yale and Harvard, but by the more recent example of Philadelphia. Indeed, as early as 1746 an act was passed in the New York Assembly "for raising the sum of £2,250 by a public lottery for this colony, towards the encouragement of learning in the same." Other acts became necessary to consummate these plans. These moneys soon (Nov., 1751) amounted to £3,443, and were vested in a board of ten trustees, seven of whom were Episcopalians, two Dutch Reformed, and one Presbyterian. This latter was the eminent lawyer, scholar and subsequent patriot, William Livingston.

The inequality in the apportionment of the trustees of this fund among the denominations excited general discontent, as the Episcopalians were the fewest of all. It was soon rumored that the trustees intended to apply for a charter which would require the President to be an Episcopalian, and that the Book of Common Prayer should be used in the institution. The great legal learning, as well as social position of Mr. Livingston, made him a formidable opponent to a sectarian college, which was to be supported by a general tax on all. Six months before (Nov., 1752), he had published the first number of "*The Independent Reflector.*" This paper was devoted to a close and impartial scrutiny of the existing establishments. It exposed official abuse, negligence or

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corruption, without fear or favor. He soon took up the college question, and exposed the design of the feeblest, though, on account of its relation to the Government, the ruling sect.

(Mar. 22, 1753). He admitted, of course, the importance of a higher institution of learning, but he discussed the most proper manner of its establishment. This he insisted should be, not by charter, but by an act of the Assembly, in order to give the institution dignity, security and stability. He insisted that there should be nothing connected with the institution offensive to any denomination. In his twenty-third number he presents an eloquent address to the inhabitants, exhorting them to oppose the projected charter. Among other things, he said: "Consider, gentlemen, the apparent iniquity, the monstrous unreasonableness of the claim I am opposing. Are we not all members of the same community? Have we not an equal right? Are we not all alike to contribute to the support of the college? Whence, then, the pretension of one in preference to the rest? Does not every persuasion produce men of worth and virtue? Why, then, should the one be exalted and the other debased? You, I hope, will consider the least infraction of your liberties as a prelude to greater encroachments. * * * Why should you, too late, deplore your irresolution?"

By such papers the character of the controversy became considerably changed. The field of debate was widened. The people began to suspect a design to further a Church Establishment through the college. His attacks on the various abuses of the English system were answered in the columns of the *New York Mercury*, by the usual arguments against Independents. It was a repetition of the old contest between encroachment of power and popular resistance. In about a year and a half Mr. Livingston's paper was suppressed by exciting fears in the printer.

But Trinity church soon after (May, 1754) came to the rescue of the languishing scheme by offering land for the college, upon the two conditions that the President should always be an Episcopalian, and the English Prayer Book should be used. This stimulated the trustees anew to petition lieutenant governor DeLancey to incorporate the institution on these terms. So strong was their assurance of an immediately favorable result that they even began college exercises with seven students in the vestry room of Trinity church (June, 1754). But Mr. Livingston, alone, deserted now even by the Dutch, who had formerly stood by him,

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protested against the granting of such a charter (*Sedgewick's Life of Wm. Livingston, p.* 90). He presented twenty "Unanswerable Reasons" in his protest. This aroused the people and delayed the immediate success of the charter, and several petitions were sent in to the Assembly against allowing any further funds for the college until its constitution and government were settled by an act of legislation. The trustees, in the fall, issued a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Vindication of the Proceedings of the Trustees, relating to the College, containing a Sufficient Answer to the late Famous Protest, with its Twenty Unanswerable Reasons."

2. *The Secession from the Coetus, with its Design, viz., to found a Divinity Professorship in King's College for the Dutch.*

Now it was in the midst of such circumstances that what proved to be the last meeting of the Coetus, before the disruption, took place (Sept. 19, 1754). The proposition for a Classis, with a plan of the same, was sent down to the churches for their consideration and determination. The action of the Coetus in this matter was apparently unanimous. But certain parties in the Dutch Church, viz., Haeghoort, Curtenius, Ritzema, De Ronde and Vanderlinde, became suddenly enamored with the project of the college in New York, which led them to secede from the Coetus; and this action of theirs ultimately produced great confusion. Were they deceived by specious promises, which were not afterward fulfilled? Was there a plan laid to gain their temporary support to secure the charter for King's College, and were they then abandoned?

The several churches received the proposition of the Coetus, and all of them, with a very few exceptions, were either heartily favorable to a Classis or were not opposed to it. The church of New York, however, took the following action:

1. "A proposal was presented from the Coetus (Oct. 1, 1754) stating various reasons why a Coetus was of no use or advantage, and why, therefore, it would be better to establish a Classis here, and requesting the approbation of Consistory to this measure."

2. "The Consistory replied that since the Coetus declared itself to be of no use, which we also believe, and have learned more than once by experience, we, for good reasons, judge that a Classis would be of much less use, and so think it better to abide by the old Consistory for the quiet of the congregation, with the pri-

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vilege, in any difficulty, of consulting the Classis of Amsterdam."

3. "Since on the 30th of August, 1750, domine De Ronde was called to this congregation under condition of becoming a member of the Coetus, the congregation *then* thinking the Coetus to be of great good to the Church; but now, the Coetus declaring itself to be of no more use, the Consistory declares that clause of the call null and void, still recognizing his reverence as their lawful pastor and teacher.

4. "It was further resolved to bring this matter before the Classis of Amsterdam, and express to them the views of the Consistory, so that the Classis may see on what ground their action is taken. Domines Ritzema and De Ronde, and the elders, Cuyler and Richard, were appointed a committee for this purpose."

5. "It was resolved to present a petition to the Assembly, requesting liberty to have a Professor of Divinity in the Low Dutch Church, who shall, according to the institution of the same, instruct therein freely and without hindrance. Domines Ritzema and De Ronde, and elders Cuyler and Richard, were made a committee to prepare the draught."

The above action was only taken upon the assurance that the college was to be unpartisan. King's College, moreover, is not mentioned in the last paragraph, but this is well known to have been implied. Both these facts will appear from subsequent action.

We have already seen that Mr. Livingston had been deserted by the Dutch when he protested, in the summer (1754), against the renewed petition for a charter. It was an easy matter for the friends of the college to contrast the Dutch Church, as the national establishment of Holland, and standing side by side with the Church of England, with the Presbyterians and other so-called dissenters with which the province abounded. Had not the state treated the Dutch Church with peculiar favor? Were not the Dutch churches chartered even before the Episcopal churches, and did not this privilege belong to these two bodies alone? And as they needed a theological professor, and were the most numerous in the province, and were likewise a liturgical church in part, should they not be entitled to due consideration in all these respects? Let them, therefore, help to pass the charter. The tithe had been designed especially for dissenters. By such specious arguments were the Dutch members of the Assembly led to vote

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for the charter of an Episcopal college, to be supported by general taxation.

Mr. Livingston writes to Rev. Noah Welles (October 18, 1754) upon this subject as follows: "The Dutch Church has preferred a petition to the Assembly (now sitting), praying for a professor of divinity in the college, to be chosen and appointed by them; which petition, for the reasons set forth in the same, I doubt not will be granted, and will not fail of having a good effect, even should it be rejected. If it meets with success, it will secure to the Dutch a Calvinistic professor, and diminish that badge of distinction to which the Episcopalians are so zealously aspiring. Should it be rejected, as it will meet with opposition from the sticklers for a party college, that will animate the Dutch against them, and convince them that all their pretences to sisterhood and identity were fallacious and hypocritical."

This petition was favorably received by the Assembly, and the New York church confidently expected the full accomplishment of their desires; but while this matter was pending they wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam (October 17, 1754), expatiating upon the uselessness of the Coetus, the importance of a learned ministry, that American-made ministers would bring about a total separation of the church from Holland, that partisanship ruled the Coetus, and "for these and the like reasons we are bold to renew our old relations and remain in entire correspondence with you, to communicate our affairs and expect counsel and direction; and we hope that you will in no respect withdraw from us, but continue to be our counselors for the good of our church, and we desire that the undertaking of the petitioners"—*i. e.*, the expected request of the Coetus for a Classis—"may not prosper." This was signed by the whole Consistory.

We cannot but wonder that this letter does not mention their petition to the Assembly for a professorship in King's College. A week later this petition was brought more formally before the Assembly. It stated that unless provision was made in the intended college for a professor of divinity for the benefit of the Dutch Church in this country, the youth of that church intended for the ministry would be obliged to reside several years in Holland, or other foreign Protestant countries; alleging that as the Dutch were the most numerous of any single denomination of Christians in the province, they might reasonably be expected, in all provincial contributions, to be the greatest benefactors to the

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intended college, and praying that, when the matter of the college came under consideration, they might by the act incorporating it be entitled to a divinity professor, *with a reasonable salary*, to be nominated by the minister, elders, and deacons of the Dutch Reformed Protestant church in the city, and that the said professor might freely and without control teach the doctrines of faith maintained by their churches, as established and approved by the national Synod of Dort, 1618, 1619.

But one week later (Oct. 31, 1754) the governor, although not without reluctance, granted a charter for King's (now Columbia) College, without including the divinity professorship for the Dutch. Although the latter had consented that the president should be an Episcopalian, and the English prayer book should be used, and the votes of the Dutch members of the Assembly for the charter had apparently, in expectation of the proposed professorship, been gained, nevertheless the Dutch petitioners were sadly disappointed in the results. Was Livingston's remark verified, "that all their pretences to sisterhood and identity were fallacious?" But had Livingston finally failed, in his opposition to a partisan college, because a charter had been signed by the governor? And what was the present position of the petitioners for a professorship?

On the same day that the petition for the professorship was called up in the Assembly (October 25, 1754) Mr. Livingston published the first of fifty-two articles, called "The Watch Tower," in the *New York Mercury*, to whose columns, although formerly antagonistic to him, he had by some means gained access. He declared that he determined to enlighten the public mind upon several matters, as it was the popular ignorance which gave his opponents their only chance of success. He secured the presentation of a bill in the Assembly (Nov., 1754), within a month after the above mentioned charter was granted, for a free college, which was ordered printed. From motives of policy the bill was not afterwards pressed to a vote, but the desired information to the public, by the comparison of this bill with the charter, was accomplished. He asserts that the Dutch were now beginning to see the snares into which they had been led. (*Wm. Livingston's Life*, 105.)

The governors of the college named in the charter were to be certain civil functionaries, *ex officio*, and twenty-four other gentlemen (of whom Mr. Livingston was one), the rector of Trinity church, the senior minister of the Dutch church, the ministers of

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the ancient Lutheran church, of the French church, and of the Presbyterian *congregation* in the city of New York. Mr. Livingston never qualified as a trustee by taking the required oath, but domine Ritzema did. In the last number of the "Watch Tower" Livingston addressed the newly arrived governor, Hardy (Nov. 17, 1755), reviewing the whole history of the charter, holding up the real objects of the respective parties, claiming that, notwithstanding the charter, he had gained the people. This fact appeared from the difficulties which now arose about the transfer of the funds from the original temporary trustees to the governors named in the charter. Were they not the people's funds, and not those of a single and small religious body? After a year of debate one half of them was diverted to the corporation of the city, wherewith to build a new jail and pest house. The college, also, founded on a basis contrary to the general wishes of the majority, never throve until after the Revolution. Livingston's opinion of his victory is expressed in the following note to De Ronde at this time:

"Amicus noster invictusque pro republica pugnator, 'The Watch Tower,' in ipso ætatis ac victoriarum flore, septimane superiore diem clausit extremum. Nec alienis hostilibusque viribus interfectus est, sed lubens et more triumphantium, memorque patriæ atque pristinæ dignitatis suæ, pugnans victorque a prœlio decessit. Hanc ob causam plus nobis olim est otii."

3. *Opinion of the Dutch Church in general upon the Chartered College, and the attempt to found a Dutch Theological Professorship therein.*

At the last meeting of the Coetus (Sept. 19, 1754) the subject of the proposed college, and a professorship for the Dutch therein, had not been mentioned, at least officially. Unanimous action had been taken for a Classis in order that the Church might educate and ordain her young men in America. Domine Ritzema was president of that meeting, and the circular letter must have gone to all the churches in his name, and that of Verbryck as clerk. Was there not reason for astonishment at the withdrawal of domines Ritzema and De Ronde with their congregations from all connection with the Coetus in less than two weeks after? The whole Church was greatly excited when they heard these things. The Coetus had been repudiated, and direct relations with the European Classis had been resumed by the principal church in the country. They had also entered into negotiations with the Eng-

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lish church for a professorship in an Episcopal college, but in which effort, at the last moment, they had failed. Shall the plans of the Coetus be nullified because its president, who was to receive the answers of the churches on the proposed Classis, and, with others, transmit them to Holland, had withdrawn? By no means. The Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of Albany, hearing of these matters, started in the dead of winter (Jan. 1, 1755) and visited the principal churches, and obtained signatures in favor of an Academy for the *Dutch alone*, and also, probably at the same time, for an American Classis. He came down on the west side of the river, visiting Schunema at Catskill, Verbryck at Tappan, Goetschius and Curtenius at Hackensack, where he also met Haeghoort by appointment; thence he went to New York, where he remained for five days conversing with ministers and people; returning north, on the east side of the river, he visited Harlem, Fordham, Cortlandt and many other places. He met with some opposition, but also with much success. Returning home he awaited the opening of the spring, and the reports of the churches on the Classis. While these things were pending, and just after Frelinghuysen had returned from his hasty winter tour, Mr. Livingston published the following soliloquy in the *New York Mercury* upon the situation of affairs:

THE WATCH TOWER, NO. XI. (*Issued Feb.* 3, 1755.)

"As I sat the other evening smoking my pipe and ruminating in the elbow chair on what would probably be the situation of this province about twenty years hence, should a certain faction succeed in their meditated encroachments on our liberties, I fell into a kind of methodical dream, which disposed all my contemplations into the following vision: Methought I saw one of the printer's boys entering my room and delivering me a newspaper, the reading of which made so strong an impression upon my mind that I question whether I have forgot a single article of its contents, and, as nearly as I can recollect, it was thus:

The New York Journal, No. 15. *Published by authority. 6th February*, 1775.

"Extract of a letter from a clergyman in the county of Albany to His Grace, the Bishop of New York: 'I make no doubt but by the blessing of God and your lordship's vigorous measures, we shall reduce this obstinate colony to the obedience of the Church.

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They are a stubborn, contumacious generation, and naturally averse to prelacy; hence the business of the tithes goes much against the grain! * * * * "

"Extract from the votes and proceedings of the General Assembly in their last session: 'The speaker left the chair and attended his Excellency with the House; and being returned, he resumed the chair, and reported to the House that his Excellency, in the presence of the Council and the members of the House, had been pleased to give his assent to four acts passed this session, the titles whereof are as follows:

'1. An act for the better ascertaining and the more easy recovery of tithes.

'2. An act against reading Calvinistical and other heretical books.

'3. An act to disable all dissenters from sitting in the General Assembly. * * * * '

"Yesterday the Dutch performed divine worship for the last time in the Dutch church—the whole congregation consisting of about 150 adults. It is said that domine Van Haaren, the minister, particularly bewailed the ruin of that once flourishing congregation, and reminded them of their folly in having so long been deluded by their enemies, after such repeated warnings of their artful designs, of which, and of some other unwarrantable liberties, it is said the government will take suitable notice.

"On Wednesday last the Rev. Mr. *Lambertus* Van Schenkle, Dutch Professor of Divinity in the College of New York, was deposed from his office for saying, in one of his lectures, that Christ is the Supreme Head of the Christian Church; and in order to prevent the like heresy for the future, the governors of the said college have passed a resolve that none but an Episcopalian be for the future promoted to the said professorship. * * * * "

Frelinghuysen attempted to correspond with the Consistory of New York during the spring, but he was not thoroughly acquainted with the position, and they were unwilling to talk freely upon church affairs until they heard of the reception which their letter of October 18 had met with in the Classis of Amsterdam.

(Apr. 1-10, 1755).—But as the time drew near when the Committee should have been convoked to hear the reports of the churches in the matter of the Classis, Ritzema and his friends must have painfully felt the awkwardness of their situation. While he had abandoned the Coetus, his Episcopal friends had

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not stood by him. The subject had been thoroughly ventilated during the winter, and the friends of the college, while they saw they had acted unhandsomely, were likewise somewhat alarmed. If Frelinghuysen's academy succeeded they would have a poor support for their college, as the Dutch population was yet largely in the majority. Shall not they and the Dutch friends in New York again strike hands, which would both relieve the charter of its partisan character and relieve certain Dutch ministers from their predicament? It would be mutually advantageous. Yet, owing to the strong popular feeling against the college, would it be wise to carry the subject before the public? Mr. Ritzema, as one of the qualified governors of the college, had peculiar opportunities to try again to secure the professorship in the college.

Accordingly, we read: "At the first meeting of the Board of Governors, May 7th, 1755, after their acceptance of the charter, and the speech of the lieutenant governor, and the reply of Mr. Chambers, Rev. Mr. Ritzema, senior minister of the Dutch church, among other things addressed by him to the lieutenant governor, remarked that he was sorry to have observed the differences and animosities in the province touching several restrictions in the charter. He expressed his hope that some means might be fallen upon to heal them, and his belief that it would conduce greatly to that end if his honor would be pleased to grant, either by addition to the charter, or in such other manner as should be thought most proper, that there should be established in the college a professor of divinity, for the education of such of the youth of their church as might be intended for the ministry, with a suitable allowance of salary, and to be chosen by the consistory of that church for the time being. The lieutenant governor, in reply, expressed his approval of Mr. Ritzema's suggestion, and his willingness to grant any application in accordance with it that the governors might address to him. The governors at once *unanimously* adopted Mr. Ritzema's proposal and appointed a committee to prepare their petition accordingly; which being reported at their next meeting and approved, the same committee was directed to present it, and at the meeting after, on the 3d of June, Mr. Banyar, deputy secretary of the province, delivered to the governors his Majesty's additional charter, making provision for the establishment of a professor in divinity, according to the doctrine, discipline and worship established by the National Synod of Dort." The success of this second attempt, with the preceding circum-

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stances in general, were the immediate cause of the disruption of the Dutch Church.

4. *The action of the Coetus.*

The committee not having met in the early part of April, and Ritzema having finally succeeded in his plans in the early part of May (1755), the Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen assumed the responsibility of calling an extra meeting of the Coetus for May 30th. Its design was to take official action in the matter of an American Classis, and also to consider the subject of an Academy distinctively for the Dutch Church. Ritzema, of course, was not present, although the meeting was held in New York. Three years later he sought to vindicate the conduct of himself and friends by saying that they "were driven off by the imperious conduct of Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen (Coetus, p. ci.) who took it upon himself, without the order of any one, to put the congregations under a Classis and to erect an academy, the professors of which he had already named, and the support of which he intended to draw from Holland." Ritzema, as the last President of Coetus, held the book of minutes, which the Coetus party never recovered. Thenceforth the anti-Coetus men, as if they were the representatives of the Church, although a minority, recorded their own letters; and subsequently (1764), when they found it expedient to organize themselves formally, they recorded their proceedings in the same volume. But it was several years before they could obtain any official recognition from Holland. We have, therefore, the subsequent proceedings of the Coetus (or American Classis, which it now became) only in fragments. If they were recorded in a volume, it is not impossible that it may yet come to light. Part of their proceedings at this extra meeting was the commissioning of Mr. Frelinghuysen to go to Holland to collect funds for the proposed academy. This document was written in the Latin language, and signed by the ministerial members present. A copy was made in the Dutch language, somewhat more expanded, and this contains the names of the elders:

"OUR SALUTATION IN THE LORD TO ALL WHO MAY READ THIS LETTER.

(May, 1755).—Inasmuch as it is expedient, for the glory of God, and conducive to the salvation of men, to establish in these recently inhabited ends of the earth seminaries of true philos-

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ophy as well as of sound doctrine, that men may be imbued with the principles of human wisdom, virtue and unostentatious piety: Therefore, we, pastors and elders of the Reformed Church of both provinces, viz., of New York and New Jersey, in North America, being assembled in a Coetus, and having established an alliance among ourselves, do resolve in these present critical times to strive with all our energy, and in the fear of God, to plant an academy or seminary for young men destined for study in the learned languages and in the liberal arts, and who are to be instructed in the philosophical sciences; also, that it may be a school of the prophets in which young Levites and Nazarites of God may be prepared to enter upon the sacred ministerial office in the Church of God. Indeed, because our country is yet new, and not possessed of so great wealth as is required for the work prescribed, *therefore*, we earnestly beseech all the well disposed, and implore them to be willing to help us with the power of money, by giving something for the promotion of this great and peculiarly necessary work which we have undertaken; and we hereby delegate and do appoint, by our authority and this present instrument, the Rev. Domine Theodore Frelinghuysen, the very faithful pastor of the Reformed Church at Albany, to present our most humble petition wherever the providence of God may open up a way, and to explain more fully the weighty reasons of this our proposition; to receive donations, and in all circumstances to act as may seem good to him and necessary for the furtherance of the matter above mentioned. He will also give, in behalf of the brethren united in this alliance, an exact account of all things. We therefore pray that the all-sufficient God will give him a pleasant voyage across the ocean and a prosperous return, and will open the hearts and the hands of the well disposed, and bountifully reward them for their gifts contributed to us, both in this world and in the world to come.

Done in our Coetus Convention, held in New York on the thirtieth day of May, 1755. In the name and by the authority of the whole Coetus.

REINHART ERICKZON, p. t., *President.*
JOHANNES LEYDT, p. t., *Scribe.*
BENJAMIN MEYNEMA.
ULPIANDIS VAN SINDERIN.
JOHANNES HENRICUS GOETSCHIUS.
J. C. FREYENMOET.
SAMUEL VERBRYCK.
DAVID MARINUS.
BARENT VROOMAN.
JOHANNES SCHUNEMAN.
THOMAS ROMEYN."

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The Coetus had great hopes of success in this matter, as four years before Rev. Mr. Schlatter had visited Europe in behalf of the German churches and schools in Pennsylvania, and had actually secured contributions to the amount of £32,000 from Holland and the king and nobility of Great Britain. The English contributions were given, however, partly from political motives. Mr. Frelinghuysen did not start on this mission until four and a half years later (October, 1759).

At this same meeting, without waiting further, all the powers of a Classis were assumed, according to the constitution of the church (May 30, 1755). Correspondence had been had with Holland during the previous winter, but with not very satisfactory results. It seemed necessary to take this independent course in order to forestall the plans of the professorship in King's College, which had been consummated without authority from Holland, and, after its first failure, without authority from the church of New York. The Coetus at once proceeded to license Henry Frelinghuysen, whose case had been pending for some time; and from year to year they licensed others without consulting the wishes of the European Classis. They also at this first meeting censured the opponents of domine Goetschius at Hackensack, as well as his colleague, Curtenius, and Domine Haeghoort, who defended him. These parties, in turn, commenced a civil suit against them as disturbers of the peace. When afterward directed to remove these censures by the Classis of Amsterdam, they refused to obey. Subsequently, when Schuyler succeeded Curtenius at Hackensack, they censured him for doing this without their permission.

When domine Ritzema's amendment to the charter of the college became known to the public, there was much dissatisfaction with it, even in his own church. His Consistory entered a complaint, August 11, 1755, against his course of conduct in this respect, and ordered it to be entered on their records. As this is an important document for the understanding of this whole matter, and it is difficult fairly to condense it, we give it entire. This is also necessary in vindication of the church of New York. It will be observed that it somewhat modifies the preceding history, as gathered from other documents.

5. *Complaint against Ritzema.*

At a meeting of the Consistory of New York, one of the members presented a writing, with a request that it should be read

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to the meeting; which having been done, it was by a majority vote ordered to be recorded in the church book, and for this purpose given to the president. It runs thus:

A testimony and declaration in writing of the elders, deacons and churchmasters of the Low Dutch Reformed Protestant Congregation in the City of New York.

After that the Consistory, in the year 1754, had presented a request to the Hon. House of Assembly, in their own name and that of the other Low Dutch Congregations in the Province of New York, asking certain rights or privileges in the Provincial Academy or College which they were about to establish among us, and had obtained a favorable reply thereto, it was thought proper to leave the matter to their Honors' prudence and wisdom, not doubting that they, with the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor and the High Council, would lay the foundation and the principles of the said Academy in such a way that the Low Dutch Reformed congregations here, as well as others, would acquiesce therein with joy and satisfaction, and be animated to do their utmost for their upbuilding and advancement, with unity and brotherly love, binding hearts and hands together with all who sought to further the welfare and success of the same.

And seeing that since that time some persons have obtained a charter for a college for the English Church, whose fundamental articles are opposed to the object of the Provincial Academy, and which is so strictly limited that almost no privileges or liberties are left to induce other denominations to unite with them, but only a small number of trustees or governors of the college who are not of that church, who can easily be overborne in voting by those of the English church, which has given much offence and dissatisfaction here, especially to those who have at heart their rights and privileges.

This being so, notwithstanding domine John Ritzema, as the oldest minister of our congregation at New York, allowed himself to qualify as one of the governors of the said college, and took an oath to seek the prosperity of the same, all without the knowledge, advice or consent of the Consistory, nay, against their will and purpose, and used all diligence to establish said college, together with a pressure to obtain an addition to the charter, providing a Dutch Professor for the Low Dutch people; which addition, when obtained, is of no essential advantage, being so limited that the said governors, or the majority of fifteen of them, may, according to their pleasure, under pretence of misconduct, suspend the Dutch Professor, or even displace him from his office, without any liberty of appeal: and, under the appearance of liberties allowed to the Low Dutch church, they seek to move the members of the Hon. House of Assembly, by a request or petition, to bestow the public money on the said English church college, which request, or petition, was signed by Domine Ritzema, as one of the governors, and thereby he instigated the Assembly to confirm and ratify the said charter.

And seeing that we, the present ruling Consistory, being by God's Providence chosen over this congregation to watch for its welfare, and as far as possible hinder any discord or perversity, we cannot with a good conscience omit to have noted in the church book the following testimonies, in order that every one of our congregation, and those who come after us, may know our solemn convictions of the imprudent conduct of Domine John Ritzema, and also because our silence in so weighty a matter might be taken for a consent and approval. Therefore we testify—

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1. That Domine John Ritzema, in allowing himself to be qualified as governor or overseer of said English Charter College, did this without our knowledge, and therefore without the advice, counsel or consent of the Consistory.

2. That the addition to said charter, which was obtained by means of his reverence, and is said to contain full privileges for our congregation, was prepared incontestibly without our knowledge, advice or consent, and in no respect answers to our conception of what would be advantageous for the upbuilding of our church, and is dearly bought, since it is so fettered by the jurisdiction of other parties that the liberties and rights therein given to the Low Dutch are nothing but a fair show.

3. That the aforesaid conduct of his reverence with the gentlemen of the English Church, in a matter of so great importance to our congregation, without the knowledge or counsel of the Consistory, is contrary to our expectation, against the close bonds which ought to exist between Consistory and minister, against the indispensable respect which he ought to show to the Consistory, against brotherly love, and against the unity and peace of our congregation.

4. That the strife and discord which have arisen upon his course, his reverence alone is the cause and author of.

Set down, according to the resolution of the Consistory, this eleventh of August, 1755. In name of all. (Signed),

LAMBERTUS DE RONDE, *Pres.*

REPLY OF RITZEMA TO THE COMPLAINT.

Domine Ritzema presented an answer to the foregoing writing of the elders, deacons and churchmasters, which, after deliberation, it was thought proper to record, and it was given to the president for that purpose. It is as follows:

Although it is enough for me to find myself able to refute the greatest part of this paper, yet, since the convictions of conscience concerning truth and falsehood are so different, I must, against my inclinations, mingle in wearisome contentions. I leave the judgment of this paper to the consideration of those before whom it comes for consideration, and content myself with peacefully saying—

1. That I had full power and authority for all that I did.

2. That I, in this matter, never attacked the Consistory (or any one else), either in their persons or their offices, much less the privileges of my church. If the gentlemen consider it their duty to watch over the welfare of the congregation, not less do I consider it mine, as I think I have shown in the acquiring of such a privilege, which will be sufficient till a late posterity, not only for the preservation but for the extension of our Low Dutch Reformed doctrine and discipline.

3. As to the privilege itself I did not mention it to any of your members, because it had not yet reached the consummation to which I thought to bring it—much less could I obtrude it upon them. If it was not acceptable it could better be left where it was till men saw in it the advantage I did, since no one was prejudiced by my attempt.

4. If the gentlemen (to pass by other matters now) have the right, according to their conscience, to say what is stated in article 4, I hope they will not take it ill that I, according to my conscience, apply it to those from whom it came.

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I hope then, Rev. sirs, that this paper also will be preserved for posterity, that they may know wherein I have sinned, wherefore I have deserved to be so miserably beaten and branded, as if I had betrayed the Church, and made sale of her privileges, which, however, I never cease to maintain; and I entreat my God that he would make me faithful to fulfil the ministry which I have undertaken in the Lord, from whom my reward shall come, even as I am confident that he will never leave nor forsake his own. (Signed),

J. RITZEMA.

Presented Aug. 12, 1755.

XI.—THE CONFERENTIE, (OR MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE), *versus* THE COETUS, OR THE AMERICAN CLASSIS—1755–1764.

1. At the time of the regular fall session of the Coetus its opponents found themselves in a sad minority, and outside of the only general ecclesiastical body. They had their professorship, indeed, in an Episcopal college, but it was disowned by the congregation in whose name it stood. The ministerial friends of the measure accordingly came together to confer upon their situation (Sept. 30, 1755). They manifested no intention of organizing an opposition body, neither did any elders meet with them for nine years. During this time, also, they kept no minutes of their conferences, but sent joint letters, not every year, to the Classis of Amsterdam, signed by each individual. These letters were filled with grievances against the Coetus. There were likewise a few ministers who, while they may have had their preferences, did not consort openly with either party.

At the first conference there were present Haeghoort, Curtenius, Ritzema, De Ronde and Vanderlinde. Schuyler united himself to this company the following year. It would be interesting to portray briefly the marked characteristics of each of these men, but space for the present forbids.

The popularity of the measures for a Classis excited just alarm in these men. Their opposition, therefore, became most determined. They are generally regarded as representing learning, and the Coetus as representing practical zeal and industry. The results of the contest were most unhappy, as the division extended itself among the people.

It was the great desire of this minority at first to obtain official recognition. They were obliged to lament for several years that their letters were not answered to them personally but to the Coetus, as the only organized representative body of the Church. The two great objections of the Conferentie now took the form of hos-

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tility to Frelinghuysen's proposed academy and to the American Classis, at least in its present form. They feared for the present a regularly organized Classis, as they were profoundly sure they were in a minority.

During the early period of the struggle (Feb. 18, 1756) Frelinghuysen again sought to enter into correspondence with the Consistory of New York, that they might fall upon some common measures, but his effort was ineffectual. Even Mancius and Van Hovenbergh, opponents of the Coetus, urged the same Consistory to unite with themselves in forming a Classis; but it was deemed inexpedient (July 4, 1757).

Three years after the disruption (1758) the original ministers of the Conferentie invited those who had never belonged to the Coetus to join them. They thus swelled their number to eight, with friendly letters from two others, but they still remained a minority. They now say they "have deemed it among their highest duties to appoint a Conferentie of ministers to deliberate upon the welfare of the congregations * * * * because we see that our foundations are undermined, and harmony is more and more impaired, which must end in the downfall of our churches." They charged the Coetus with many irregularities, which were, however, such only from their standpoint; for had not the Coetus a right, in order to forestall the peculiar plan of a professorship in an Episcopal college, and to meet the absolute necessities of perishing men, especially when the parent Church was unable to supply the demand for teachers, and unwilling, apparently, to concede the necessary powers, to organize independently? And even the Conferentie party are obliged to acknowledge that "the unanimous cry of all our congregations (1758) is for liberty to admit suitable persons to the preparatory and final examinations here for the ministry, because of our great distance from Holland, and the consequent great expense and danger of the sea voyage in time of war; and also, because of the sad consequences which they and we have experienced from the unlawful examination and ordination of unfit persons by the so-called Coetus, which, if not hindered by your Reverend Body, we must expect to issue in the total downfall and ruin of our Church in both doctrine and discipline; because almost all the congregations, being unable to help themselves in any lawful way, will be compelled to avail themselves of this." And again they say, "Seeing that we cannot exercise the right of examination and ordination without being

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a Classis, which we will not be without your approbation, and a lawful appointment of one of the Synods of the fatherland, through your mediation—and yet the erection of a Classis seems, for the aforesaid reasons, to be necessary for the restoration of our languishing Church—we propose the matter for your consideration, and await your will and fatherly advice thereon, whether we, who heartily maintain our subordination to your Reverend Body, may not, through you, once for all, obtain full power to examine and ordain, *in the name of the Classis of Amsterdam*, such fit persons as may present themselves, although we should still be no Classis, but remain *in qualitate qua*, as subordinate to you. In this way the general desire of the congregations would be met; the unlawful examinations by the brethren, who, although without, or rather against your approval, already act as a Classis, would be ended; and the true welfare of our New Netherlands Zion be advanced."

"In case of the institution of such an assembly," one of the rules should be, "that no important matter be decided by a mere majority, in order that there may be no domineering over brethren, and the assembly be not abused by ambitious members, who will have everything their own way, as we experienced to our sorrow in the old Coetus, where, in the most righteous matters, we were overruled by a majority, and that oftentimes made up of inexperienced young men." But the Classis of Amsterdam did not accede to this proposal (May, 1759), but earnestly exhorted them to a union on the old footing.

2. Mr. Frelinghuysen at length sailed for Holland, and reached Amsterdam safely, October 10, 1759. He wrote a letter to the Consistory of New York in December, and probably, at the same time, to members of the Coetus. In the meantime, apparently as a result of his journey, and with an exhortation from the Classis, a conference was brought about between the two parties. The meeting was held in New York City, May 6, 1760.

The Conferentie sent the following propositions to the Coetus, stating that the Classis had not complied with their proposition, but in view of their earnest exhortation to union, they would agree to unite with the Coetus on the old footing, except that in weighty matters a majority should not rule, but the subject should be referred to the Classis. They also declared that as the Classis had expressly forbidden the examination and ordination of students in America, and the Synod of North Holland had confirmed

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the same, that they could not approve the proceedings of the brethren in these matters, nor recognize those thus examined and ordained, unless they had received authority for these acts from the fatherland.

The Coetus had, indeed, received such authority for the three earlier students whom they had ordained, viz., J. Leydt, Vanderlinde, and Verbryck; but the six later ones, who had been inducted into the ministry by the Coetus and the American Classis without express instructions and permission from Holland, viz., Marinus, J. M. Goetschius, H. Frelinghuysen, Barcolo, Hardenbergh and Van Nist, would, by these terms, find themselves in pastoral charges, indeed, but without a valid ordination. The Coetus, therefore, taking time to consider the whole subject, courteously replied, that they were rejoiced to see the inclination of the brethren to unite on the old footing, according to the earnest exhortation of the Classis of Amsterdam, and that the Coetus were equally anxious for such union. But as to their suggestion that matters should not be decided by a majority in their assemblies, such a proposition seemed to be in direct conflict with the expressed desire for union; for the 31st article of the Church Order of the National Synod of Dort says, "If any person conceive himself aggrieved by the decision of a lesser assembly, he shall have the liberty and right of appealing to a higher; and that which is determined by a majority of voices in such assembly, shall be held decisive and binding, unless it can be demonstrated to be contrary to the Word of God and these articles."

In reference to the examination and ordination of students in America, the Coetus expressed their regret that the other party disapproved these acts, but declared that they knew of no *express prohibition* of the Classis or Synod in reference to these matters. Nevertheless they were prepared to show at the proper time and place that such acts were agreeable to God's Word, and to the order of the Reformed Church, as appears from the 31st article of our Confession of Faith, the 4th article of the General Church Order, and the fundamental articles and rules of the Coetus, which must always explain what the old footing is. The 31st article of the Confession of Faith contains the following paragraph: "As for the ministers of God's Word, they have equally the same power and authority, wheresoever they are, as they are all ministers of Christ, the only Universal Bishop, and the only Head of the Church."

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These propositions were discussed by the brethren of the two parties, but without a satisfactory result. The Conferentie now declared, that by the weighty matters which they were unwilling should be decided by a majority, they meant only ecclesiastical censures and depositions. They also utterly refused to acknowledge the validity of the more recent ordinations of the Coetus. The latter party declared, that while they were willing to adhere to the Classis of Amsterdam, yet "ordination was a power given by God, and was inherent in the eldership. They received it not from Classis or Synod, but from God, who gave it to them with their office." They sustained their views by quoting the work of Voetius on Ecclesiastical Polity, and they were also fortified by private letters from members of the Classis.

It appears from the above facts that the Conferentie were in most respects technically right, but practically and morally wrong; while the Coetus in their zeal and anxiety to supply the churches with ministers, and conscious of their integrity, were determined, since they could not secure their just rights regularly, and satisfy their consciences before God in reference to their duties to the souls of men, to break through all opposing ecclesiastical barriers. For it is a self-evident truth, that if ecclesiasticism interferes with our duties to God and man, and no adequate remedy is found, Christians are justified in obeying God rather than man. Mere human traditions and rules, when they have unduly accumulated, and stand in the way of the exercise of love, must be swept away by violence, if they cannot be changed peaceably. This is the final right of revolution, under a due sense of responsibility to God. Thus, after seven years of separation, failed the first effort of the two parties to come together.

At this time, as we have seen, Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen was in Holland, and had been there for six months. The letter which he mailed to the Consistory of New York in December, 1759, was not received until two months after the above conference (July 14, 1760). He desired to receive a reply in Amsterdam before August 1st, 1760, but owing to its late arrival the Consistory were unable to comply with this request. It has generally been supposed that Mr. Frelinghuysen never returned to this country. He had made his will on shipboard, while lying in the Narrows, just before his departure for Holland, and left it with the lawyer who drew it, who also received letters from him while abroad. He finally returned to this country as far as Sandy

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Hook, and was there accidentally drowned before reaching land. His will and the above facts have recently been brought to light.

3. The Conferentie seems to have come, at length, into more favor with the Classis, as their numbers had been increased; and the Classis now wrote to them officially, as well as to the Coetus (Oct.,1761). This may have been done to conciliate them. But the subject of debate between the two parties was now, inasmuch as they had failed to unite at their recent conference, committed to the press and presented to the public. Domine Leydt, of New Brunswick, published a pamphlet entitled, "True Liberty the Way to Peace;" or Information how the Negotiations seeking for Peace and Union took place, and what has hindered the Happy Consummation; together with a Defence of the Examinations and Ordinations performed by the Coetus, and the Principles exhibited whereupon these have been done. He put as mottoes upon the titlepage, "The Truth shall make you Free," and "Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made you Free." This pamphlet was printed in Philadelphia (1761). In October, 1761, Leydt had also five hundred copies of the Classical letter which had been sent to the Coetus, under date of Jan. 13, 1761, printed and circulated for the information of the congregations. Thus was the matter, in a measure, taken out of the exclusive hands of the few, and referred to the general intelligence and good sense of the whole community. Such a procedure was very novel at that day. This really arraigned the Conferentie at the bar of PUBLIC OPINION.

This was not very agreeable to the latter party. They refer to the fact that the Classis had claimed to be the sole judge of the controversy (Dec. 1756), and they now ask of the Classis, in apparent dismay, "Who shall be the judge?" They likewise declare to the Classis that if they do not now decide this matter in a categorical manner, they will lay the whole subject from the beginning before the Synod of North Holland; for, say they, it would be impossible for them, without making themselves the scorn of Christendom, to acquiesce in a decision hostile to them.

Domine Ritzema as soon as possible published an answer to Leydt's book, in the latter part of 1761. In the meantime the Coetus party, with untiring zeal, under the lead of Verbryck, of Tappan, made application to the governor of New Jersey (1761) for a charter for the erection of an academy in that province. Failing the first time, they tried a second and third time from successive governors. They could not expect to succeed in New

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York on account of the recent charter for King's College, and hence their application in New Jersey.

About the same time (1761) Domine Hardenbergh, who had studied under John Frelinghuysen, and afterward married his widow, visited Holland, where he remained for two years. He had been licensed by the American Classis (1758), and was one of those ministers who would have been disqualified if the acts of the Coetus had been nullified. The efficient Theodore Frelinghuysen had hardly left Holland before another representative of the party of progress was on hand. Hardenbergh had gone to Holland for the purpose of bringing over his widowed mother-in-law, and he was the first American ordained minister who visited the Fatherland. His personal intercourse and explanations while there, although they do not seem to have had an immediate influence, yet no doubt ultimately tended to the happy consummation—the independence of the Church.

The pamphlets of Leydt and Ritzema were sent to Holland (Feb., 1762) and acknowledged. Leydt published a rejoinder to Ritzema (Dec. 1762), and the latter again replied. These pamphlets, exhibiting the radical spirit of the Coetus party, were, no doubt, greatly instrumental in leading both the Classis and the Synod to give decisions in favor of the Conferentie. The result was another conference between the two parties (June 19, 1764), but the official copy of the action of the Synod failed to arrive in time. The Conferentie ministers brought their elders with them to this conference. Hardenbergh, recently returned from Holland, and well acquainted with the opinions of all parties there, was present. The Conferentie now requested the Coetus to unite with them on the basis of the decisions of the Classis and Synod.

Dominie Leydt, however, vindicated the position of the Coetus by Scripture, asserting that the Word of God gives the right of ordination to ministers, as such, equally as to a Classis. He also sought for arguments in behalf of their independence from their peculiar relations to the English government. Just a century had passed since the surrender of the Dutch to the English; being subjects of Great Britain, it was not allowed them to acknowledge a foreign power; their present political relations gave them ecclesiastical freedom.

Domine Meyer stood strongly on the same ground. He insisted that inasmuch as the civil government of Holland could only enforce the ecclesiastical decrees of the state church in Holland

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and its dependent colonies, and which they could not pretend to do in America, being under English jurisdiction, therefore the Dutch church in America had a right to its independence. In the islands of the East and West Indies, which yet belonged to Holland, the state church might have an absolute right. But he asserted that the church of Holland could not even pretend to enforce their authority here, even through the present temporal rulers, by virtue of the articles of surrender.

A couple of months later, being requested by his Consistory to give his opinion upon the propriety of yielding or refusing subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam, he expressed his views in writing thus:

"For the satisfaction of my conscience in regard to the oath by which I abjured all foreign power and authority, etc., over things ecclesiastical or spiritual in this realm, my purpose was to consent no further personally to subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam, until I received the explanation of the Conferentie, wherein this subordination is stated to be such as may consist with the oath which is already taken by some, and may be taken by more. But still, to bring no bonds on my conscience concerning that oath, and out of fear of acting faithlessly, I find some difficulty in conceding to the Classis the right and power over our spiritual things so long adjudged them, by which the right of ordination is denied to our ministers and congregations, and the sole decision of questions concerning ecclesiastical persons and assemblies here is given to the Classis. For the rest I have no objection to a Christian and brotherly correspondence; on the contrary, I desire in this way to be united to the Classis."

Domine Hardenbergh spread abroad the information that although the Classis and Synod had thus written and decreed, yet many ministers and professors in Holland were of a contrary opinion; but especially Professors Burman and Bonnet, who had approved the erection of an academy here, and would send to it a suitable person as professor of divinity.

The Conferentie would not argue these points, but simply fell back upon the decisions of the Classis and the Synod. The Coetus party finally declared that there were certain difficulties in those decisions which must first be removed. Their opponents could not explain these things, and both parties agreed to refer the whole subject back to the Classis and Synod, asking for further definite statements on these matters. But the Conferentie exhorted the Classis not to change their decisions lest confusion should be worse confounded.

After the withdrawal of the Coetus brethren from this mutual conference, the Conferentie formally organized themselves into an

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ecclesiastical body, and styled themselves "*An Assembly subordinate to the Reverend Classis.*" At a subsequent meeting (October 8, 1765) they adopted the original articles and by-laws of the Coetus, and subscribed their names anew. Such was the first result of the official recognition of them and their cause by the Synod and the Classis. In concluding their organization they quietly remark, "As they have now altered the name of Coetus into that of an Assembly of Ministers and Elders under the Rev. Classis of Amsterdam, they have thought good to subscribe the foregoing points anew!" They felt that they could no longer afford to remain a mere unorganized conference of ministers without a representation of elders. Had the Classis given them authority to formally organize another body, and make the division more real?

4. But in the meantime other circumstances were occurring which helped on the cause of ecclesiastical independence. An important discussion arose, especially in the church of New York, about the introduction of English preaching. This congregation was really waning, owing to the inability of the younger people to sit profitably under Dutch preaching. The first formal petition for a stated preacher in English was presented on May 3d, 1762, and notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, in which all efforts to pacify the opponents of this novel measure failed, the Consistory resolved (July 12) to call an English preacher. There had been several ministers among the Dutch clergy previously who could preach acceptably in English, as Drisius, Samuel Megapolensis, Tesschemaeker, Morgan and others. Several of them also preached in French, and not a few in German. But the lack of regular English preaching, as well as official patronage, had already driven many into the Episcopal Church; and Wm. Livingston asserts, in a letter to Aaron Burr (1754), that the Presbyterians consisted chiefly of the descendants of Dutch parents who could no longer sit profitably under Dutch preaching. But notwithstanding these facts, many of the older people could not bear the thought of a change of language. They supposed it would result in the entire absorption of the Church with loss of distinctive feature. Nevertheless, De Ronde had already (1763) prepared an abstract of Christian doctrine, founded on the Heidelberg catechism, with certain forms, in the English language, designed especially for youth. Indeed, De Ronde himself had offered to preach in English if his Consistory judged him qualified.

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While seeking for a preacher in English the New York Consistory also made arrangements (July 5, 1863) for a *new* English version of the Psalter. A formal call was also made upon the Rev. Archibald Laidlie, of Flushing, Holland (July 16, 1763), to become the first regular English preacher in the Dutch Church. He had been officiating in English for a Scotch congregation in Flushing for fourteen years. He accepted the call and arrived safely the following spring. His Consistory requested him soon after (May, 1764) to revise the proof texts of the English versions of the Heidelberg Catechism already in existence, and subsequently requested him to prepare a new version from the old ones. They also ordered a font of musical type from Holland, which safely arrived in due time, and from which an English Psalter, with musical notes, was printed. An English translation of the Hellenbroek catechism, made by a Peter Lowe, was also presented, but apparently not adopted. The progress of the Church in its new tongue is seen, in that in September, 1765, two thousand psalm books and five hundred catechisms were ordered printed in English, and in December, 1766, eighteen hundred volumes, containing the psalter, the catechism and the liturgy.

We pass over the famous lawsuit connected with the introduction of English preaching, as this is sufficiently given in Gunn's Life of Livingston. Suffice it to say that De Ronde finally, by force of circumstances, became the leader of the so-called "Dutch party," and suffered not a little in the results.

XII.—The assembly subordinate to the classis of amsterdam, (or the conferentie as an organized body), *versus* the american classis, (or the coetus)—1764–1767.

The last action of the Conferentie in coolly claiming to be the true and original Coetus, having indeed their book of minutes, and in organizing as an "Assembly," with delegates appointed by the churches, both clerical and lay (June 20, 1764), did not tend directly toward healing the breach. Domines Laidlie and Meyer, who were present at the late conference between the parties, but who, on account of their recent arrival, had not been involved in the beginning of the strife, refused to take part in the organization of the new Assembly. This was far from pleasing to the leaders of that party. The Assembly claimed Blauw of Fishkill, and the devoted Westerlo of Albany, although the latter never met with

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them. The Consistory at Albany professed to be neutral. Kern, the new German minister of New York City joined the Assembly, which, at its formal organization, consisted of nine ministers and twelve elders.

The condition of the Church was now sadder than ever. There were two organized bodies within its bounds, one claiming substantial independence, and the other claiming to be the original of the former body, and subordinate to the European Classis. Congregations were not unfrequently divided, one part belonging to the American Classis and the other to the new Assembly, each having a Consistory of its own. These circumstances necessarily gave rise to many collisions, the details of which we gladly omit.

The Assembly, soon after its formation, wrote to the Consistory of Kingston that every minister was under obligations to be subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam, and if any one denied this, he ought, *de facto*, to be deposed. Yet on account of the peculiar talents of Meyer, they advised a little longer patience, but that if he still held out, to call in a neighboring Consistory, and proceed in his case.

Ritzema also subsequently wrote (Aug. 8, 1764) to Elder Wynkoop of Kingston upon the same matter, calling the recent action of Meyer and others insubordination. He asserted that their submission to the Classis of Amsterdam did not in any way interfere with their civil relations to Great Britain; that the Dutch Church "is not a mere tolerated church, as are the English dissenters, but an established church, according to the articles of surrender; and that if they became free from their ecclesiastical relations to Holland, they would be considered only dissenters, and lose their privileges as an established Church, and perhaps forfeit their charters, which was given to them as churches in connection with the Netherlands." He also said, in a letter to the Classis, that Meyer ought to be deposed, because he made conscience of the civil oath, but not of his signing the formulas. The oath says, "I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, dominion or authority, *ecclesiastical or spiritual*, within this realm." This, though well understood to refer chiefly to Papal pretensions, gave room for scruple. The Consistory of Kingston invited domine Cock and another clergyman to visit them (Oct. 9, 1764) and consider their difficulties. But these were of the other party, and could hardly be impartial judges. Cock was arrested the next

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morning before leaving Kingston, and was compelled himself to take the disagreeable oath of allegiance to Great Britain, under a penalty of £500.

Toward the close of the winter (Feb. 28, 1765) Ritzema published extracts from the Synod of North Holland, held in 1763, condemning the Coetus, and favoring the Conferentie, to which he prefixed an explanatory preface. He dedicated it to the churches in New York and New Jersey.

At the second meeting of the Assembly (Oct. 8–10, 1765) ten ministers and twelve elders were present. Domine Ritzema had requested his Consistory *to appoint* the three ministers, with three elders to this Assembly, "in order to read the letters from the Classis of Amsterdam, and attend to such matters as should arise." But the Consistory declared that they belonged to neither party, and read over their letter of 1754 to the Classis, in which they acknowledged the authority of the Classis alone. Laidlie planted himself firmly on this ground. The Consistory, however, while they refused to appoint delegates, gave Ritzema and De Ronde their freedom, if they wished to attend as individuals.

An ecclesiastical body organized under such auspices was necessarily feeble. They obtained permission, during their brief existence, to license and ordain a single student, Lydekker. The Classis of Amsterdam had sent them the copy of a letter dated June 3d, directed "To the preachers called the Coetus," in which they were urged to come back to their subordination to the Classis. The Assembly had this letter printed, and scattered six hundred copies in Dutch and four hundred in English among the churches. The church in New York, though neutral, sympathized with the Coetus. Ritzema complains that their Assembly can do little for its friends, "on account of the opposition which prevails on all sides, to which the Consistory of New York gives no little inducement." They therefore proposed, if circumstances did not soon change, to request the Ambassador of the States General at London to represent to the king the condition of the Dutch Church in America, which had been established by the articles of surrender, that it was oppressed in its liberties and privileges by a band of ministers, who, through a spirit of independency, have torn away from the Netherlandish Church, and cast off their relations to that Church in the face of their own subscription at the beginning of their ministry." They felt assured that this request would be listened to by the king, because the Episcopalians had always regarded them as a national

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church, and that charters had been given to churches of both these bodies and to no others.

The Assembly held no meeting in 1766, but individuals of that body became guilty of a gross ecclesiastical irregularity. The opponents of Meyer again invited certain ministers to come and consider their affairs. The suggestions of Ritzema about suspension or deposition were beginning to take form. Domines Rysdyck, Freyenmoet and Cock, although contending against ecclesiastical independence, heard charges against Meyer, and suspended him from the ministry, and discharged his congregation from their obligations to him. But the Classis of Amsterdam refused to endorse this action, and the parties who inflicted it were obliged to ignore it at the future union, while Meyer was ultimately elected to a professorship (1784).

At the next meeting of the Assembly (May, 1767) only four ministers and three elders were present. The Classis of Amsterdam had approved their official acts! But in the meantime the Coetus brethren, after great perseverance, had succeeded, under the lead of Verbryck, in procuring a charter for an academy (Nov. 10, 1766) for the Dutch alone, in New Jersey. This circumstance was depressing to the Assembly. The location of the proposed academy was not designated. Some wished it to be at New Brunswick, and some at Hackensack. There was nothing of Coetus or Conferentie in the charter, but it was to be conducted according to the constitution of the Netherlandish church. Its principal object was to prepare men for the ministry. It was a mistake, however, to make it a distinctively Dutch institution. But owing to the success in procuring this charter, a correspondence was opened between individuals of the two parties respecting a new effort to find some basis of union. Accordingly, the Assembly adopted certain items as a basis, which were sent to the meeting of the American Classis, which was to meet a week later at Hackensack (May 6, 1767). No doubt a union was truly desired by all. The Assembly says that they have "learned that there was among the brethren who call themselves the Coetus, some movement towards a union with us—a matter which was a source of joy, yet awakened some anxiety as to the way and manner in which this desirable end was to be reached." They continue: "To make a proposal on this subject, brethren, has so much difficulty in itself, that even the least objectionable one may yet subvert the desired object; for which reason we have only noted this in advance as what we desire." [91]

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They insisted on entire subordination to the European Classis, according to the Synodical decree of 1763; that they would treat with no ministers but such as were lawfully ordained, or recognized on the recommendation of the parent Classis; that they would endeavor to arrange to mutual satisfaction how the other ministers should be treated; and that as to American ordinations hereafter, this stumbling block would be removed when they had suitable candidates and suitable means of education. In the meantime, while these things were under discussion, and until they should have a joint meeting in the fall, the Assembly promised to install no new partisan Consistories in any of the congregations.

The American Classis did not accept these overtures as a basis of further action. They entirely rejected subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam, and hence this effort came to nought. The Assembly met in the fall (Oct. 6, 7, 1767) for the last time. Eight ministers and six elders were present. Their only act of importance was to authorize the appointment of a partisan Consistory in the church of Tappan. In their letter to Europe they referred to several of the local difficulties, and alluded to the colleges thus: "Satisfied ourselves with the plan of getting a professor of theology in our academy (King's College), we perceive, nevertheless, that there is another scheme laid, in regard to a new academy to be erected in New Jersey, by which a student is to be sent hence to the University of Utrecht, where, through the favor of a certain professor of theology and some others, he is to be received and study four years, and then come back as professor of theology." They therefore requested the Classis of Amsterdam to see to it that no other Classis or theological faculty meddle with the affairs of New Netherlands, the care of which had been entrusted by many Synodical decrees to them alone.

XIII.—Providence—1762-1771.

But while no basis of harmony seemed possible to human wisdom, circumstances were occurring which would result in the union of the two parties. As the pious John Livingston of Ancrum, Scotland, had been driven to Holland a century before, and had found a welcome reception by the Reformed Church of that land, so now Providence ordered it that a descendant of his should repay the former kindness by becoming a peacemaker to the Reformed Dutch Church in America.

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John H. Livingston was graduated from Yale College in 1762. After some hesitation as to his future course, he dedicated himself to the ministry. The question now pressed itself upon his attention whether he should remain in the Dutch Church or join the Presbyterian or the Episcopal. The condition of the Dutch Church was very uninviting just then, not only on account of the division, but on account of the difficulties connected with the change of language. He did not understand Dutch very well; and, to be useful to all, he would probably be obliged to go to Holland for his theological education and ordination. Nevertheless, he decided to remain in the Church of his fathers. The very troubles which would have repelled most men led him to devote himself to the task of reconciling the parties. And he was not mistaken in his mission.

In the summer of 1765 he became acquainted with the devoted Laidlie, and learned all the circumstances of the state of the Church. At length he sailed for Holland (May 12, 1766), being the last of the American youth who went thither for education and ordination. It was a fortunate circumstance for the party of independence that they had successively three such able men to represent them in the Fatherland in the decade preceding their success. Theodore Frelinghuysen (1760) had urged the necessity of an academy for the Church, and of an American Classis. Hardenbergh, an able American ordained minister (1761-3), had exerted a happy influence in enlightening public opinion in reference to the wants of the American churches; and now (1766-70) Livingston was eminently calculated to complete the work. He attended lectures at the University of Utrecht, and by his lovely spirit made many friends. He mastered the Dutch language and learned to speak in Latin almost as readily as in his native tongue. He developed in piety as in knowledge, and became a winner of souls while abroad.

But his heart was ever seeking to devise plans of peace for the churches in America. He was in constant correspondence with friends at home, especially with an eminent elder, Abram Lott. When the Coetus party obtained their charter for an academy in New Jersey (Nov., 1766), he labored diligently to make that plan effective. He secured from liberal friends the promise that they would educate a proper American youth as professor in said institution (1767). He afterward abandoned the plan, lest it should seem to have too partisan a character.

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After the visit of Dr. Witherspoon in Holland (1768) a plan of union was drawn up similar to that which was afterward adopted, except that the American Dutch youth studying for the ministry should be educated at Princeton. It was thought that the Dutch Church could hardly sustain an independent theological professor, and the professors in Holland had confidence in Dr. Witherspoon. This plan was laid before the Synod of North Holland and provisionally approved. In the meantime the Classis of Amsterdam wrote to the American churches concerning the matter. But the Coetus objected to a local union with Princeton, even as they had formerly objected to a professorship in King's College. The Conferentie, with the exception of Rysdyck, were utterly opposed to the plan, and gave a negative answer, without even consulting their elders. The Coetus, however, sent a circular letter to the churches to ascertain their general opinion. A committee of the Coetus waited upon the New York Consistory (May 4, 1769), representing "their heartfelt inclination for peace, and requested that the Consistory would be pleased to act according to their ability to promote that desirable end." The Consistory answered that they also had "a heartfelt desire for peace; but since this project relates peculiarly to them" (the Coetus), "they should state how they regard it; whether they approve it, and if not, if they have any observations to make thereupon, and if so, what." It does not appear what reply, if any, the Coetus made.

An effort was now made by the friends of Ritzema (1769) to put him in the theological chair in King's College, and the Classis of Amsterdam was pleased with the plan, and recommended its adoption, until a college for the Dutch could be erected. But in the state of feeling which existed it was impossible for such a plan to succeed.

This circumstance apparently stimulated the Coetus party to still greater efforts. Their chartered academy of 1766 had deservedly failed, because it was too narrow and limited in its design. It was to be distinctively Dutch. They now cut loose from such narrowness of spirit and launched forth upon a more liberal course. They obtained a charter for Queen's (now Rutgers') College upon a foundation capable of almost indefinite expansion (March 20, 1770). Its preamble states that the people of the Reformed faith and discipline were very numerous, and were desirous of a learned and well qualified ministry, and therefore desired a college, not only for the usual reasons, but especially

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that young men might prepare for the ministry; that the inconveniences were many and the expenses heavy in procuring ministers from Europe, or in sending young men thither for education; that there was a great necessity for an increased number of ministers, and that a charter was necessary for the preservation of collegiate funds.

The charter states that the proposed institution was designed "to promote learning for the benefit of the community, and the advancement of the Protestant religion *of all denominations;* and more especially to remove, as much as possible, the necessity our said loving subjects have hitherto been under of sending their youth intended for the ministry *to a foreign country for education, and of being subordinate to a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*"

The trustees were directed to meet first at Hackensack, in May, 1770. The location of the college was not determined by the charter. The President was always to be a member of the Reformed Dutch Church, and could be the Professor of Divinity also, if elected thereto. And while the trustees were to appoint such professors or tutors as they thought necessary, they were always to have one professor or teacher *well versed in the English language!*

The location of this New Jersey college created no little discussion. The body of the Church was on the banks of the Hudson river; but should it not be located at a point as accessible as possible to the German churches in Pennsylvania? Two German ministers, viz., Revs. Philip Wyberg and Jonathan Du Bois, had been named in the charter as trustees. The location was finally determined for New Brunswick in preference to Hackensack, as the region of the Raritan subscribed most liberally for its endowment. But the charter was obtained by a party, and it could not at once succeed. If, instead of the "expensive and repressive educational routine" of the Conferentie, which had paralyzed all extension and left vacant about two thirds of the pulpits of the Church, the plans of the Coetus had been earlier adopted, how much better it would have been for the denomination! And if the claims of this college had been more quickly recognized, how much more rapid would have been its progress. As in every good cause, however, patience was still needed, and the ways of Providence would ultimately vindicate themselves.

With the completion of the Fulton street church and the necessity of another English preacher, the New York Consistory

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determined to call Dr. Livingston (May 30, 1769) to become the colleague of Laidlie, Ritzema and De Ronde. He arrived in New York on September 3d, 1770. His piety was of the highest character; his education abroad placed him above reproach; while his learning commanded the respect of all. The neutral position of his church gave him peculiar advantages. His reputation soon gained for him an extensive acquaintance with the ministers of both parties. The Church was weary and ashamed of strife, and was praying for peace. He had obtained from the Synod of North Holland the reference of this whole subject of union to the Classis of Amsterdam, with power. This simplified matters. He brought over a plan provisionally endorsed by the Classis, similar to the former plan, but omitting any proposition to unite with Princeton or King's College. This plan was discussed privately and by correspondence for a year. At length, when all things seemed to be ready, he proposed to his Consistory to invite a general convention of the churches to consider plans of union. This was heartily agreed to. The following is the invitation:

"REVEREND ———

The mournful circumstances of the Low Dutch Reformed churches in this land are too well known to all to render it necessary to relate the same to you, who are so well acquainted with the discords existing, and are so ready to heal the breach of Joseph. We hope that the long delayed desire, which has made so many hearts sick, is now at least come to pass. May it be as a tree of life! We know that letters have come from the brethren of the Rev. Classis of Amsterdam to the Conferentie, and also to those of the Coetus; and they have likewise written to us, approving our efforts to join the hands of the brethren and if possible, promote the happiness and prosperity of the Church. We are greatly inclined to this, and think that a general meeting should be held this autumn. We leave it to your better judgment, and desire not to dictate; but since it necessarily comes before us, and we are conscious your inclination is for union, we offer our services to help in any way for the attainment of that great end. Since this city is the most suitable place for meeting, and the middle of October the best time, in view of the season of the year, we fraternally request you, each with an elder, to come to New York on the third Tuesday of October next, being the 15th of the month, in order then, if it please the Lord, to establish a firm and enduring Church Constitution. With invocation of all health and blessing upon your persons and the congregations committed to you, we have the honor to remain, Rev. and Honored Brethren,

Your affect. servants and Brethren in the Lord,

J. H. LIVINGSTON, *Pres. p. t.*

N. Y., in our Consistory meeting, Sept. 4, 1771."

XIV.—UNION—1771-2.

The wished for day (Oct. 15, 1771) at length arrived. Everything was propitious. Dr. Livingston had been appointed by his

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Consistory to welcome the delegates. De Ronde, formerly one of the most strenuous of the Conferentie, was appointed to preach a sermon. This he did on Eph. vi, 23: "Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." It was an elegant and impressive discourse, before a vast assembly, and in which he thanked the brethren for their willingness to convene for the purpose of peace and unity, and urged them to the same. He expressed his heartiest wishes for success in their endeavors. This was a most happy beginning. Dr. Livingston was elected president, while the learned Rysdyck and the universally respected Westerlo were chosen clerks. Out of the thirty-four ministers and the more than one hundred churches now composing the denomination, twenty two ministers and twenty-five elders, representing in all thirty-four churches, were present. Of the whole ministry of the Church at this time (1771) fifteen were Europeans, eight of whom were in this Convention; eleven had been ordained in America, nine of whom were present; while there were eight remaining ministers of those who had gone to Holland for ordination, of whom five were present. As to the parties into which the Church was divided, while several on either side had died, there were now eleven ministers recognized as belonging to the Conferentie, of whom seven were in this convention; there were thirteen acknowledged Coetus men, of whom ten were present; and there were ten accounted more or less neutral, of whom five were present. Westerlo was accounted a neutral in the convention, although his name appears the year before in the charter of Queen's College, which was secured by the Coetus party. It is also remarkable that he did not finally sign the articles of union, but no doubt because his congregation yet stood aloof.

A committee of twelve was appointed, representing equally the three sections of the Convention, and composed equally of ministers and elders. The Conferentie was represented by De Ronde and Rysdyck, with elders Van Zandt and Snediker. De Ronde had passed through a bitter experience, and came to the work of reconciliation with a chastened spirit. His almost involuntary lead of the "Dutch party" for several years previously, and their utter discomfiture in the lawsuit, and great pecuniary expense, with the rich spiritual success of Laidlie's preaching in English, softened his heart, and qualified him to utter the opening sermon on peace and love; while Rysdyck, who, alone of his party, was

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willing to endorse the previous plan of union with Princeton, had thereby manifested his pacific disposition.

The Coetus was represented by Hardenbergh and Verbryck, with the elders Fisher and Zabriskie. All of these had been named a year and a half before among the original trustees of Queen's College. It must have required no little grace in such enterprising men to ignore all reference to their new charter in the plan of union; or did these far sighted men understand that, though their college must for the moment be ignored, circumstances would surely, in time, make its necessity felt?

The neutral brethren were represented by Livingston and Westerlo, with the elders Roosevelt and Gansevoort. Westerlo, for eleven years, had preserved the confidence and respect of both parties, while he had formally united with neither. Dr. Livingston was, of course, the principal agent in the whole transaction.

The plan brought from Holland, and already endorsed provisionally, was now presented. It was admirably adapted to conciliate all parties. Only slight amendments were made when it was unanimously adopted in the committee. The Assembly likewise adopted it without a dissenting voice. It was to have no force until finally approved by the Classis of Amsterdam. This satisfied the Conferentie, while the substantial independence gained satisfied the Coetus.

The preamble acknowledged a bond of union with the Church in Holland, but stated that certain misunderstandings had grown up respecting it; and to prevent these misunderstandings in the future, and in accordance with the advice of the Classis, they now united and pledged themselves to regulate their ecclesiastical government and union with the Mother Church in Holland in the following manner:

They would abide by the doctrines of the Netherland Reformed Church and its constitution as established in the Synod of Dort. One general body and five particular bodies were to be organized, which were to meet annually. This general body was to assume the long desired privilege of licensing and ordaining men to the ministry; but the names of all such, together with the names of all newly called ministers, and of such as changed their locations, were to be transmitted to Holland for *registration*, together with a copy of their acts, from year to year. Appeals *might* also be carried to Holland. One or more professors were to be chosen

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from the Netherlands with the advice of the Classis, but they were to have no connection with *any English academies*. This plainly refers to King's College and to Princeton. Does it also include New Brunswick? But inasmuch as this professorship could not become available for a considerable time, those students who had studied under different ministers were to be provisionally examined in the next General Assembly.

Certain articles were added respecting the healing of disputes and the recognition of ministers whom the Coetus had ordained without permission. This whole plan was to be ratified by the Classis of Amsterdam before it was of any binding authority. Upon its endorsement by the convention, "each member shall provisionally give the other the hand of fellowship, in hope that the reverend Classis, as well as our congregations, will approve this plan."

Copies of this plan were then transmitted to the several churches and to the Classis of Amsterdam, and arrangements made for another meeting, as soon as answers were received.

A letter from the Convention to the Classis (Oct. 18, see Ch. Int., Aug. 19, 1852) accompanied the plan, and another from the New York Consistory. Answers of congratulation were received. In their reply to the New York Consistory (Jan. 14, 1772) the Classis says, "Concerning the professorate we can determine nothing; that must be left to the general meeting of the brethren; meanwhile it occurs that, possibly, in the pressing necessity there is for a professor of theology, the brethren might find in their own body a suitable person, who, though not born in the Netherlands, has studied and received his ordination there."

A second convention was now called, according to arrangement (June 16, 1772). Twenty-six ministers were present and forty-three elders. The classical letter to the Convention, approving the plan of union, was read to the general joy of all. (This letter may be seen in the Manual of the Reformed Church in America, page 10).

This plan of union was now subscribed by almost all the delegates present, and arrangements were made for the subscription of those congregations not represented, by inserting the plan in the minutes of the new classes which were about to be organized. During the sixteen years of division the Coetus had ordained nine men, and the Conferentie but a single one. Thirteen ministers had come from Holland during the same period to serve the

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churches, which were now about one hundred in number (1772). Twenty-seven of these had been organized during the period of strife, but not from strife in general, but from necessity. A half dozen or more of the whole number had originally been French Reformed and about twenty German Reformed (all in the province of New Netherland), most of which were gradually Hollandized, and ultimately Anglicised as to language. In these one hundred churches, during the century and a half of colonial dependence, one hundred and twelve ministers had officiated, of whom thirty-four were living at the union of the two parties.

XV.—The American Reformed Church.—1772-1776.

The time of the new Synod was occupied up to the opening of the war with efforts to conciliate a few outstanding congregations, to establish peace and harmony in certain districts where strife had reigned, in discussing the manner of initiating a Ministerial Widows' Fund, and especially in considering that great and most important subject of all, the Professorate. Each of the classes likewise deliberated upon this topic from year to year. Negotiations were begun, within a year and a half after the consummation of the Union (October, 1773), between the trustees of Queen's College and the Synod. The trustees had raised, within two years after their charter was granted, funds, from New Jersey alone, for the endowment of the college, to the amount of $20,000. They now wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam, and to the Theological Faculty of the University of Utrecht, to recommend a proper person to be both President of their college and Professor of Divinity therein, thinking that such an arrangement would also recommend their institution to the approval of the Synod. They urged upon the Synod that New Brunswick was the most proper place for the Professor's residence. The college was already located there, and they would call the Synod's Professor as the President of their institution, thus lightening the burden of expense for each. The Synod was pleased with the plan, but the recent division was yet too fresh to make it practicable.

But the colonial period was about to end, as had already ended the dependent period of the Reformed Church. A dark war cloud was beginning to loom up ominously on the horizon. Two months before the battle of Bunker Hill the Synod appointed a day of humiliation and prayer in behalf of the evils which seemed

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to be threatening the land. They could not, of course, adequately anticipate the glorious future which awaited the American nation, but they had made, unwittingly, suitable preparation, as a Church, to enter into such a nation. During the whole preceding period this Church had only been passing through the successive stages which were necessary to bring her into her ecclesiastical freedom, and fit her for the century's work in the nation which she has already performed. The migration of Holland's sons to America under the company's sway, during a half century, was only the planting of the seed. The struggle with the English governors and the half successful establishment of Episcopacy by law, proved to be the undesigned cause of the church charters, which the Dutch alone, of all religious bodies outside the English Church, were able to secure. The imperfect piety which naturally resulted from these contests, and from the unfrequent services in the churches, was followed in the third generation by a gracious revival, which excited many holy aspirations after increased usefulness. In order to gratify these desires came the period of Association of the scattered ministers and churches, who compared views and sought more fully to meet the great spiritual necessities of the people. And when the earlier plans were found to be too inefficient, better plans were devised, and were attempted to be carried into execution. But a peculiar combination of circumstances, in which some leaders in the Church were allured into a false position, produced an unhappy strife, which was unduly prolonged and delayed the consummation; yet at length the better plans—ecclesiastical autonomy, with all which is involved therein, including collegiate and theological institutions, triumphed over every obstacle, and the Reformed Church in America, its nonage passed, reached its majority, ready, as soon as civil freedom should be secured, to develope into all forms of Christian usefulness. What though she be one of the smaller tribes of the children of Israel? May not God choose the weak things of the world to confound the mighty? Was not the Apostle Paul of the tribe of Benjamin? And is not the Reformed Church in America to-day a chosen representative of pure evangelical religion, honored and trusted by all? Even in her history in the colonial period can the guiding hand of Providence be plainly seen in her planting, in her steady and remarkable development, and in her freedom. May she not yet be the leaven destined to exert mighty and transforming influences upon the whole lump?

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The Ministry of the Reformed (Dutch) Church During the Colonial Period.

Names of those who emigrated from Holland in Roman letters; those who went from America to Holland for ordination in *italics*; those who were ordained in America in SMALL CAPITALS; those who used another language than the Dutch have this fact indicated by *Fr.* for French, *Ger.* for German, and *Eng.* for English. The years denote the terms of their ministry in the American Church; *d.*, died; *r.*, returned to Holland; *Ct.*, Coetus; *Cf.*, Conferentie; * member of the Union Convention in 1771; † signed the Articles of Union in June, 1772.

Michaelius.....1628–(1630?), (*D. & Fr.*)
Bogardus...1633–47, *r.*, lost on voyage.
Megapolensis, J.....1642–69, *d.*
(*Also miss. to the Indians*)
Backerus.....1647–9, *r.*
Grassmere.....1650–2, *r.*
Drisius.....1652–73, *d.* (*D. & Fr.*)
Schaats.....1652–94, *d.*
Polhemus.....1654–76, *d.*
Welius.....1657–9, *d.*
Selyns.....1660–4, *r.*
Blom.....1660–7, *r.*
Megapolensis, S......1664–8, *r.*
Hudson.....1664, *d.* on passage hither.
13 *ministers of the West India Co.*
Van Nieuwenhuysen.....1671–82, *d.*
Van Zuuren.....1677–85, *d.*
Van Gaasbeek.....1678—80
TESSEHENMAEKER.1679–90, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
(*Ordained by an American Classis at the order of Governor Nicholls*)
Weekstein.....1681–87
Selyns, again.....1682–1701, *d.*
Dellius.....1683–99, went to England.
(*Also miss. to the Indians.*)
Daillé.....1683–1715, *d.* (*Fr.*)
Varick.....1685–95, *d.*
Bondet.....1686–1704, *d.* (*Fr.*)
Vandenbosch.....1689–89
(Van Bosen).....1691–3
(*Possibly the same as the preceding.*)
Peiret.....1690–1705 (*Fr.*)
Bonrepos.....16..–1697 (*Fr.*)
Bertholf.....1694–1724, *d.*
Nucella.....1695–1704, went to London.
Lupardus.....1695–1702, *d.*
DuBois, Gualterus.....1699–1751, *d.*
Lydius.....1700–10, *d.*
(*Also miss. to the Indians.*)
Freeman.....1700–43, *d.*
(*Also miss. to the Indians*)
Beys.....1706–10
Antonides.....1706–44
Laborei.....1706–.. (*Fr.*)
MORGAN.....1709–31
(*From the Congregationalists; subsequently a Presbyt.; supplied a Dutch ch.*)
(VAN VLECK.....1710–12
Pastor of a Hollandish ch. in Pa.)
Ehle.....1710–80 (*Ger.*)
(*Also miss. to the Indians.*)
Vas.....1710–32, or 56
Rou.....1710–54, *d.* (*Fr.*)
Hagar.....1711–17 (*Ger.*)
Van Driessen, P.....1712–38
Boel.....1713–54, *d.*
Brower.....1715–28, *d.*
Van Santvoord.....1718–52, *d.*
Frelinghuysen, J. T.....1720–48, *d.*
DuBois, Gideon.....1724–6
Coens.....1725–35, *d.*
Erickson.....1725–71, *d.*
Mutzelius.....1726–80, *d.*
VAN DRIESSEN, J...1727–48 (*D. & Ger.*)
(*Licensed and ordained at Yale College.*)
Weiss.....1726–62, *d.* (*Ger.*)
BOEHME.....1729–49, *d.* (*Ger.*)
(*Ordained in America by permission.*)

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Moulinar.....172.–.. (*Fr.*)
Mancius.....1730–62, *d.*
Curtenius.....1730–56, *d.*
Van Schie.....1731–44
Haeghoort.....1731–83, *d.*
SCHUYLER.....1736–79
(*Ordained in America by permission.*)
* † GOETSCHIUS, J. H. .....1738–74, *d.*
(*Ordained without permission.*)
Van Baston.....1739–40
† *Fryenmoet*..... .....1741–78, *d.*
Arondeus.....1742–54, *d.*
† Ritzema.....1744–96, *d.*
Meinema.....1745–61, *d.*
Frelinghuysen, T......1745–61, *d.*
* † Van Sinderin.....1746–96, *d.*

THE COETUS.

* † LEYDT, J.....1748–83, *d.*
* † VANDERLINDE.....1748–89, *d.*
* † VERBRYCK.....1749–84, *d.*
Van Hovenbergh, H.....1749–64, *d.*
FRELINGHUYSEN, JOHN.....1750–4, *d.*
* † Rubel.....1751–97, *d.* (*D. & Ger.*)
* † De Ronde....1751–95, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
* † MARINUS....1752–80, *d.* (*D. & Ger.*)
Rosenkrantz.....175.–94, *d.* (*Ger.*)
Romeyn, T......1752–94, *d.*
* † *Schuneman*.....1753–94, *d.*
Vrooman.....1753–83, *d.*
Frelinghuysen, Jac. } .....1753, *d.*
Frelinghuysen, Ferd. }
(*Both died at sea of small pox on passage hither.*)
Carle.....1754–64 (*Fr.*)

THE AMERICAN CLASSIS.

FRELINGHUYSEN, H.....1755–7, *d.*
* † *Jackson*.....1757–1813, *d.*
* † HARDENBERGH.....1758–90. *d.*
BARCOLO.....1758
VAN NIST.....1758–61, *d.*
GOETSCHIUS, J. M.....1758–71, *d.*
* Westerlo.....1760–90, *d.*
Rothenbergler....1761–6, *d.* (*D. & Ger.*)
* † *Van Harlingen*.....1762–95, *d.*
Blaw.....1762–71
Cock 1763–84
* † Meyer.....1763–91, *d.*
Kern.....1763–78, *d.* (*Ger.*)
† SCHOONMAKER, H.....1763–1820, *d.*
* † LAIDLIE.....1764–79, *d.*
(*The first regular English preacher.*)
Tetard..... ...1764–6 (*Fr.*)
* † DUBOIS, B..1764–1827, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
* † RYSDYCK....1765–90, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
* † LYDEKKER.....1765–76
(*The only one ordained by the Conferentie.*)
* † SCHOONMAKER, M,.....1765–1824, *d.*
* † ROMEYN, D.1766–1804, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
Boelen.....1766–80, *r.*
Gross.....176.–95 (*Ger.*)
* Kuypers, Warmoldus.....1769–97, *d.*
† FOERING.....1770–79, *d.* (*D & Eng.*)
Loppius.....1770–.. (*Ger.*)
* † *Livingston*..1771–1825, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
Gebhard.....1771–1826, *d.* (*D. & Ger.*)
Doll.....1771–1811, *d.* (*Ger.*)

THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN CHURCH.

VAN VOORHIS.....1772–96, *d.*
VAN BUNSCHOTEN.....1773–1815, *d.*
VAN NEST.....1773–1813, *d.*
FROELIGH, S...1774–1827, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)
GOETSCHIUS, S..1775–1837, *d.* (*D. & Eng.*)

The above list contains 116 names, of which eight are French Reformed. Some of these at times leaned toward Episcopacy, and received help from the State. Although originally under the Classis of Amsterdam, their congregations did not all continue in the independent American Dutch Church. Eight of the above list are distinctively German, but were geographically in the limits of the R. D. C., excepting Boehme, who was, however, a member of the Dutch Coetus. There were about eighty-seven German Reformed ministers in America before 1776, but mostly located in

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Pennsylvania. Their names are not included here. They remained under the Classis of Amsterdam until 1792, after which they became the Reformed German Church in U. S.

THE CONGREGATIONS OF THE REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

Ger., GERMAN CHURCHES.

New York.....1628
Albany.....1642
Bushwick.....1654
Flatbush.....1654
Flatlands.....1654
New Amstel (Del.).....1654
Gravesend.....1655
Kingston.....1659
Brooklyn.....1660
Harlem (Station).....1660
Borgen, N. J.....1662
Fresh Kills, S. I. (*Fr. Ref.*).....1665
South Side, S. I. (*Fr. Ref.*).....1665
New Utrecht.....1677
Schenectady.....1681
New Paltz (*Fr. Ref.*).....1683
New York, (*Fr. Ref*).....1684
Hackensack.....1686
New Rochelle (*Fr. Ref.*).....1688
Staten Island.....1690
Aquackononck, N. J.....1694
Tappan.....1694
Fordham.....1696
Holmdel.....1697
Tarrytown.....1697
Raritan, N. J.....1699
Bellville, N. J.....1700
Livingston Manor (*Ger.*).....1700
Three Mile Run, N. J.....1700
Jamaica.....1702
Schagticoke.....1707
Freehold, N. J.....1708
Ponds, N. J.....1710
Kinderhook (*Ger.*).....1712
Fishkill.....1716
Poughkeepsie.....1716
New Brunswick, N. J.....1717
Six Mile Run, N. J.....1717
Richmond, S. I.....1717
Readington, N. J.....1719
Claverack.....1719
Scholarie (*Ger.*).....1720
Linlithgo (*Ger.*).....1722
Schraalenberg, N. J.....1724
Paramus, N. J.....1725
Middle, N. Y. C.....1727
Harlingen, N. J.....1727
Germantown (*Ger.*).....1728
Cortlandtown.....1729
Caatsban (*Ger.*).....1730
Success.....1730
Newtown.....1731
Rhinebeck (*D. & Ger.*).....1731
Montgomery (*Ger.*).....1732
Coxsackie.....1732
Leeds.....1732
Middleburgh (*Ger.*).....1732
Oyster Bay.....1732
Pompton Plains, N. J.....1736
Rochester.....1736
Minisink.....1737
Walpack.....1737
Marbletown.....1737
Shawangunk.....1737
Smithfield, Pa.....1737
Lebanon, N. J. (*Ger.*).....1740
Stone Arabia (*Ger.*).....1743
Wawarsing.....1745
Canajoharie (*Ger.*).....1750
Clarkstown.....1750
New Paltz, 2d.....1752
Fairfield, N. J.....1753
Totowa, N. J.....1755
Rhinebeck (*Ger.*).....1755
Hackensack, 2d, N. J.....1756
Schraalenberg, 2d, N. J.....1756
Montville, N. J.....1756
Hopewell.....1757
Bedminster, N. J.....1758
Nechanic, N. J.....1758

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New Hackensack.....1758
New York (*Ger.*).....1758
Peerpack.....1761
Beaverdam.....1763
Fonda.....1763
German Flats (*Ger.*).....1764
Red Hook Landing.....1766
Hillsborough, N. J.....1766
North Ch., N. Y. C.....1767
Hillsdale.....1769
Albany (*Ger.*).....1770
Manheim (*Ger.*).....1770
New Hurley.....1770
Kingston (*Ger.*).....1770
Schodack.....1770
Dover.....1770
St. Johnsville (*Ger.*).....1770
English Neighborhood, N. J.....1770
N. & S. Hampton, Pa. (*Ger.*).....1771
Indian Castle.....1772
West New Hempstead.....1773
Lower Canajoharie.....1773
Ancrum.....177
Conewago, Pa. (*Ger.*).....1775
Ghent.....1775

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Statistics of the Church in the Colonial Period.

Year.	Mins.	C'hs.	Year.	Mins.	C'hs.	Year.	Mins.	C'hs.
1628	1	1	1678	4	14	1728	18	47
29	1	1	79	5	14	29	17	48
30	1	1	80	4	14	30	18	50
31	1	1	1681	5	15	1731	20	52
32	0	1	82	5	15	32	21	57
33	1	1	83	7	16	33	21	57
34	1	1	84	8	17	34	21	57
35	1	1	85	8	17	35	21	57
36	1	1	86	8	18	36	21	59
37	1	1	87	8	18	37	21	64
38	1	1	88	8	19	38	21	64
39	1	1	89	7	19	39	22	64
40	1	1	90	8	20	40	20	65
1641	1	1	1691	9	20	1741	20	65
42	2	2	92	9	20	42	22	65
43	2	2	93	8	20	43	21	66
44	2	2	94	7	22	44	20	66
45	2	2	95	9	22	45	22	67
46	2	2	96	9	23	46	22	67
47	2	2	97	10	25	47	23	67
48	2	2	98	10	25	48	23	67
49	2	2	99	10	26	49	23	67
50	2	2	1700	10	29	50	27	69
1651	2	2	1701	9	29	1751	26	69
52	4	2	2	8	30	52	28	70
53	4	2	3	8	30	53	31	71
54	4	6	4	6	30	54	28	71
55	4	7	5	5	30	55	28	73
56	4	7	6	8	30	56	27	76
57	5	7	7	8	31	57	26	77
58	5	7	8	8	32	58	29	81
59	4	8	9	9	32	59	29	81
60	6	10	10	8	33	60	31	81
1661	6	10	1711	9	33	1761	29	82
62	6	11	12	12	34	62	30	82
63	6	11	13	13	34	63	32	85
64	7	11	14	13	34	64	35	86
65	6	13	15	13	34	65	37	86
66	6	13	16	13	36	66	37	88
67	5	13	17	12	39	67	37	89
68	5	13	18	12	39	68	37	89
69	3	13	19	12	40	69	38	90
70	3	13	20	13	40	70	40	98
1671	3	13	1721	13	40	1771	39	99
72	4	13	22	14	41	72	41	100
73	4	13	23	14	42	73	42	103
74	3	13	24	14	43	74	43	103
75	3	13	25	14	44	75	44	105
76	3	13	26	16	44	76	44	105
77	3	14	27	17	46			

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THE

POSTURE OF ITS MINISTERS AND PEOPLE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY

REV. JOHN A. TODD, D. D.,

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

1877

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THE
POSTURE OF ITS MINISTERS AND PEOPLE
DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Wherefore the king hearkened not unto the people; for the cause was from the Lord.—I KINGS, xii: 15.

WE are taught here, in the unerring Word, that behind the outward, visible forms of human activity there lives and works an unseen, overruling Power. It is God carrying forward his own beneficent plans to their final consummation. Man is free, and yet God is sovereign. Unforced, unconstrained, man devises and counsels. He is misled by his errors and his sins. He is actuated by his own motives. He contemplates his own ends. He makes choice of his own instrumentalities to gain them. But God comes forth upon the scene, an invisible, but an all-wise and almighty Director. The motives that prompt him are as far above those of man as heaven is high above the earth. The ends he contemplates, lying far on in the distant future, are as much broader and grander than those of man as the great globe itself is, in comparison with the small dust particle that lies upon its bosom. The instrumentalities he employs are such as man would never conceive of, often, like the subtler forces of nature, out of sight, working on through long processes of influence, now with seeming departure from their proper aim, now amid threatened failure or apparently utter defeat, but always advancing to sure success, and bursting out at last like the bloom of spring from the snow and ice of winter.

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The text, and the history in which it stands, is not merely the record of a solitary fact. It is more. It is the illustration of a divine method of procedure. It shows us how God comes into the current of a nation's life, and turns it for the furtherance of his own wise designs. Proximately, the disruption of the bond that held the nation together hung upon the refusal of Rohoboam to comply with the popular request. "The king hearkened not unto the people." But efficiently, it hung upon God. For immediately it is added, "the cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying by Ahijah." To stop, therefore, in our consideration at second causes, at mere subordinate instrumentalities, and not to lift up our eyes to God, as the Great Cause of causes, is to miss completely the whole significance of the event. From the days of Saul, through the successive reigns of David and Solomon, down to the accession of Rehoboam to the throne, a long series of influences had been at work preparing the people for the revolt and separation that here occurred. For a hundred and twenty years the process had been going on beneath the surface, and now at last the event broke forth to the light of day.

Need I say, as we look back from the Centennial year of our nation's life, that in all this there is a singular and striking resemblance to the method of God's dispensations toward us as a people? Brought out from foreign shores, and planted along the Atlantic coast, the colonies that sprang into existence here were the representatives not of a single race or nation only, but of many. They spoke different languages, English, French, Spanish, Dutch, German, Swedish. They brought with them different habits and customs, that gave to each a marked individuality in their political tendencies, their social life, and their business pursuits. And still more powerful in its moulding influence upon them, and upon the one nation into which they all were finally fused, was the religion they brought with them, in which they had been taught and nurtured in their fatherland beyond the sea.

While for the most part it was one in fundamental principle, it still varied in minuter shades of belief, and in outward ecclesiastical form. First in time came the established Episcopal Church of England, which had its representatives at Jamestown, Virginia. Then the Reformed Church of Holland, at New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York. Some six or seven years later the Congregationalists settled at Plymouth. Then the Baptists, in Rhode Island; the Lutherans, in Delaware; the Roman Catho-

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lics, in Maryland; the Quakers, in Pennsylvania. Farther on in the colonial history came the Presbyterians, and still later, almost at the beginning of the American Revolution, came the Methodists, both from the British Isles, and both bringing valuable reënforcements to help on the good cause, for which their predecessors had labored so devotedly and so long. Although the colonies had already received their distinctive religious character, this new tide of influence gave additional strength to the Christian element among them, and contributed largely to the development of the Christian life.

These different forms of faith and ecclesiastical order, these hitherto separated nationalities, here brought into neighborly contact and communion, unconsciously exercised upon each other a mutual influence for the common good; so that all together they combined to form "ONE NEW MAN,"—the type and representative of the new national American life, which God was preparing to exhibit to the eyes of the world upon these western shores. All these colonies, and all these religious denominations, that stamped their peculiar impress upon them, but each in its own way, contributed to a greater or less extent not only to prepare for the final struggle of the Revolution, but also to make that struggle a grand success.

If the truth of history requires us to make an exception, let us remember that it is nothing to the disparagement of those who now have, by inheritance, the same ecclesiastical home; for there are to-day no more patriotic churches in the land than the Episcopal and the Methodist, though it must be confessed that in the Revolutionary struggle they were far from being a help to the national cause. For, says Bishop Wilberforce, in his History of the American Episcopal Church, "Amidst the general defection, one class of men alone continued loyal. No one minister of the Episcopal church north of Pennsylvania joined the side of the insurgents." He adds, on a following page, "The Church was an object of suspicion and dislike to the insurgents. They felt that her temper was against them, even when her sons, as in the case of General Washington, were found among her leaders. In these provinces (Maryland and Virginia), as well as in the north, the great bulk of the clergy remained loyal. Some of them continued to officiate and employ the English ritual, praying duly for the king, in spite of threats and violence, which were carried to the greatest lengths."

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The fact that the Methodists also continued unshaken in their devotion to the king and parliament, is to be attributed no doubt to the influence of John Wesley's intense opposition to the cause of American Independence. In his sincere, but mistaken zeal, he stigmatized it as a work of the devil, and in that spirit made an offer to the British Government to raise men to put it down. Accordingly, we are told by the historian, Hildreth, that "the loyal principles of the Wesleyans did not suit the temper of the times, and that sect, now so numerous, made hardly any progress till the revolutionary struggle was over."

But let us not forget that both these bodies stood in peculiar relations to the mother country, and were bound to her by ties from which it was difficult to break away. Since then, however, they have nobly redeemed the past, and in this Centennial year of the Republic they are performing their mission with praiseworthy energy and success.

With these exceptions the American Church was a unit in sustaining the Revolutionary war and the cause of National Independence. Not only were the clergy and the church members, as a rule, importunate in prayer for the blessing of God upon their country's arms, but the pulpits of the land thundered and rang with the most stirring appeals, which roused the patriotic ardor and inspired the martial courage of the people. By such influences, and others, which we cannot here even refer to, was God preparing, for more than a century and a half, to sever the political bonds that connected these colonies with the European world. It was a longer period than that between the coronation of Saul and the accession of Rehoboam, but when the separation came it was more radical and complete, as it promises to be more lasting.

It would be pleasant to glance, if but for a moment only, at the attitude which the several American churches maintained in regard to the struggle that began a hundred years ago or more, an attitude at once honorable to themselves, and conducive in the highest degree to the final triumph. But neither the time nor the object of this appointment will permit.

The particular duty assigned to me by the Committee of the General Synod is to set forth as clearly as I can, within the limits of a single discourse, the spirit and the action of the Reformed Dutch Church of America in regard to the War for National Independence. Or, as the subject is expressed by the Committee, "The Posture of its Ministers and People during the Revolution."

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I need scarcely say that I am humbly grateful, and not insensible, I trust, to some feeling of honest pride in being able to state at the outset, and that upon the best authority, as I hope to show, that of all the Christian denominations in the land there was not one that surpassed the staunch old Dutch Church in her unflinching devotion to the country's cause. She was loyal to the nation, if she was rebellious to the king, and she believed herself to be justified in the maxim that "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." Her own history and that of the Holland race, among which she rose at the Reformation, and by which she was transplanted to these western shores, will furnish at once to the philosophic inquirer an ample explanation of the spirit she breathed, and of the attitude she maintained through that struggle.

In the first place, She and her ministers and people belonged to a liberty loving race. The element of freedom was in their blood. They were the descendants of the men, who, more than two centuries before, had lifted up the standard of rebellion against the colossal monarchy of Spain. When Philip the Second ascended the throne of his father, Charles the Fifth, already had the Reformed Church of Holland, according to the statement of Grotius, given a hundred thousand martyrs to the cause of gospel truth and Christian liberty. They were men and women who knew how to die, but not how to surrender their liberty of conscience in the worship of God.

Among the first to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation, the people of the Netherlands, by the industry and enterprise which the gospel always awakens wherever it prevails, had made their commerce and manufactures a source of public wealth; and the free government of their cities had contributed largely to foster the spirit of liberty among them. When Philip, therefore, undertook first to crush out the religion of Protestantism by the engines of the Inquisition, and second, to levy upon the people a tax of one penny in every ten, contrary to their hereditary principle of "taxation only by consent," there was a spirit of loyalty to Christ and country already prepared to resist the usurpation, and to maintain their cherished rights. The Stamp Act and the tea tax, in our own history, followed by the first conflict of the Revolution, in John street, New York, afterwards by the resistance at Lexington and Concord, and the battle of Bunker Hill, and finally by the Declaration of Independence, was but the repetition of the old example which the Netherlands had set in their

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revolt against Philip of Spain, and finally in their Declaration of Independence proclaimed at Antwerp in 1580, by which the authority of the Spanish crown was swept away forever, and the United Provinces declared a free and independent State.

Their religious liberty, as Christians, they valued beyond their possessions and their lives. Their devotion to it was illustrated in the dying testimony of their last martyr, who perished in 1695. It was Ann van der Hoor, a poor servant maid, who, for her faith, was buried alive. The executioner had laid her in the grave, and some earth had been thrown upon her, covering her body as far as her shoulders. Just then a number of priests came near, and assured her that her life would be spared if she would only return to the Church of Rome. But what was her answer? Simply this: "Those who seek to save their lives here shall lose them hereafter," and commending herself to God in prayer, she submitted to her fate. At once the executioner cast a quantity of earth upon her face, and then trod it down. Only a stifled groan was heard, and all was over. The principle of religious liberty, which Romanism vainly attempted to bury in Ann van der Hoor's grave, burst the bands of death, and rose again to walk through the earth like an angel.

But next to this, they prized their civil rights as freemen, and, cost what it might, they were ready to maintain them. Accordingly, when the Duke of Alva, as the instrument of Philip the Second, proceeded to exact his arbitrary tithe, they refused to submit to it; not because the tax itself was a matter of vital moment, but because the manner in which it had been imposed was a violation of their hereditary rights. This question, like that which afterwards precipitated our American Revolution, was a question of principle and not of mere amount; and therefore they appealed from the decree of a tyrant to the God of battles, and marched out to meet the oppressor on the field. It is a small, but a brilliant spark of the fire that was in them, that Grotius has given us in his Annals, where he says, "*Omnia dabant ne decimam darent.*" They were willing to give all they had in the fight for freedom rather than give a tenth part of it when unjustly required. The standard of resistance was openly flung to the breeze, and thenceforward, for nearly half a century, the struggle went on, with fluctuating fortunes, until in 1609, the very year in which this North river, out here before us, was discovered by Hendrick Hudson, Spain was compelled to retire from the contest,

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and to sign a treaty in which she acknowledged the United Netherlands to be, what they claimed to be, a free and independent State.

The ravages of war, the sacrifices of blood and treasure, the toils, the privations and the sufferings which the country endured as the price of its liberty, have been recorded by Watson, and Brodhead, and Prescott, and Motley, and yet the story can never be adequately told. There is no more thrilling chapter in the history of nations. The spirit of determined heroism and unyielding devotion to liberty, that shone through all that weary struggle, was manifested in the order of the Prince of Orange, by which the dykes were cut and the sluices raised, that they might give back their country to the ocean, from which their own toil had redeemed it, rather than see it trodden down beneath a tyrant's foot. The carrier pigeons brought the news into starving Leyden, where six thousand people had died of hunger, sooner than submit, that relief was coming, and it was. The waves of the sea rolled up for fifteen miles and dashed in foam against the walls of Leyden, inundating the land, and sweeping away the besiegers; and at once a band of daring compatriots, in hundreds of boats, came on with provisions for the half famished town.

Nor was the spirit of the people less clearly seen in the answers of John Vanderdoes, the poet, and of Adrian Vanderwerf, the burgomaster, during the siege. When Vanderdoes, who was the military commandant, was urged by the Spanish officer, Valdez, to surrender, this was his reply: "When our provisions shall fail us, then we will feed upon our left hands, while we keep the right to defend our religion and our liberties." And when some of the people in the city, driven to disobedience by excess of want, attempted to force Vanderwerf either to give them bread or to yield up the place, the stout-souled but haggard old burgomaster had but this stern reply: "Bread I have none, but if my death can afford you relief, here is my body, tear it in pieces, and let those who are most hungry devour it; but the city does not surrender while I live."

Men descended from such a race, with the blood and spirit of such ancestors still warm in their hearts, are not the kind of men to look on with indifference when their liberties are invaded by arbitrary power.

In the second place, The Reformed Dutch Church, her ministry and people, at the time the Revolution began, had already been

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characterized through all their previous history, on this side of the Atlantic as well as on the other, by a peculiar zeal for the interests of Christian education. And it is almost needless to say that a community that has lived and grown, for at least a century and a half, under the moulding power of religious and mental training, is not likely to be ignorant of its civil rights, nor disposed to submit passively when the hand of violence attempts to wrest them away. Among the dear old memories of the fatherland were the Bible, the Catechism and the School. And one of the proudest traditions, which they loved to repeat, from father to son, was the choice made by the people of Leyden, at the end of the war, when the States of Holland, in recognition of the heroic spirit manifested by that city during the siege of 1574, left it to the citizens to decide which of two offered benefits they would accept, the establishment of a University or a periodical fair. The fair was held in certain places, under State appointment, for the exhibition of merchandise and the purposes of trade. The citizens chose the University. It was founded the very next year, and from it there subsequently went forth such men as Grotius, Scaliger, Boerhaave and others, whose names would be an honor to any land. We are told by Taine, the eminent French writer and critic, in his Lectures on the Philosophy of Art in the Netherlands, lately published in this country, in referring to the character of the Dutch, that "in the seventeenth century they provided pulpits for the Protestant erudites exiled from France, a country for free thought persecuted throughout Europe, and editors for all books of science and polemics."

Nor did those who left their fatherland to settle in New Amsterdam, and the localities around it, in New York and New Jersey, manifest a less earnest desire for the proper education of the children and youth among them. The West India Company, chartered by the States General of Holland in 1621, was the intermediate agent by which the land in the new territory was conveyed to the settlers, and it was bound by its charter "to maintain good and fit preachers, schoolmasters and comforters of the sick." In the twenty-seventh article of what is called "freedoms and exemptions granted to the colonists of New Netherland," it is stipulated "that the patroons and colonists shall, in particular and in the speediest manner, endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and a schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool

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and be neglected among them." And so, in the charter of the town of Bergen, New Jersey, just across the North river, it was also enjoined "to make provision for religious worship, to choose a minister for the preaching of the Word of God, and administering the holy sacraments,—to lay out such a portion of land for him, and for the keeping of a FREE SCHOOL for the education of youth, as they shall think fit; which land is to remain and continue forever without tax." We sometimes, in this nineteenth century, pride ourselves upon our intelligence, upon the breadth and comprehensiveness of our views, the far-reaching sagacity and the spirited enterprise we exhibit. I am glad that there is any ground for the feeling. But when we sometimes indulge it to the extent of implying that these characteristics were never shown by any people in a former age as they are by us, and when we toss our heads in disdainful contempt of the old Dutch settlers that founded these two commonwealths of New York and New Jersey as those who knew nothing, and had no generous, self-sacrificing public spirit, we only accomplish one result,—we show the ignorance and the littleness of our own minds. We display as much enlightenment as the Chinaman, who, in making his map of the globe, fills it up with China, and assigns to the rest of the world a small space in the corner about as large as one of the buttons on his vest. Would to God, that, in this nineteenth century, we had more of the Christian piety, good sense and noble devotion to the common weal that marked those sturdy old Dutchmen that settled along these Hudson shores! It is not too much to say that a people inheriting such traditions, and founding their colonies on such principles as did they, are prepared beforehand to throw their strength and influence on the side of freedom's cause.

Says Bancroft, in his History of the United States, "The spirit of the age was present when the foundations of New York were laid. Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a State prosper, it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the West. Was a sect persecuted, it escaped to the New World. The Reformation, followed by collisions between English Dissenters and the Anglican hierarchy, colonized New England. The Reformation, emancipating the United Provinces, led to European settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; they also divide the glory of having set the example of public freedom. If England gave our fathers the

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idea of popular representation, Holland originated for them the principle of federal union."

In the third place, The Reformed Dutch Church of America, at the time of the Revolution, was composed almost entirely of the descendants of the Holland colonists, who had settled at New Amsterdam and the parts adjacent, through a long series of years, but who had passed under the English domination or rule when Governor Stuyvesant was surprised by the attack of the English in a time of profound peace, and being unprepared for resistance, was obliged to surrender the city in 1664.

King Charles the Second at that time gave the patent of the country to his brother, the Duke of York, and henceforth the name of New Amsterdam was abandoned, except for a brief period, under the rule of Leisler, and the name of New York took its place, and holds it still. When the surrender was made and the English came into possession, the Dutch exacted terms which secured to them their rights, and they refused to take the oath of allegiance until those treaty stipulations had been officially recognized by the proper authorities.

From that time, of course, there were two parties in the colony,— the party of the conqueror, and the party of the conquered, smarting under the sense of a twofold wrong, the treacherous attack in a time of peace, and the compulsory submission under force of arms. The parties were the Government, in the hands of the English, on the one side, and the Dutch inhabitants, on the other. It needs but little imagination to conceive what the feeling must have been. It was one of natural antagonism, and we can readily believe that the Dutch sighed for the day when the yoke of the conqueror should be broken long before the war of the Revolution began.

The records that have come down to us abundantly confirm this representation. Mr. Irving, in his Life of Washington, uses this language in regard to the relations of the two parties: "The New Yorkers," said he, "were of a mixed origin, and stamped with the peculiarities of their respective ancestors. The descendants of the old Dutch and Huguenot families, the earliest settlers, were still (in 1775) among the soundest and best of the population. They inherited the love of liberty, civil and religious, of their forefathers, and were those who stood foremost in the present struggle for popular rights. Such were the Jays, the Bensons, the Beekmans, the Hoffmans, the Van Hornes, the Roosevelts, the

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Duyckinks, the Pintards, the Yateses, and others, whose names figure in the patriotic documents of the day. Some of them, doubtless, cherished a remembrance of the time when their forefathers were lords of the land, and felt an innate propensity to join in resistance to the government by which their supremacy had been overturned."

But this was not all. Growing out of the relation which they thus sustained to each other, there arose an additional cause of bitter feeling when the English Government proceeded to establish by law the Episcopal Church of England as the church of the colony, and required all the inhabitants of every denomination to be taxed for its support. This was peculiarly offensive to the Dutch, not merely because the immense weight of numbers and respectability was on their side, but because they themselves had followed the example of the Mother Church in Holland, and had granted the utmost liberty to others of a different faith and order. New Amsterdam under the Dutch became an asylum for the persecuted from Connecticut and Massachusetts, just as old Amsterdam had long been for the persecuted from England, Scotland and France. When the Puritans, by one of those strange inconsistencies into which good men will sometimes fall, forgot the principles of toleration and freedom for which they left their own country and went to Holland, and began to persecute one another, the emigration from New England became so large that "whole towns" removed into New Netherlands in order to enjoy among the Dutch the religious liberty which their own countrymen and fellow pilgrims denied them. Judge Story, himself a native of Marblehead, Massachusetts, has said, in regard to the New England colonies, that "The arm of the civil government was constantly employed in support of the denunciations of the church; and, without its forms, the Inquisition existed in substance, with a full share of its terrors and its violence." Under these circumstances, the emigration to the Dutch became so serious that the General Court of Massachusetts interfered to prevent it. Some of the Puritans, indeed, being aggrieved by the uncharitableness of their brethren, went back to old England, from which they came. Among such was the Rev. Mr. Blackstone, who wittily assigned as the reason for his return that "He fled from England to escape the tyranny of *my lord bishops*, but he was glad to get back again to escape the tyranny of *my lord brethren*." Now, many of these refugees from persecution in New England found an asylum among the

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Dutch in New Netherlands, whose traditional principle and policy it had been to grant the utmost liberty of conscience and worship. The Dutch kindly received them, gave them a home, and welcomed them to the same rights and privileges which they enjoyed themselves.

When, therefore, the English governor, Fletcher, in 1693, twenty-nine years after the Dutch had surrendered the government, succeeded in having the Episcopal Church established by law, and supported by general taxation, it was felt by the Dutch to be a gross invasion of their rights, and it very naturally produced the deepest feelings of discontent. Astonishing as it now seems, this law, however, remained in force until it was swept away by the Revolution. "So that," to use the words of another, "from the year 1693 to the year 1776—that is, between eighty and ninety years—the Dutch and English Presbyterians, and all other non-Episcopal inhabitants of the City and County of New York, and of the Counties of Westchester, Queens and Richmond, besides supporting their own churches, were forced to contribute to the support of the Episcopal Church."

It will readily be understood that a people placed in such relations to the Government would have but little love to bestow upon it, and would feel anything but grief at seeing it brought to an end. In the circumstances thus presented, we may find an easy explanation of the fact, that, under the leadership of Leisler, the Morrises, the Livingstons, the Schuylers, and others, the Dutch formed the rank and file of the popular party in all the movements for liberty and self-government.

Thus far I have spoken only of some of the preparative influences that contributed to make the Dutch what they were, and to determine their peculiar attitude in regard to the Revolution. To them, beyond all the other colonists, that Revolution was the harbinger of a liberty for which they long had sighed and waited; and, as such, they welcomed it when it came; they sustained it in its progress, and they joined with thankful hearts in the general exultation when victory had given it success.

We come now to another aspect of our subject, namely, the part which the Reformed Dutch Church of America, its ministers and people, actually took in the struggle. And here I may say it is much to be regretted that the means of information are far from being complete. It might be said, indeed, that they are very deficient, owing to the neglect, not unusual among the Dutch, to

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gather them up and preserve them. It was their habit to say and do what they felt the occasion called for, and if some chronicler put it on record, well and good, but if not, it was all the same to them, for they cared but little about it. Still, the records that are left, defective as they are, are sufficient to show very clearly how they felt, and what course they pursued during the Revolution.

There are two ways in which a people may sustain a particular cause, like that of our national independence. First, by their moral support, by their sympathy, and the open, public avowal of their hearty desire for its success; and second, by giving men and means, as they are able, to resist its enemies, and to maintain its interests by physical force. Owing to the peculiar nature of a church organization, the support given to the Revolution by the Reformed Dutch Church of America was in a large measure necessarily of the former kind; while that which was given by her ministers and people, as individuals and citizens, united in itself the two elements of moral and material aid. It is gratifying to know that the Church and the people both endeavored to do their part in the several spheres in which they were called to act.

With them, the contest began long before the Declaration of Independence, long before the battles of Lexington and Concord, in April, 1775, or the battle of Bunker Hill in the following June. The old spirit of discontent with British rule, that had been lying like powder in the breasts of the Dutch in New York, ever since the surrender in 1664, was ready at any time during all that period to explode, and only needed the touch of a single spark. It had frequently given proof of its existence before, but from the passage of the Stamp Act, and the serious proposal to enforce it in New York in 1765, the opposition became more intense and energetic. Even while the act was still pending, in the previous year, the Legislative Assembly of New York originated the idea of appointing a Committee for intercolonial correspondence, with a view to unite all the colonies in the inauguration of a revolutionary struggle against the English Parliament and Crown. The Committee was actually appointed, as the Colonial records show, on October 18, 1764, and at its head was placed Robert R. Livingston, a member of the eminent Livingston family, so closely identified with the history and interests of the Reformed Dutch Church. Six years later this example was followed by Massachusetts in 1770, and nine years later by Virginia, in 1773. The

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honor of having taken the initiative in this movement has been claimed both by the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Cavaliers of Virginia, but however much we may admire their enterprise and achievements, the sober facts of history prove, beyond a doubt, that the honor belongs to the Dutch of New York.

During the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, who held the appointment from 1761, till he died, in 1776, being the last Governor under English rule, there were almost incessant conflicts, arising from the aggressions of his government, on one side, and the determined and often defiant resistance of the people, on the other. They compelled him, in spite of his military force, to bring out from the fort, where they had been secretly deposited, the Stamps sent over from England to be used in taxing the colony, and to give them up to be held by the corporation of the city. Among the Aldermen and Assistants making the demand are found such names as these. I need not say they are Dutch, for nobody would ever mistake them for anything else. "Derick Brinckerhoof, Nicholas Roosevelt, Cornelius Roosevelt, Abraham Lott, Peter Binauck, Anthony Rutgers," etc.

In the collisions that ensued, and especially in the successful attempt of the English soldiers to destroy the liberty pole erected in the common, now the City Hall Park, by the Revolutionary Association named the "Sons of Liberty," or the "Liberty Boys," as they were familiarly called, the spirit of resistance was thoroughly aroused.

On the 17th of January, 1770, an indignation meeting was held in what is now the Park, and three thousand people assembled around the stump of the liberty pole that had been sawed off by the English soldiers. The feeling ran high. The people took measures to erect another pole. They demanded also that after the roll call the soldiers should remain in their barracks. On the following day, the 18th, as the outgrowth of these transactions, a collision took place in the street between some soldiers and Isaac Sears and Walter Quackenbos—the names have a very Dutch sound—and some other Sons of Liberty, who, after a sharp contest, succeeded in making the soldiers their prisoners. In this emergency an armed reënforcement appeared from the barracks, and attempted to rescue their comrades. The people, perceiving that a contest was at hand, seized such weapons as they could, the stakes out of the carts and sleds near at hand, or anything else that might be turned to account, and rushed in, dealing their

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lusty blows right and left with genuine Dutch vigor. The soldiers retreated toward Golden Hill, now that part of John street between Cliff and Pearl, at the head of Burling Slip. Here they met another reënforcement, and the two bodies of regulars being thus united, they made a furious assault upon the people. The latter fought bravely, but only for a short time, for their weapons were no match for the arms of the trained soldiers. The people were defeated, and fled pursued by their enemies. But the news having spread like wildfire, a great multitude from all sides came pouring in to the scene of action, and the pursuing soldiers now found themselves surrounded by the people, who were so strong in numbers, and delivered battle with so much vigor, that they succeeded in disarming many of their foes. One of the patriots, Michael Smith, a chairmaker's apprentice in Broad street, hearing of what had taken place from a messenger who rushed into the shop breathless, seized the turned leg of a chair, and thus equipped, ran to the scene of conflict. Without hesitation or ceremony, he fell foul of a grenadier with his chair leg, and wielded it so vigorously that he soon obliged him to succumb. The grenadier's musket, belts, bayonet and cartridge box were his trophies, and the musket, now the heirloom of his grandchildren, was exhibited at a meeting of the New York Historical Society some years ago. In the end, however, another reënforcement appeared from the barracks, so that the people were now exposed to a simultaneous attack, both in front and rear. At this juncture a party of officers interfered, and the soldiers were ordered back to their quarters.

Thus ended the battle of Golden Hill, on the 18th day of January, 1770, the first battle of the Revolutionary War, more than five years before the battles of Lexington and Concord, or the battle of Bunker Hill. The first blood of the Revolution, therefore, was drawn in John street, New York, between Cliff and Pearl. In a very interesting monograph on the "Sons of Liberty," read before the New York Historical Society, by that eminent and indefatigable investigator and writer on our Colonial and Revolutionary History, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, the author gives the results of the battle. "Both the military and the citizens," says he, "suffered severely. Francis Field, a Friend, was wounded in the cheek, while standing in his own door. Three other citizens were wounded; one was killed with a bayonet, and a sailor was cut down. The soldiers also were severely handled, and some of them

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were badly beaten." The conflict was renewed on the following day, but with no more decisive result.

The time came, however, a few years later, when the project originated in New York for uniting all the thirteen colonies in an organized effort for independence, became an accomplished fact. What was the actual posture of the Reformed Dutch Church, her ministry and people, in regard to that struggle, may be learned from the records and statements to which your attention will now be called.

In the first place, The utterances of her ecclesiastical judicatories, from beginning to end, were staunchly true to the cause of Independence. They had this merit, at least, that they gave forth no uncertain sound.

At the meeting of the General Synod, which was held in New York city on April 25, 1775, six days after the battles of Lexington and Concord, that body, in view of the condition of the country, appointed a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer. Whether it had yet received news of the conflict near Boston we do not know. We do know, however, that the coming storm was already casting its dark shadows over the land, and in the interval between this time and the Declaration of Independence, when the final decision was reached, a period of nearly a year and a quarter, men's minds were perplexed and apprehensive, and Christians, at least, felt that they needed the guidance and protection of God. Accordingly, we find in the minutes of the General Synod the following record:

"This Body taking to heart the present sad and perilous condition of our land, and considering that our multiplied, aggravated, long continued and unlamented sins have afforded reason to God to give up our land to the most deplorable calamities, judge that its inhabitants are in the clearest manner called to repentance and conversion, and they thus recommend to all the Reformed churches of their communion in the provinces of New York and New Jersey to set apart Wednesday, 7th May next, as a day of solemn humiliation, with fasting and prayer for the forgiveness of sins, and the averting of deserved miseries."

This appointment was most appropriate and timely, for if the struggle had to come in order to be free, nothing was more important than to go into it with clean hands, and under the guidance of God in answer to prayer.

But we pass on. Before the next General Synod could hold

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its meeting, the storm of war had actually burst over the land. It rolled southward from Boston to Charleston. Early in April, 1776, the American army, having marched from Boston, entered New York, in anticipation that the British forces, under Lord Howe or Sir Henry Clinton, would make that city the next point of attack. Thenceforth everything was in uncertainty and confusion. No man could tell what a day might bring forth. In the following August was fought the disastrous battle of Long Island, and New York fell into the hands of the British, who held it till the close of the war. It was evacuated only on November 25, 1783.

During all this time the Reformed Dutch churches, and most others, indeed, except the Episcopal, were shamefully abused and desecrated by the enemy. This was especially true of those that espoused the cause of freedom; and as the Reformed Dutch churches were known to be strongly united in support of that cause, they became conspicuous as victims of spoliation. They were stripped of their furniture, and turned into prisons, riding schools, depots for storage, and stables. Just before the war a new and very neat pulpit was placed in the North Dutch Church. It was taken away by the British, and no trace of it could be found. After the war was over, a gentleman of New York was worshipping in a country church in England, when the remarkable similarity of the pulpit there reminded him of the one taken from the North Dutch Church in New York. On making inquiry, he learned that the pulpit was probably the same, as it had been brought over from America in a British ship during the war of the Revolution. Of course, the public worship in New York and its vicinity was broken up, the ministers driven away, the congregations scattered. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the General Synod could not hold its meeting either in the year 1776 or 1777.

The next meeting, consequently, was not held till October, 1778, an interval of three years, at New Paltz, Ulster County, New York. The minutes record that it "was opened with an appropriate and fervent prayer relative to the present calamitous times, by the Rev. Jacob R. Hardenbergh, as President of the last meeting." The tenor of that prayer may be easily conceived when it is stated that the cause of independence had no more determined and strenuous champion than Dr. Hardenbergh, as we shall see further on. At a later date he was president of Queens, or Rut-

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gers College. After alluding to the fact that the Particular Synod of New York, "having been scattered by the war, had not been able to meet since the year 1775," the minutes proceed with a very noticeable record. The Synod brings against the British the same charge which the immortal Pitt thundered forth with such tremendous power in the English Parliament, namely, that the Government had instigated the American Indians to employ their savage warfare against the colonists who were struggling for their liberties. This is the record: "The Particular Body (Synod) of Albany, having, for a considerable time heretofore, been disturbed by intestine foes, and the barbarous Indians, as instigated by the enemy (the British), have not been able, as this Reverend Body, on good grounds, judge, either to assemble or to send members to this Reverend Body." In the following paragraph it is also stated that Dr. Dirck Romeyn, of Hackensack, New Jersey, was present at the meeting of the Synod in New Paltz, but without his proper credentials. The Synod resolved to overlook the omission, in consideration of the fact that "an irruption of the enemy (the British) into his field of labor" had prevented the transmission of his credentials by the clerk, and had also driven him away from his home. The reason for his flight before the advancing British is easily explained by a single sentence in a published sketch of his life. It is in these words: "He was the counsellor of senators, the adviser and compeer of the warriors of the Revolution, and an efficient co-worker with the patriot."

In these incidental records the Synod already gives us a very decided idea of its position, by designating the British as "the enemy," thus identifying itself with the popular cause; and, still more, it charges them with being the instigators of the butchery and rapine perpetrated by the Indians upon the defenceless whites. In a subsequent part of the same record we find the Synod enjoining it upon the lower judicatories to report at the next meeting a list of "such members of the Reformed church as having been driven by the war from their homes and their employments, have been rendered objects of compassionate assistance, that the Reverend Body may herein, as far as possible, make provision." It was a most generous effort, when we remember that those who resolved upon it were themselves sufferers by the ravages of war, many of them having been plundered and driven away, but yet were willing to share what they had left with their compatriots who had suffered more severely.

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The same Synod appointed, as a day of fasting and prayer, Thursday, the 12th of November, 1778, and they introduced their action with these words among others: "The Reverend Body, with sorrowful hearts, contemplate the pitiful condition of land and church; some of our cities being desolated, our villages and boroughs subverted; many of our houses of worship and their furniture burned, desecrated, plundered, and cast to the ground; many dear pledges of the loving Jesus, together with the faithful ambassadors of His cross, driven from their peaceful homes, and compelled to roam through the land."

These extracts from the official minutes would be sufficient of themselves to show the attitude of the Church toward the war. Others of an incidental nature might be quoted, all pointing in the same direction, but the time will not permit.

There is one record, however, so decisive in itself, and so significant, under the circumstances in the midst of which it was uttered, that it may justly be said to represent the whole, and to breathe the uniform, characteristic spirit of the Church. It was the action taken by the General Synod, which met at New Paltz, New York, in October, 1780. It was one of the darkest periods of the war. The prospect for the cause of independence was gloomy and depressing. Defeat had overtaken it in the south. In the north the patriotic hopes of the people had been disappointed. The treasury was exhausted, the country was impoverished, and dangers seemed to be threatening on every side. In the midst of it all, domestic treachery, in the person of Benedict Arnold, was secretly conspiring with the enemies of the country to accomplish its ruin. The Synod met at New Paltz, only twenty-five miles above the scene of Arnold's treason, and less than a month after the capture of Andre, which took place here in Tarrytown, within four or five hundred yards of this church, by those patriotic and incorruptible Westchester Dutchmen, some of whose descendants are still members of our communion and worshipping with us to-day. In view of the prevailing wickedness that distressed the ministers and the Christians who were working with them, the Synod resolved to present a memorial to the State Government, praying for some restraint upon the excesses that were constantly breaking forth, and for a more energetic enforcement of the laws. The memorial is full of true piety and sterling patriotism, as a brief extract will show. The document begins thus:

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"To his Excellency, George Clinton, Esquire, Governor of the State of New York, General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same, and to the honorable the Senate and House of Assembly of said State:

"The memorial and petition of the Reverend Synod of the Low Dutch Reformed Church in America humbly sheweth, that the beneficent Ruler of the Universe has, at divers times and occasions, given the most indubitable proofs of His divine and benevolent interposition for the good of these United States, and this State in particular, by which Christians of every denomination are called upon in the most striking manner to make proper acknowledgments for favor conferred.

"That they behold with the utmost satisfaction that a great part of their fellow Christians, at least of those who have fallen under their cognizance, continue to answer the wonders of Providence by attending with a degree of assiduity to their religious and social duties.

"That the unwearied exertions of these United States, and of this State in particular, and especially the unparalleled perseverance of the American army exhibited in the prosecution of the present JUST and NECESSARY WAR, from whatever personal motives it may otherwise proceed, cannot but be considered as NATIONAL VIRTUES, such as have been usually owned and accepted of by the Deity in the issue."

And so the memorial goes on, in a most admirable strain, through ten succeeding paragraphs, pointing out the connection between piety and public virtue, on the one hand, and the favor of God toward the land, on the other; and invoking of the civil authorities the enactment and execution of laws adapted to restrain immorality and to prevent crime. The Synod thus declared its fidelity to the principles of the revolution, and proclaimed to friend and foe, in that dark hour of our history, its deep conviction that the war was a "just and necessary war." The aim not only of the Synod, but also of the Church it represented, was to promote the success of the cause for which the war was waged, by fostering good morals among men, and religious obedience and devotion toward God. That, indeed, was enlightened Christian patriotism, and in this Centennial year of rejoicing every member and friend of the Reformed Dutch Church in America can look back upon her sturdy and unflinching steadfastness with a glow of laudable, honest pride.

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Thank God, no son nor daughter of hers has need to blush for her record!

This memorial, it is interesting to know, was entrusted by the Synod to the Rev. Dr. Isaac Rysdyk, as its messenger, to convey it to its destination. Accordingly, in the minutes of the meeting held a year after, in October, 1781, we find this statement: "Dr. Isaac Rysdyk reported that the same (memorial) was placed by him in the hands of two members of the government of this State, with some hope that it would have the desired issue; and he was thanked for his trouble and care in relation to it."

We pass by other and similar references to the war, and to the need of counteracting the public demoralization, in order to enjoy the continued favor of God, as a people, recorded in the minutes for 1782 and 1783, and come down to the meeting in May, 1784, the first after the British evacuation of New York in the preceding November. The hostile force having been withdrawn, the Synod met in that city again with liberty to perform its usual functions. While it is true that the church, as a whole, was fervently devoted to the patriot cause, it is also true that here, as elsewhere, there were solitary exceptions. One of the first acts of the Synod, after the peace, was to try, and to depose from the Christian ministry Dr. Joannes Casparus Rubel. Inasmuch as he was strongly, and even intemperately devoted to the British interest, he was allowed, by the British commander, then holding New York, to continue preaching in Brooklyn and its vicinity. He was a German by birth, and came into the Reformed Dutch Church from a German church in Philadelphia. He was accused and found guilty of several offences. First, of beating and abusing his wife, which, in itself, was good ground for deposing him; second, of getting drunk, and running into scandalous excesses, which also furnished reason for discipline; and third, as if to lend aggravation to all his other offences, he was accused of being an outrageous tory. As the minutes state, it was clearly shown by the testimony "that during the war he was frequently carried away by unchristian passions, and often from the pulpit and other places cursed the inhabitants of this land who were opposed to him, declaring, with foul, irreligious and unbecoming expressions, that he would show that they would all go to everlasting destruction." Whatever were his opinions, that certainly was not a very mild nor proper way of stating them.

After due deliberation, the Synod, while leaving the penalties

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of his treasonable "conduct as a citizen in the course of the war to the notice of the honorable civil magistrate," proceeded to declare before the world "that his behavior and spirit in regard to the three points of accusation against him,—as a wife beater, a drunkard and a tory,—deserved the severest reprobation, and that it refused to tolerate, either in its ministry or membership, a man whose presence was an abomination and a shame, and, consequently, was endangering the HONOR of the whole ecclesiastical communion among friends and foes." The association of ideas here, if not very complimentary to Rubel, is certainly very suggestive as to the light in which the Synod viewed his desertion of his country, for when it put the wife beater, the drunkard and the tory together, it intimated, rather broadly, to those whom it might concern, that in the Reformed Dutch Church of America tories were not held in very high repute. A sentence or two from the recorded action of the Synod will indicate its spirit better than any comments. It said:

"After mature deliberation in relation to said accusations and accompanying testimony, this Reverend Body, deeply affected by the offence given by such an unbecoming and offensive course of conduct by a minister of the Christian church, and brother of their ecclesiastical communion; an offence given in a most calamitous period of our common country, in which our Zion is called to drink so deeply of the cup of sorrow, by which an entirely contrary course of conduct should have been produced; an offence given not only in his own congregations, but also by reason of the circumstances of the times, spread far and wide through the land, and consequently endangering the honor of our whole ecclesiastical communion among friends and foes, and thus deeply wounding the honor of God and the cause of Christ; an offence which has been given, time after time, in the course of so many years, and which, since by reason of circumstances in the state of the country, it could not heretofore be remedied, has been the occasion of aggravated guilt; therefore, this Reverend Body unanimously judge that he has rendered himself unworthy the ministration of the holy Gospel and its covenant seals, and altogether unprofitable, and a constant offence to the congregations that are entrusted to his care."

The Synod thereupon proceeded sadly and solemnly to depose Joannes Casparus Rubel from the Christian ministry, and to prohibit him from preaching or coming to the Lord's Supper until

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he should give satisfactory evidence of repentance for his conduct in the past. If the Church felt it to be a shame that such a man should be found in her ministry, she not only vindicated herself from all complicity with him, but she did more, she honored her own Christian patriotism, as well as purity, when she unanimously cast him out.

The only other official record, to which the time will permit your attention to be called, is the closing one in these same minutes of May, 1784. In it the Church's rejoicings over peace, freedom and independence just achieved, are mingled with earnest expressions of desire that steps may be immediately taken to place upon a permanent basis the interests of Queens College at New Brunswick, New Jersey. It had already been chartered in 1770 by King George the Third, through the agency of Governor Franklin. Being situated directly on the line of the contending armies, as they marched to and fro, and in a region that has been called the battle ground of the Revolution, the College shared in the ruin that swept over the State. But no sooner had the hostile armies retired from the scene, and peace returned, bringing freedom and independence with her, than the Church's first effort was to re-establish that seat of Christian learning. It was a striking illustration of the old characteristic spirit that had shone out so often in the fatherland. The Synod's action was introduced in these words:

"The Professorate was taken into consideration as a subject of great weight and importance. The Reverend Body, heartily lamenting, that, by reason of the war, attention to it had been necessarily so long deferred, were unanimously of opinion that since it had now pleased the Lord to grant the land a blessed and honorable peace, together with a confirmation of our freedom and independence, this matter should, with all earnestness and speed, as well as suitable care, be promoted and brought to a consummation."

After a long struggle, maintained for years, the effort was crowned with success, and the results are before us to-day in Rutgers College, at New Brunswick, New Jersey. While gladly conceding to other institutions the great merit they may justly claim, it is pleasant to be able to say of this, that in vigorous and efficient tuition, and a certain peculiarity of manly scholarship, it is second to none in the land. Having dropped the name of Queens College as being no longer appropriate, it took the name

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of Rutgers, from one of its generous benefactors of Dutch lineage, whose patriotic sacrifices in the Revolution were still more ennobled by a Christian spirit and life. "It is the name," as has been said, no less truly than happily by another, "of a noble republican, immortalized by the sacrifice of large patrimonial possessions, which, for the love of country, he abandoned to her enemies. From the heights of Harlem he looked back on his fair inheritance, stretching along the blue waters of the Sound, and breathed the noble sentiment and devout prayer, 'For the love of liberty I leave all, and go forth poor and an exile; but if the God of my fathers shall ever permit that I sit down again in their ancient hall, then shall all this wealth be held as a tenure at will for His glory.'" The vow was answered by God, and it was nobly redeemed by its author.

Thus we have seen, from her official records, that the Reformed Dutch Church of America entered into the Revolutionary struggle with humiliation before God, with repentance of sin, and prayer for heavenly guidance; and she came out vindicating herself from all responsibility for the unpatriotic and unchristian conduct of any individuals within her communion who had found impunity in wrong doing under the protection of her country's foes. And, finally, she closed up the record of her action in regard to the Revolution by gratefully recognizing the hand of God in the gift of "a blessed and honorable peace, and a confirmation of our freedom and independence," while, as a thank-offering to Heaven for its long continue mercy, she resolved to engage at once in the noble work of promoting Christian education among the people.

Here we might stop. So much, at least, is secure. And when, in after times, her children shall be asked where their fathers stood, they may point back to that old record, and say, with ingenuous pride, There it is. The record will speak for itself.

The recital should not be closed, however, without referring, In the second place, To a few of the many acts and incidents, of an individual character, that equally illustrate the attitude and spirit of the Reformed Dutch Church, her ministers and people, in regard to the Revolution and the war. The utmost that can be done is simply to mention them and pass on.

In New Jersey, for example, we find the Rev. Christian Frederick Foering, pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church at Millstone, Somerset county, an ardent and active patriot, sustained by the full sympathy of his congregation. The Consistory recorded in

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their minutes, six months before the Declaration of Independence, their views of the impending struggle, which they declared to be "an unhappy and unnatural dispute between the ill disposed ministry of Great Britain and the oppressed colonies." They mourned over the prevailing sins of the people, and set apart one day in every month for the congregation to meet in humiliation and prayer.

In January, 1777, after the victories of Trenton and Princeton, Washington conducted his army through Millstone on the way to Morristown. As the half clad, hungry and unshod soldiers of freedom were marching by, Mr. Foering, whose wife had just baked that day, collected all the bread and other food in his house, and having brought it forth, cut it up into suitable portions and gave it to the soldiers as they passed along. In the following June the British plundered the town, and set fire to the the church, the inside of which was completely destroyed, though the building was saved. In 1778, after the battle of Monmouth, Washington again had his headquarters at Middlebrook, not far from Millstone. Mr. Foering preached an earnest, patriotic sermon, which led to the formation of a company from his own congregation. The British were annoyed by his influence, and attempted to capture him, but his wife, who was as good a patriot as he, having discovered the plot, secretly had him conveyed away, though at the time he was sick in bed, probably to the camp of Washington. The enemy soon arrived, and while in their search they angrily denounced him with oaths, as "that rebel Foering," they thrust their swords or bayonets through every bed in the house. The exposure, however, in his feeble condition, proved fatal. He took cold, which resulted in consumption, and he soon after died.

About six miles north of Millstone, on the banks of the Raritan river, stood the old Reformed Dutch Church of Raritan. Its pastor was the Rev. Dr. Hardenbergh, who held very decided patriotic opinions, and took no particular pains to conceal them. General Washington, while encamped in Somerset county, was a frequent visitor at his house, and sometimes made it his headquarters. As the Doctor often stirred up his people from the pulpit with a little political preaching, as perhaps we should call it now, the British commander offered a reward of one hundred pounds for his arrest. But the Doctor was too shrewd for him, and escaped. That he did not, however, trust entirely to

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shrewdness or moral suasion is quite clear, for he always slept with a loaded musket in his bedroom, and when he was obliged to leave home, as he often was, and to roam about the country to escape the tories, he always, when he could, took his arms along. It is a curious circumstance, that of six or seven individuals who undertook to arrest and bring him to the British general, every one died within a few weeks of each other, several of them by the small pox.

It was this old church of Raritan of which the story is told, in the revolutionary annals, that it was burned by Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, commanding a troop of British cavalry called the Queen's Rangers. Washington had formed a plan for capturing New York. He had fifty flat boats, to hold seventy men each, secretly built over on the Delaware, and rolled across the State on wheels, to the Raritan river. In these he intended to cross the Hudson. While they were lying in the Raritan, near Van Vechten's Bridge, Colonel Simcoe and his dragoons, having started very early from Amboy, suddenly appeared and set fire to them. He had an old grudge against the patriotic minister and congregation, whose church was just then used by the Americans, to store some of the tackling for their boats; and besides, he alleged that a shot was fired at his men from the building. He therefore set fire to the church, and burned it to the ground. It was a sad loss to the people, who were not able to rebuild it till some time after the war. Colonel Simcoe, who lighted up his path by night with the flame of burning houses, roused the wrath of the Dutch farmers of old Somerset, who rallied for their defence. A collision of arms took place, and the Colonel's horse having been shot under him, he was taken prisoner, and held for two months. The patriot captain, a Dutchman named Voorheese, was killed.

In Bergen county, in the same State, Dr. Dirck Romeyn, already mentioned, was pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church of Hackensack. He was a devoted patriot, and the British troops, having invaded his congregation, entered his house while he was absent, and carried off or destroyed all his furniture, clothing, books, papers, etc. He was himself driven away, and had to remain in Ulster county, an exile, for a couple of years. On venturing back, in 1779, he was in so much danger that he asked and obtained from the patriotic Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, the protection of "militia aids."

Another minister of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Jersey,

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who was distinguished for his ardent devotion to the cause of liberty, was the Rev. Benjamin DuBois, of Monmouth county. He is said to have been one of those men who never knew what fear was. He often shouldered his gun and knapsack, and went out to take his turn on patrol. He did it, his enemies used to say disparagingly, "like a pack horse." But the Dominie had faith in the cause, and so he took up his musket, and showed his faith by his works. While out in a skirmish on one occasion, he was so eager in pressing forward upon the enemy that the officer could not keep him in line, and Colonel Holmes had to change the disposition of the troops, so as to bring the Dominie farther back, lest he should be singled out by the enemy and shot. We may say of him, certainly, that he belonged to the church militant. He was in the habit of stirring up the patriotism of his people, and urging them to stand faithfully by their country. He invariably made the struggle for liberty the subject of his public prayers.

Without doing more than mentioning the names of Borke, Froeligh, Leydt, and Westerlo, while omitting many others, it must suffice to recall the patriotism of one whose memory carries with it in the Reformed Dutch Church the prestige of patriarchal dignity and worth. It is hardly necessary to say that the person referred to was Dr. John H. Livingston, *primus inter pares*. He was himself an earnest friend to liberty, and it is enough to say of his wife, that she was the daughter of Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Tried and true in his devotion to the Revolutionary cause through the long struggle, compelled to fly from New York when it was taken by the British, and to leave his church there to be plundered and desecrated, exposed to danger in his father's house, at Poughkeepsie, when it was fired upon by the fleet of General Vaughan as he sailed up the Hudson, he was permitted at last to see victory perch upon the banners of his country, for which he had so constantly prayed, and to return once more to meet his long scattered flock in the old Collegiate Dutch Church in New York city. It was for all who shared it a meeting of mingled joy and sorrow. The first public service that followed was a memorable event. Bishop Kip, of California, whose grandfather was an elder in the Reformed Dutch Church in New York, as well as a warm personal friend of Dr. Livingston, and whose father at the time was a boy about ten years old, has given, in *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*, a highly interesting account of the opening

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service and the scene. He heard the story from the lips of his father.

It was in November, 1783, while the British were preparing to evacuate New York, that Dr. Livingston returned to the city, and was entertained at the house of Leonard Kip, the elder just mentioned. One of the churches had been prepared for service, and on the Sabbath Mr. Kip and his son accompanied the Doctor to the place of worship. Here and there in the congregation were many British officers in their red coats to be seen gathered in little groups. Expecting soon to sail for England they came to church in the mean time to while away an hour, and gratify their curiosity in hearing what the Yankee preacher would say.

The Doctor arose in the pulpit, and announced that they would "sing to the praise and glory of God the twenty-first psalm." It was the same as we now have it in our psalm and hymn book. The doctor read it in his most majestic and impressive style—a style, from all accounts, such as he only could employ. The British officers looked up at him, as he began, with surprised attention, but the surprise changed to a different feeling before he got through. The psalm ran thus, and it received from the Doctor its full measure of meaning:

"In Thee, great God, with songs of praise,
Our favored realms rejoice;
And, blest with Thy salvation, raise
To Heaven their cheerful voice.

Thy sure defence, from foes around,
Hath spread our rising name;
And all our feeble efforts crowned
With freedom and with fame.

In deep distress our injured land
Implored Thy power to save;
For peace we prayed; Thy bounteous hand
The timely blessing gave.

Thy mighty arm, Eternal Power,
Opposed their deadly aim;
In mercy swept them from our shore
And spread their sails with shame."

The effect can be more easily imagined than described. The splendid physical presence of the Doctor, and his whole air and manner, combined with the triumphant spirit of the psalm, caused the words to fall with startling impression upon the ears of his

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red-coated hearers. As Bishop Kip remarks, in concluding the story, "we can readily believe they never felt disposed to repeat their visit to the Yankee parson."

The individual cases to which reference has thus been made are, indeed, conspicuous examples of patriotism in the Christian ministry; but it may justly be said that they correctly represented the spirit of the Church as a whole. There were, indeed, two instances, besides that of Rubel, in which ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church lent their influence to support the royal cause, but in both cases the patriotism of their congregations compelled them to flee before the close of the war, and before the ecclesiastical authorities could take action. They were the cases of the Rev. Garret Lydekker, of English Neighborhood, New Jersey, who was a tory, and had to flee to the British in New York in 1776, and finally to England, where he died; and the Rev. Hermanus Lancelot Boelen, of Oyster Bay and Newtown, Long Island, whose "warm prayers for the king so exasperated the whigs," or friends of freedom, that in 1780, while the British forces still held New York, he found it convenient to return to Holland. But the fact that the people would not tolerate a tory in their pulpits only tends to exhibit in stronger light the patriotic spirit of the denomination.

In regard to the prominent laymen of the Reformed Dutch Church who sustained the cause of independence, neither the time nor the demands of the occasion render it allowable to speak. What principles they held, and what actions they performed, are recorded in the civil and military biographies and histories of the nation. The names of Schuyler, and Livingston, and Van Cortlandt, and Van Rensselaer, and Frelinghuysen, and Ten Broeck, and Gansevoort, and Rutgers, and Van Vechten, with many others, are too closely connected with the great struggle that made us what we are, to leave a doubt as to their attitude when their country's liberties were set "upon the perilous edge of battle."

Here we close. But let us remember, as a Church, that all we enjoy, in this Centennial year of the Republic, was purchased for us under God by the toils, the sacrifices, and the sufferings of our heroic Christian fathers and mothers of a hundred years ago. And they, in turn, were prepared to act well their part by the long line of ennobling influences that were awakened at the Reformation, and through succeeding generations exercised upon their

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ancestors their moulding power. The tremendous struggle with Spain, the determined purpose to believe and worship God in their own chosen way, in spite of the Inquisition, and the rugged training through which, as a people, they had to pass, wrought the love of civil and religious liberty into the very fibre of their life. Wherever they went the outward tokens of their presence were not more visible in their patient industry and their frugal habits, than they were in the Church and the Schoolhouse standing side by side. They had the Bible and the Catechism in their hearts and consciences, and living in the spirit of reverent obedience toward God, they knew of no other power in the Universe of which they ought to be afraid. The legend traced, amid angelic forms, upon the old bell that was cast in Amsterdam in 1685, and that still hangs in the steeple of the old Dutch church of Sleepy Hollow, where it has hung and sounded for nearly two centuries past, reveals the secret of that invincible devotion to religion, education and liberty, that has marked their race, "*Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos?*" If God be for us who can be against us?

Let us learn from their example. In humble penitence and loving faith, in steadfast loyalty as individuals and a nation to Christ Jesus as King of kings and Lord of lords, in pure, peaceable and patient continuance in every path of duty toward God and all men, let us go forward and discharge the mission which God has committed to our hands. Let the Bible and the Catechism, let the Church and the Schoolhouse, still be the pledge of liberty and progress in the future as they were in the past. So shall we preserve the nation which our fathers founded. So shall we transmit to our posterity, enlarged and beautified, the inheritance which our fathers transmitted to us. And so, when another hundred years shall be added to this, and we shall have gone the way of all the earth, to mingle our dust with the dust of our fathers and mothers, shall our descendants come to lay their tribute on our graves, and say, with filial pride, They were faithful to us, as their fathers were faithful to them.

God grant it for Christ's sake. Amen.

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THE

HUGUENOT ELEMENT

AMONG THE DUTCH.

BY

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THE HUGUENOT ELEMENT AMONG THE DUTCH.

"Out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation."—Rev., v: 9.

When we apply the spectroscope to the rays of the sun, certain fine lines of light of different colors appear, which indicate to the practiced eye the presence of various mineral vapors in the atmosphere of the great luminary. If in the analysis the iron predominates in quantity, other substances are yet seen to have contributed a proportionate measure to the intensity, and brilliancy, and power of those rays which are the controlling force of the world. Nor can we fail to perceive how widely this principle of combining the best results of different substances, to produce one greater result, enters into the processes of nature. The tree collects its energies from many sources of the earth and air, has searched many materials for the beautiful blush and the fine flavor of the peach. So that garden and that bouquet are the best and most beautiful that contain the choicest varieties, the well assorted productions of many climes. On the other hand, how sluggish and poor the life of the nation to which white winged commerce brings not, as to a nest, those commodities of the outside world which may there be assimilated into energy for the brain, vital force in the blood, and strong tissue for the muscle of its people! How different Solomon's temple would have been without the sailors and workmen of Tyre, the cedar wood and fir wood of her distant forests; the gold of Parvaim and Ophir; the arts of Egypt and Assyria; the lilies, and lions, and oxen, the pomegranates and palm trees, and brazen cherubim, the whole copious ornamentation of that cunning workman, Hiram!

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The Church of Jesus Christ is being made up in the same way "out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." No one people, no one nation is or will be permitted to claim a monopoly of contribution to her glory. Our great Centennial Exhibition, now in progress, where Chinese and Japanese from the gateway of the East, the mighty inventive genius of the West, and so many nationalities of different complexions and grades of advancement are vying together in peaceful competitive display, is not so large and various a combination of materials as will compose the Church and its glory when it shall be seen complete in heaven. We have occasionally heard a rich brogue or accent in the pulpit, and foreign turns of thought and expression, which added greatly to the charm and effect of the sermon or prayer; just as a child's lisp or a woman's voice have sometimes given a new touch of tenderness and beauty to the Lord's prayer. And this same variety, these effects of diverse training, experience, nurture, God is now working into the consummate glory of heaven. Ah! there, too, they shall hear them speak every man in his own language, "every man in his own tongue wherein he was born"—the dear "mother tongue;" and the great assembly shall be perpetually reminded of the largeness and freeness of His grace in Christ Jesus. "Out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation!" In the history of the Church's development thus far, how many names, each name a power, come up in illustration of this thought! What fine fruitage of grace Africa presents in Monica and Augustine, devoted mother, time honored son! But Ambrose, by whose help that son is at length ripened into fruitage of grace, is a branch from distant Gaul. And so, as the ages proceed, and notwithstanding the darkness of some of them, we find the "good seed, the children of the kingdom," ever more widely scattered; and producing among different people and tongues such kings of thought and kingly souls as Bernard, and Luther, and Calvin, and Wesley, and Edwards,

> "The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns."

And ultimately, all these "nations of the saved," gathered along the banks of the river, "clear as crystal," shall yield united tribute to the glory of the one King and the one kingdom.

But our subject leads us on into yet other fields illustrative of the thought with which we have commenced. We see the Church,

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itself thus made up, furnishing the elements of national greatness. What a country is ours! Here are united States, but one flag, one glory, one nation. The beams our country sends forth as the morning, to signal upon the mountain tops the approach of a liberating day for nations long subjected to darkness of misrule and tyranny, are the emanant lustre of our central, supreme sun. When, however, with the spirit of analytic research, we examine that lustre which enfolds us Americans, as well as the world over which it outreaches, we again discover generic internal differences. From no single source is this great light fed, from no single element was it kindled. To find its beginning we must go back to the Reformation and the Church in different countries. The incipiency of this flame, the gathering and preparation of the materials of which it was principally to be composed, was there.

The pilgrims and Puritans of England have been celebrated by many chroniclers, as they grandly deserved to be. The important influence of Holland and the Dutch has not been unrecognized. But how few, comparatively, know the story of the Huguenots of France, or what a good "leaven" the Huguenot element was in Holland or has been among ourselves. It is my part in this course of sermons to sketch the history of this element, particularly "among the Dutch;" to show how nobly it reinforced, by characteristics of its own, that other early ingredient of our country's greatness.

Scientists have remarked that the shells of the *teredo*, found in the fossil wood about Brussels, give out, when newly extracted from the soil, a strong scent of the ocean. But that ocean, they tell us, was one belonging to the far distant aeocene era, of which these shells are themselves the fossils and relics. The name Huguenot, likewise, is to-day only a fossil of the past, but one still odorous of the ocean, happily no longer existent, whose surges ultimately brought it to these shores. You cannot exhume or mention it without being reminded (if a historian) of long and dire persecution for conscience sake, of *auto da fes*, and St. Bartholomew, and the Dragonnades. It was amid such scenes of intense suffering, perpetually driven and hunted, that the Huguenot got his name and the characteristics that are still fragrantly associated with it. The name itself dates back to 1560, and is said by the Sieur de Castelnau, who lived in those times, to have come from a small piece of French money. When at the outset of the religious wars of that period the Protestants fled, the country people called them in derision "poor fellows, not worth a Hugue-

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not;" and the title, thus originally given, was ultimately assumed by themselves, just as Methodist was by the Methodists. D'Aubigné, however, connects it with *Eidesgenossen* (confederates, oath mates), the name of a German-Swiss patriot political party, which was subsequently in France corrupted into *Huguenot*, and which implied that the French Protestants were both foreign, republican and heretical—three things well adapted to bring down upon them the ire of king and Catholic; and this is now the commonly accepted derivation. But whatever gave rise to the name, or whatever the stigma it was intended to express, it is certain that French Protestantism was not foreign in its origin, and nothing then new. Heretical it was, as a purely Bible Christianity always must be to the church of Rome; republican only so far as this, that liberty of conscience, with God's Word as the alone rule of faith and practice, leads to a higher manhood and a sober liberty of thought in matters civil as well as religious. If, in the onward roll of ideas and their accompanying events, Church and State, tyrannical kingly power and other such evils, go down amid noise and confusion, doubtless it may be properly traced to Protestantism—that is, to the Bible and freedom of conscience—just as we trace the Rhine and Rhone over many dangerous rapids and cascades back to their source in the pure and limpid Alpine glacier. Therefore far seeing Pope and priest, as well as king, did well to bestir themselves, buckle on their fury, and greet this rising sect with the danger boding cry, "Art thou a king, then?" If, however, we seek its origin, apparently how harmless! Lefebre, Doctor of the Sorbonne and good Catholic, has replaced literature, philosophy and the old scholastic theology with some lectures right out of the Bible. What harm in that! It was before Luther's conversion or Zwingle's in Switzerland—before 1512. The age was astir with literary achievement, as the morning is alive and vocal with the early melody of birds; but no movement of dawn was visible anywhere over the moral world. Who could fear or dream of a Reformation beginning in Paris, because an old college professor had introduced there the study of the Bible? But soon Lefebre is himself stung by the truth he is handling and exhibiting—the doctrine of justification by faith. It inflames first his heart and then his tongue; and that eloquent tongue conveys the truth to others. Lefebre is a trough at which others are eagerly drinking, and among them, especially, one who will go fast and far—Farel, of Dauphiny, under the Alps (the home of so

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many of the future exiles), the pioneer missionary and eminent reformer of France.

Thus begun in Paris, and at the very centre of literature, the Reformation is not long in spreading. It enters the Court, and numbers the king's sister, the brightest womanly star of her day, Margaret of Valois, among its adherents. It affects the nobility; then it transfers itself, with the persecuted and venerable Lefebre, to Meaux, and gets down among the artisans and wool combers of that city, and enters with its transforming power the adjacent villages. Even the bishop is, for a time, the earnest colaborer of Lefebre and Farel. And so the good work goes on and widens, taking root throughout France; much helped, after 1521, by Luther's work and writings. Not, however, meanwhile, without persecution. Instead of Pharisees we have merely to read priests and monks, and the scenes of the Acts of the Apostles are everywhere repeated, only with worse violence. Nothing can be more touching than the public whipping on three successive days, then the branding of John Leclerc, wool comber of Meaux, in 1523. The heroic victim himself is silent amid the hooting crowd; but as the iron penetrates the burning flesh, one female shriek is heard, that could no longer be repressed; then, immediately, the exclamation, "Glory be to Jesus Christ and His witnesses;" and then his mother passes out of the awed and opening throng, with faltering step, to her home. "Not one of her enemies," says Beza, "dared put forth his hand against her." She will not say differently, nor will he fail, when, a year or two later, this same son meets death by slow fire, after having had his hand cut off, his nose torn away with hot pincers, his arms, breasts and whole body lacerated with cruel burnings—the first of that long succession, in France, of martyrs for Jesus. Or, shall we not rather call his mother the first and greatest, pierced, as she was, by every blow before it reached him, and bravely bearing the pain of life long after life and pain had left him?

Let us come down to 1560. Neither the fires of piety nor of persecution have burned low with the lapse of years. The one feeds the other. If at any time the flame of piety lulls, there is always some monk or doctor of the Sorbonne ready to stir it up again with fresh persecutions, to give some martyr the chance to show his burning zeal and the power of Divine grace. A spark in the embers is enough for the quick eye of these devoted agents of the Pope. Hence, of the blood of the martyr, which is "the

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seed of the Church," there is plenty. Neither the appeals of his sister, Margaret, nor Calvin's efforts, can prevent the king himself from joining in. He is afraid "that if he suffers his people to change their religion" (*i. e.*, to exercise freedom of conscience) "they will soon change their prince." Thus, Church and *State* are united, and the air is hot; so hot that many are already obliged to escape for their lives into other countries. And yet everywhere there is zeal, activity, growth. Head winds and side winds seem only to combine to blow the ship onward. There are churches and pastors. The New Testament, translated by Lefebre, and printed copiously by means of funds from Lyons, and Meaux, and Metz, as well as tracts by Farel, are being circulated by *colporteurs* everywhere. And what a host—by his letters, commentaries and other works—is Calvin, the greatest of French Reformers, to whom the world itself is indebted! And in 1540, to give an impulse to the Gospel, as yet unattained by it, comes Clement Marot. Although no longer professing Protestantism, which he has renounced, and only wishing to improve public taste, he is induced, by the Hebrew Professor of the Sorbonne, to translate into French verse some of David's Psalms. This he did with at first twenty, and afterwards thirty more of the Psalms. Being in ballad measure and sweetly worded, their effect was wonderful. King, queen, heir apparent and court, are soon humming or singing, each his or her favorite psalm, to some favorite ballad tune. Other classes follow the fashion till Marot's Psalms have become national.

Especially was Calvin impressed with their power. Therefore he persuaded Beza to translate the remaining one hundred, and had them all bound up together, with music adapted to each Psalm. Thus they passed into the congregations of the Reformed, were interspersed during their service, and were sung by all, men, women and boys together. It was the introduction of congregational singing, in the pure vernacular of Christian thought and feeling, instead of the old Latin and choral music of the Romish church. Even where Marot's Psalms had begun to be used by the Romanists, they were speedily resigned to the Reformed. What a power—music for the people! What a gift for Calvin and his fellow Christians of France and Geneva to send or carry into Germany, Holland, England! What a heritage of blessing to leave to the world! It was the first direct influence exerted by French Protestantism upon the church life of other countries.

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Not, however, the only one of this period, so far as Holland was concerned. The model of the Dutch Church in its form of government, and as it has come down to us, was the French. In each church was a Consistory, or body of Elders. Above this was a body of Ministers and Elders—substantially our Classis, but called a Colloquy or Conference. Then contiguous Colloquys were united into Provincial Synods. And above all, and uniting all by delegates from each Synod, was the National or General Synod.

Thus far we have been busy with the Huguenot element in France itself, up to the point where its influence has manifestly diverged into Holland. Our work now is to trace it in connection with that country.

In 1565, despite persecution, we find the Reformed Church of France embracing a fourth part of the kingdom; containing over two thousand churches, some of them with ten thousand members; numbering among its members illustrious princes, lords, soldiers and men of letters—holding its National Synod even in Paris. But alliance with rank and greatness led to wars, partly religious and partly political—in which the white cloth uniform of the Huguenot soldiery, and the white velvet of their generals, were alike dyed with blood which was not the blood of martyrdom. They showed, however, their high qualities. They knelt in prayer on the battle field. They were cool and steadfast even in defeat. They sought no concealment of flowing blood, as the ancient Spartans did, through a livery of scarlet. Amid the demoralization of war they maintained a high tone of virtue. No nobler soul has ever shone in the forefront of stirring times, no purer Christian than their leader, brave old Admiral Coligni. We pass over these times; and over the dire day of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, which witnessed Coligni's death; when the matins of the great bell of Notre Dame awoke in the streets of Paris that fearful sleuth hound cry, "kill! kill!" O you Huguenots! O you Huguenots! The blood that France then tasted was that of her own children, torn to pieces because they were Huguenots. But the thirst then communicated, although dormant for a while, will break out again in a *mania a potu*. Ultimately we shall see it during the Revolution, rending her sons and daughters with indiscriminate fury.

The Edict of Nantes, signed April 13, 1598, ended these scenes with toleration to the Protestants. Nor were they again arrayed

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in arms till Richelieu's time, who broke their political consequence at the famous siege of Rochelle. Henceforth they "browsed on weeds" politically and socially, but were legally tolerated till the Revocation of the Edict in 1685, by Louis XIV. They were then one million in twenty millions. The air was again hot with persecution. Such scenes occurred as have been eloquently portrayed by Bungener, in his "Priest and Huguenot," when the "booted missionaries" were tracking them everywhere. They could endure it no longer. That fearful blunder and crime of Louis XIV precipitated them upon Holland (particularly) in such vast numbers, that it was said "Holland was full." They were of all ranks—gentlemen and merchants, schoolmasters, professors and clergymen, soldiers and shepherds, noble ladies and servant girls. It is important, therefore, to consider them as they were at home. For just what France lost Holland gained as a part of its own riches. They indeed "borrowed" no "jewels" when they fled. It was singly, or by families, and in poverty. Still, no more destructive exodus could have occurred. They left behind them the loom, but took the skill that had laden it with fabrics; they left the field, but deprived of its best cultivator; the pulpit, but without a voice from God to man; they left France despoiled of her industries and commerce, and bereft of her best citizens. The Huguenot at home was hated, but why? Separated by his faith, as a Calvinist, from many practices of the Romish church, which to him were perpetual symbols of that church's unbelief in the one finished offering of Christ for salvation, he stood in the eyes of a church that would and could allow no dissent, and of a community devoted to the church, the worst thing that could be said of him, a man tainted with heresy. Had he been only an Atheist or Infidel the offence would have been passable. But he was a man of a different stamp. He had positive principles and would not conform. He attended no masses, invoked neither Virgin nor saints, had no belief in relics or indulgences, performed no penances, nor went to confession. He was a man who thought for himself, ventured to interpret the Bible for himself, and exalted it above Pope or Councils as the alone authority. In all this he was immovable, as his Huguenot ancestors had been; and, therefore, to the church a rock of offence, menace and danger, and in the community a mark for dislike, partly inherited and partly personal. And yet, personally, the Huguenot should have been honored and loved. If he attended no church *fêtes*

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and festivals, never joined in the gaiety of church holidays, and his demeanor was grave, it was only the outer surface under which flowed many deep virtues and waters of sympathy. Of a different stock from the blunt Puritan, his manners were mild and noted for courtesy. He governed himself, and trained his family also to order, neatness, the Bible virtues and refinements of life. "Patient as a Huguenot" had passed into a proverb. As a class, it was the most industrious, intelligent and orderly portion of the people. But this character itself, with the comforts and success it brought, was a cause of antipathy among other classes. The very virtues of the Huguenot were turned against him. He had no right to anything, no right to be prosperous, because he was a Huguenot. And when Louis XIV, out of his own bigotry and desire to be absolute, at last revoked the Edict of Nantes, and let slip the dogs of malice and persecution, it was so popular an act that all classes applauded and proclaimed him a saint.

Could it be that such an element should exist in so compact and congenial a country as Holland and produce no marked effect? In reality they at once laid down at the feet of their benefactor all the trophies of their industry. Holland received them (for the most part) poor; they made her rich. The manufacture of silks, linens, woolens, hats, paper and books, passed from France into her possession, and changed expensive imports into lucrative exports. So that, if they came to their new home as the poor bride, without a jewel on her fingers save the chaste wedding ring that marked an enduring union, there was in the nimble fingers themselves, so skilful with the distaff and spindle, ample dowry for the present, large legacy for the future. Material wealth, however, was not the only or the best blessing they brought to Holland. They were the bolted wheat of their own nation; men and women who had been tutored into religious habits by long suffering; men and women who also combined intelligence and culture with piety. In France they had always been particular about education; and in their adopted country it is their just praise to say that they brought down education to the masses and made it popular. If it had been before a feast for the gods, they now made it a savory meal for the humblest of men. The truth is, they found literature and learning imprisoned in Latin, and accessible to only the few. Women were almost entirely excluded from the gates of this isolated and guarded enclo-

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sure. But many of the refugees were fine writers; and by the introduction of French in place of the Latin, which made all literature as recluse as a monk, national history, theology and science speedily dropped down and were liberated to the comprehension and enjoyment of great numbers. In this respect education and culture (its nearest relatives) had no reason to mourn when Latin became a dead language. It is true, the change elevated it to a pedestal of glory, where it would stand in Parian purity and changeless elegance, while the living tongue soon became corrupted by, and a corrupter of the Dutch. But the impetus was given. The many schools the Huguenots founded, and the houses of education for both boys and girls, with knowledge unlocked before them, remained a privilege of Holland and a memento of their coming.

And so, in one other respect their influence should here be noted, upon the pulpit and preaching of Holland—the source of our own earlier ministry. The preaching there had become too didactic, and in the effort to instruct, had lost force and fervor. But the Huguenot preachers soon injected French vivacity and fire into its veins, and turned Dutch phlegm into blood eloquence. Who has not heard of "Saurin's Sermons?" What, however, is the best sermon in the book, with all its imagery, brilliancy, fine method, purity of style, or the elevation and power of its thoughts to that same sermon (or any other) uttered by Saurin himself? And they had the man, settled at the Hague, the centre of influence; of whom one asked, who heard him for the first time, "is this a man or an angel who is speaking to us?" And so all were captivated by his melodious and resonant voice, his noble countenance, his ardor, as well as his sermons and wonderful prayers. They had Claude, too; if not so gifted in manner, and voice, and appearance, the man to draw students and have his influence rebound from the lips of others, preachers made by him; and whom a single "Essay on the Composition of a Sermon" has made known down to our own day. Nor has the history failed to pay tribute, as a perfect orator, to Du Bosc, of Rotterdam, so sweetly surnamed the "preacher of grace," and of whom Louis XIV exclaimed, "I have just listened to the man who speaks the best of all my kingdom; it is certain, at least, that I never heard one speak so well." When he was exiled, Denmark, Holland and England disputed the honor of giving him shelter. He died young, it is true, only four years after his coming to Rotterdam. But if such was the meteor in its short blaze, what must have been the light and in-

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fluence of the two hundred fixed stars, the pastors whom France so recklessly shook from her own heavens to illuminate Holland? The peers, some of them of Bossuet and Massillon and Bourdaloue, all of them burning with a kindred and radiating warmth, they changed the whole spirit of the Dutch pulpit. They taught it fervor and simplicity of appeal; they taught the rodent rat, gnawing away at the roots of things (which some of the Dutch preachers too much resembled), to leave the deep, and hard, and dry, and to come out into more friendly sympathy and companionship with men. Both preacher and pastor felt the effect of their example. Easy and affable with rich and poor, they converted the pulpit from dulness to eloquence, and the pastorate from official routine to living intercourse. Such was another feature of the good they did to Holland.

But that good broadens in its results, as we shall see, if we consider it nationally and politically.

When Wesley (six years old) was pulled through the window of his father's burning rectory, by a man standing on another man's shoulders, and immediately the roof fell in, doubtless there was a Providence in it, but one as yet shut up in the bud. No one saw what was in or would come out of the circumstance, though his father was properly thankful for the preservation of all his eight children. And when absolutist King Louis was ejecting that herd of Huguenots, little did he dream what would come of it. Had he planted an acorn he would have known what fruit to expect. But here the result was a secret, shut up in the bosom of Sovereign wisdom. His own act, however, was the "cake of barley bread that tumbled into the host of Midian, and came unto a tent and overturned it." That it did so much was no fancy of one telling "his dream." In Holland, at the time, was one William the Silent, Prince of Orange. His head was a hive of plans, which contained honey for Holland and England, but stings for Louis and James. But there was, also, a party opposed to the Prince, secretly formed by France, and undermining his plans. Things were just then at the critical moment which involved, as a later event, the victory of Popery or Protestantism in England, the downfall of James, and the blessings to liberty, religion and the world, which have followed. It was at such a moment that the Huguenots came, in Providence, to reinforce the Prince by the story of their wrongs, by their numbers and their talents—to man his fleet, strengthen his army, help his embarkation for England;

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and, at the battle of the Boyne, furnish the regiments and the general that decided the day for Protestant ascendancy. Little Holland (may we not say) was the bud whose petals, for the time, enclosed all this; the Huguenots being, as it were, the fructifying stamens standing round the centre of all—a Providence whose slowly ripening seeds would be seeds of good to men.

It is, however, individuals who, under Providence, shape history. It is the individual ancestor of strong character who impresses his image on his race; just as we see a nose or a lip of peculiar form repeating themselves through many generations. And though we cannot always answer the question, "Whose is this image and supercription," we know the law. When, therefore, we consider the character and numbers of these refugees in Holland, can it be wrong to conclude that there is much called Dutch—more than it is usual to suppose—which, up the stream, came from a Huguenot source? Especially does the conclusion strengthen when we find, among many such changes, the French Leblanc altered into its synonyme De Witt, and in English, Dwight; the Chevaliers becoming De Ruyter; the Dumoulins, Van der or Ver Meulen; and names so thoroughly Dutch as De Groot derived from Legrand, Van den Berg from Dumont (from the mountain), and Van den Bogaard from Dujardin (from the garden). Where are they, these precious spots (the mountain, the garden), the record of which has thus come down from father to son, preserved in the amber of a name? Nowhere in Holland. Somewhere among the long left hills and valleys of France. The pleasant reality has long ago faded into a mere name—faded as have so many other pleasant things: our childhood, youth and early homes, "from" which we have ever since been departing. Some of us carry our symbols with us, woven into the texture of our very names—strangers and pilgrims. They are symbols of movement, and change, and departings. Our ancestors departed and sought shelter among the dykes of Holland. Another roll of the wave of time and their descendants are in America. There will come yet another wave, long, surging, irresistible, before which the dykes of time itself will give way. Then the symbolism of a name will again be fulfilled in a final departing—it is Ver miglio (Vermilye), "from" the midst.

It only remains for us now to complete this sketch with an account of the Huguenots "among the Dutch" of our own country.

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When one is grown and the character of his manhood has developed itself, we like to go back, if we can, and con his childhood and youth. Who were his parents, what relatives or friends of note witnessed the christening scene, who or what influences nursed him into growth, who taught him, and things like these, are interesting fragments. We dip into the past with zest, and trace its connection with the present. Of course there is an element of sadness about it, as we discover what time has been doing with the past itself, once so graceful and vigorous. It strikes one with a certain sense of sadness to stand on the shore and see the ships go silently seaward, till the latest lingerer is at length lost to view below the horizon. But what is this to the changes that have taken place even between youth and manhood? What is it for sadness to the sight of old families dying out, old mansions, once generous and grand, turned into boarding houses, or only awaiting, like some deserted hulk on the shore, the hour of inevitable destruction?* What is it, in view of that plaintive utterance, whether applied to families or communities, "And Joseph died and all his brethren and all that generation." Yet, on the other hand, there is great pleasure in recalling the youthful beginnings of energetic and dignified manhood. The parents may lie in the old churchyard, the schoolmaster be dead, and the surroundings be all different; but that manhood, we well know, would not have been what it is in its expanded glory, separate from the soil that produced it.

Such feelings mingle as we turn back from the present of our country to its youthful beginnings, as we trace it through the stripling state to the auguries of the cradle. Its baptism was under the blessing of Almighty God. There were present as witnesses and as sponsors, to whom its youth was to be entrusted, the elect of various nations; and to them God gave solemn charge, as concerning another Moses, "Take this child and nurse it for me." We cannot follow them all in their relation to its destinies during the period of incipient growth—a period prolonged as a patriarch's youth, and to be succeeded (as we hope) by a patriarch's longevity. To attempt it of one of them may be the vain attempt to "curdle a long life into an hour." But the Huguenot (our theme) was there as one selected of Providence, and doing

* It is understood that the fine old manor house of the Van Rensselaers in Albany, built in 1765, is soon to be taken down, and the place of so many hospitalities to be given up to business purposes.

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his part in the nursing of this young child. To-day the Huguenot has no recognition or influence as a distinct and separate element in the land. This is well, doubtless, even if in some respects to be regretted: for we want no divisions—no Irish, no Germans, no Dutch, no North, no South—only one country, and all Americans. It lives, however, an element time honored and respected everywhere; but only (we must content ourselves with saying) as the old nurse whose children have married into other names, and who herself lives lovingly cherished for past services in the family whose glory from the beginning she has aided and shared. It is to those services we must turn if we would do justice to the Huguenot. And first, to look for a moment outside the Dutch, and to mention but an item or two, what a power has been Faneuil Hall, immortalized as the "cradle of liberty"—the gift of a Huguenot! Its vane is a grasshopper, after his armorial crest—quick in motion, bold, fruitful, pervasive, like the thoughts and the speech that have been wont to come from this hall of liberty. What would Maine be without the institution that commemorates the munificence, the regard for learning and the name of Bowdoin, a Huguenot? Or, to go South, could our history spare, without being incomplete, the name and the deeds of Marion the swamp fox of Carolina, or Horry, or Huger, or Laurens? Can we read without pride of the princely loan, during the Revolution, of $220,000 by Gabriel Manigault, when the treasury of the country was in deep distress for means to carry on the war? Can we doubt the excellence and patriotism of the stock, numerically small, that furnished three out of seven of the Presidents of the Continental Congress—Jay, Laurens and Boudinot? It was a Huguenot voice—that of Duché—which opened that Congress with prayer; a Huguenot (Laurens) who drew the articles of capitulation at Yorktown; Huguenots (two, at least, of the four) who signed the treaty of Paris; and a Huguenot (Boudinot) who, as President of Congress, set thereto the seal of peace and independence to America. And thirty years later, in 1814, and again signing a treaty of peace, of this same stock we have James Bayard and Albert Gallatin.

But to return to the Dutch. This carries us back to the earliest times of New York, New Amsterdam. And at once we are struck with a difference between the colony there located and that which formed the nucleus of New England. The one homogeneous, the other heterogeneous; the one landlocked in its sympathies as the bay of Boston, the other stretching out arms of

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access and welcome to the world, like the harbor and anchorage of New York. In 1623 the colony first assumed shape of permanency; and in 1643 eighteen different languages were said, by its Director-General, to be spoken among the inhabitants. Thus, even at that early date, New York resembled one of those islands of the South Sea, where birds of distinct tribes build along the streets of the same feathery metropolis, where the air resounds with the din and jargon of their dissonant voices, but where (tolerant if not akin) the same nest receives and shelters a diverse brood. Nor can we doubt that it was the wisest policy, under the circumstances, this spirit of tolerance and hospitality which they imported direct from Holland, and which characterized New York. For, like a great drag net spread out over the countries, it drew to its shores—as they drew in the fish from the surrounding rivers—just the men and women that were needed to build up this vast emporium. Among them, and next to the Dutch in wealth and numbers, were the Huguenots. They came from Holland and from France. Came, many of them, with the cinders of persecution still on their garments; and many of them, too, disguised as to their lineage by names that were Dutch. And they came early. Peter Minuit, for six years the first Governor, was a Huguenot. The first child born among the colonists was the daughter of George Rapelye, a Huguenot. "Kill! kill!" cried Charles the Ninth, at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; but the Lord said differently as to some of them. So the Rapelyes escaped into Holland. And, since the Lord seems to be still the guardian of the family, here is yet safe deliverance and a child for them, after all perils, on distant shores, in a new home, in which that child is to be, and to bear the honor of being the first born. It was the beginning of a large Huguenot increase, both by births and by emigration; an increase so large and withal respectable that a Huguenot was practically associated with the Governor in the conduct of affairs, and that public documents were printed in French as well as in Dutch.

If now we dwell more particularly upon the character of these Huguenots, we shall find them how admirably adapted to the work they had to do! That character is indicated somewhat in the fact that when, in 1628, the first minister, Michaelius, gave form and being to the first church of the colony, Minuit, the governor, was one of the two elders selected, and in the fact that, at the first communion, of fifty communicants a large part were

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Huguenots. Indeed, the religious element in this nobly Christian people does not seem, as we trace them, to have lost its strength by transplantation. What a beautiful picture is that afforded, even many years later, by their habits of Sunday service! It is at the old church du St. Esprit. Every street around is filled with wagons and carts. They started Saturday afternoon, and have come from New Rochelle, twenty-three miles distant, filled with women and children. All that distance the men have walked beside them, from time to time beguiling the way and the night by a song out of that old ançestral favorite, Marot's Psalms. Somewhere in the outskirts a frugal morning meal has been eaten, the dust of the long travel has been removed, and now, with similar companies from Long Island, Staten Island and intermediate places, they await the bell to begin their Sabbath devotions. They will pass the day in hearing what they love—the plain, familiar Gospel in French—in singing the low, plaintive music, set in minor key, to Marot's Psalms, and in prayers, and then return at night, as they came, to their homes. How different is the vigorous and persistent religious spirit thus indicated, which change and hardship have not impaired—which neither heat nor cold have thus far been able to subdue—which, in a remote trading settlement, without other outward aid at first than prayers in a grist-mill, nevertheless maintains itself in life—how different from what has been since seen in California and in other colonies of the world! It is one of the marvels of Providence that this country was settled just when it was, and by whom it was—by men such as the Puritans, and Hollanders, and Huguenots, whose religion the temperature of outward circumstances could not kill, because, like the frozen spider, it had life still beating at the heart.

Piety, however, was not the only quality which distinguished these Huguenots of New York. If that lay deepest in the centre, and was the vital one, there were branching veins which contributed much to their worth in the community. They were every way a more graceful force, acting upon the life of the colony, than the Dutch. In becoming Huguenots they had not ceased to be French. They had made no attempt to slough off that heritage, which was as dear to them as their religion. We must remember that none of them had left France voluntarily. They had been torn up by the roots, and had yielded to the push of persecution. But when that stern pressure was removed, they yearned for the

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old soil. If they had been grave and sedate when necessity demanded it, so soon as its grasp was relaxed they reverted to the old type. They were French all over. How French (and how charming) is that little incident related of one—a venerable emigrant of New Rochelle—who daily wandered to the shore, turned in the direction of France, and there (with a few others who by degrees joined him) poured out his morning prayers and sang one of Marot's psalms! Therefore, in our analysis of their influence "among the Dutch," we should consider how they differed from them, and what they contributed of their own. They loved dress, we find, more than the plain dressing Hollanders. They were French. Similarly, their temperament was more gay colored, vivacious and cheerful. Hence, they never could be induced to imitate the domestic manners of the Dutch. The Dutchman's house was swept, scrubbed, sanded and closed for the week—except an open front door and the kitchen. He plodded, and cultivated sobriety; whilst, on the other hand, the Huguenot, with equal neatness and good order, blended the urbanity and refinements and enjoyments of life. We have only to run back over the previous history to see what was ancestral in his case, to know what he brought to the infant colony. By heredity there was culture based upon a character "good, amiable and affable." Mental culture, religious culture, social culture, industry and a careful sense of duty, had come down to him as a part of his faith, and as a habit of life which, with chivalric faithfulness, he should keep up and transmit to his children. It was an heirloom as sacred to the Huguenot as the old family Bible, which reminded him continually of his ancestors, their faith and sufferings, and of his own duty. It was all a trust, which he could not get rid of, if he would; for his own character was an heirloom. It had received a polish and a grace of outline and had been inlaid with social virtues, set deep in the grain, which he could neither remove nor conceal.

And not only did the Huguenots enrich the colony with a finer social element, numerous enough to make itself felt in the future, but they added a graceful skill, connected with energy and industry, to the employments of life. From what New York is now can we contract our imagination to what it was then? It extends to Wall street, with woods to Chambers street. Its houses and buildings are few and crudely constructed. Not a wharf reaches a hand span into the river in hope and expectation of com-

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merce. A wind mill and a grist mill are its industries. Its orchards are the primitive pine, and its gardens the wild vine and thorn. How much there is to be done to transform this rude beginning into the rising and then the glorious city! Even the graceful touch of a hand will now bear fruit; if it be only the planting of a pear tree, it may bear fruit two hundred years afterwards. And it was just in the direction of useful and ornamental industry that the Huguenots excelled. They shirked no labor of any kind, but honestly bent their backs to the burden, whatever it was. Yet they differed very usefully from the hard working but generally less refined and versatile Dutch. If they brought with them few or no old pictures, the masterpieces of others, to embellish a wall, they had themselves the happy art of embellishing on a larger scale; of introducing new arts and employments, of making privation cheerful with comforts, and of clothing nature herself, hitherto all primitive, with new and graceful productions. We must not suppose that, because tiles, and bricks, and nails and other such articles of use came from Holland, the colonists needed no genius for construction. They needed it every day. Besides, they were constructing here something very different from anything in Holland—something which would be the growth of new circumstances, new soil, and a combined people. It was they who in every sphere were making and shaping, by their industry, intelligence and skill, the institutions, the employments, even the fruitage of the city and neighborhood which they occupied. Do we remember that our most delicious fruits—the apple, the pear, the peach and others—are not indigenous, but foreign? They all had to be planted by some hand before the world could taste, or the colonists themselves, the choice American varieties. Nature, too, had first to be subdued by incessant labor before she would wear as a habit the flowered robes and the cultured ornaments of the orchard and garden. And in these very matters the Huguenot was an acquisition. He was especially skilful in agriculture. Flowers and fruits, vines and trees, orchards and gardens grew up under his dexterous care. The quince can be traced directly to him. He was like the bumble bee, replacing, as its given work, the stems of common grass with the beautiful red clover, the germs of which, with winged industry, it conveys from flower to flower and field to field.

It is not necessary to follow "the Huguenots among the Dutch" with any particularity after this period. The germs of the great

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city were all there. Henceforth there will be expansion and growth, but in what direction has already—within the first fifty years—been substantially decided. The same forces — Dutch, Huguenots and others—will be at work upon it, upon its political, religious, commercial and social life, with energies unspent. In time both Dutch and Huguenot will drop their almost obsolete languages and speak a common English. It has, therefore, come to pass that, beyond a name or a family tradition, or the old Bible, there is little to indicate who of us were originally Dutch, or Huguenot, or English. We are Americans, who have left the sources of our several streams for the noble bay which includes us all. Sometimes the secret peeps in a look or betrays itself in a trait. But blood is thicker than water; and the Huguenot blood, unless the principles of heredity fail, is not one to wash out easily or fade out quickly with time. All the great elements—religion, intelligence, integrity, energy—have been here combined to make it strong, self-asserting, lasting. Accordingly, wherever a Huguenot name has survived the fate of time and the mixture of race, we have been apt to find it in honorable connections. Sometimes a street tells us of one that was considered worthy of perpetuity, as Jay, Desbrosses, Lispenard, Bleecker, Delancey. The name of John Pintard, a man of many charities, and the founder of the N. Y. Historical Society, is still cherished among the membership of that society; whilst in its present president, Mr. De Peyster, runs the same old blue blood of the Huguenots. The name of Gallaudet, with its blessed associations, lives over again in his son, a resident of New York. Law, the judiciary, statesmanship, worth, were all eminent in John Jay; his honors and his usefulness were national. Of those who settled on Staten Island the names of La Tourette, Bedell, Disosway, Guion, Seguine and others still continue familiar and respected. Mamaroneck has had her Bishop, De Lancey. And in the Dutch Church, of fragrant memory for pulpit and platform eloquence, for poetic gifts, sparkling wit and geniality, there lingers the name of Bethune; whilst in the living pulpits are also the Huguenot names Lefevre, De Witt (Leblanc), Demarest, Dubois, Denis Wortman, Duryea, Bevier and others. The Huguenot Crispell (of New Paltz), like another Claude, still teaches the Hollander of the West theology, and trains a rising ministry.

And if we go to New Paltz or Kingston, where the stock still retains, in large measure, its purity of descent from sire to son,

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we shall find the Huguenot blood not yet stagnant from age, nor yet lacking its ancient qualities. With all its French fire it was never feverish. The Huguenot took hold of truth with tough and tenacious muscle, just as he worked. It was not his character to run into extravagancies either of thought or action. The history of both Dutch and Huguenot Protestantism is singularly free from some of those eccentricities which marked Germany and England, and New England. Elastic in gloom and suffering, yielding to no comet alarms or frenzy of witches, on the other hand it was Huguenot nature to be cheerful, patient and steady. Along the Wallkill they have, from the beginning, illustrated these traits. The fields have blossomed under their industry, and the valley has fattened and prospered. The bell, which has succeeded the horn, still summons, though from a loftier steeple, an obedient and worshipful people, devoted to the same faith and the same church order. Neat and virtuous households yet attest the presence of women of the old stock, though time has, perhaps, thrown into less frequent use among them the name, once held and honored by so many, of Petronella. And if we seek for the old Huguenot culture among the homes of this ancestry at New Paltz and Kingston, it will not be hard to find its accomplished representatives. Passing from Petronella Hasbrouck (of Kingston), and from Judge Hasbrouck, I need only mention, as a fitting finish to this recital, one later name, of one honored as he is now venerable, the former beloved President of Rutgers College, Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck.

In conclusion. Tersely and beautifully the Bible expresses a natural sentiment, when it says, "The glory of children are their fathers." A religious, an intelligent, an industrious and honest parentage and ancestry is a great blessing. This is something which no law of primogeniture and no reverse of fortune can take away. It is to be heir to a stimulating inheritance. As the motive to be honest as they were, and religious as they were, is great, so is the disgrace of disgracing those who have built up for us such an example. And surely those of us who can claim to be Huguenots have ample reason to be proud of the long lineage. We are in duty bound, by a noble imitation of their virtues, to be God fearing and Bible loving. Picked by Providence for a great work, tested by almost superhuman suffering, grand in endurance and in the quality of their virtues, they became, with God's other chosen ones, the massive base on which was to be

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reared this temple of liberty. If this temple, to which the nations are already flocking, ever falls, it will not be because of weakness or rottenness at the foundation. It will be because the walls and pillars are not equal to the weight and strain of a complete building. It will be with us, who are the descendants of these chosen ones, that the fault will lie. We will, however, hope better things for our country, toward which in the past God's providences have been so manifest. We would rather think of it as a fruitful Nile, pouring its undiminished waters for centuries into the same sea with other great nations. We would rather think of travellers like Livingstone, or Baker, or Stanley, in the future exploring from a populous delta, through banks lined with free and prosperous communities, all speaking the same language and worshipping the same God, up to its sources—and there, standing reverently, able to say this great lake is the Puritan, this smaller but still noble one is the Huguenot. And then (we would have them say), as the end of the whole glorious problem, their source—whether Puritan, Dutch or Huguenot—the source from which they derived all their virtues, is that great watershed, bringing its blessings directly from the mountains and clouds of heaven—the Bible!

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THE

LESSONS OF THE CENTURY

TO THE LAITY OF THE CHURCH.

BY

JOHN McCLELLAN HOLMES, D. D.,

HUDSON, N. Y.

1863

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THE
LESSONS OF THE CENTURY
TO THE LAITY OF THE CHURCH.

"For in mine holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel, saith the Lord God, there shall all the house of Israel, all of them in the land, serve me; there will I accept them, and there will I require your offerings and the first fruits of your oblations, with all your holy things."—EZEKIEL, XX: 40.

IN these suggestive words of Scripture, God announces His will respecting His chosen people. From the earliest infancy of the world there have always been a select few who have illustrated the spirit and obeyed the laws of their Divine Master. These, in their several spheres, have stood as the representatives of His cause, and have helped forward the interests of His kingdom. They have included the ordained ministers of the Word who have been formally consecrated to Christian service, and whose Divine anointing has summoned them to superior fidelity and zeal. But they have also embraced the order of the laity, who in a less conspicuous, but equally important manner, have sustained the institutions of religion and diffused the knowledge of the truth.

To this latter class the prophet more particularly refers in the text. Their position was, in his esteem, singularly solemn and responsible. God had charged them with the rendering of service and the offering of oblations; and pursuant to these prescribed requirements, they were to present in His holy mountain the first fruits of their affection and obedience, of their homage and activity.

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What was true, however, of the laity under the former economy may be fitly affirmed respecting them in the new dispensation. Their position in the Christian Church is distinctly defined, and the duties devolved upon them are satisfactorily set forth. Quite as much as the clergy are they summoned to conserve the interests of Zion, and in their specific sphere to promote the welfare of the Redeemer's kingdom.

In the early history of the Christian Church the lay element was peculiarly prominent in its affairs. Scarcely had our Lord ascended ere the entire company of the disciples, to the number of one hundred and twenty, returned to Jerusalem, and in connection with the Apostles, continued with one accord in prayer for the gift of the Holy Ghost. The results experienced on the day of Pentecost were intimately associated with the faith and patience of the laity; and hence upon them, as well as upon the Apostles, the "cloven tongues, like as of fire," rested, while each one of them, under the influence of a holy chrism, "began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." Succeeding events attest the continued and even increasing power of the laity in the primitive Church. By reason of their consecrated zeal on the one hand, and their large hearted liberality on the other, important accessions were made to its membership, and a fresh impulse was given to its effective force. And when, after the arrest and examination of Peter and John for the miracle wrought in connection with the impotent man, it seemed desirable to secure a special communication of the Holy Spirit, the laity again participated with the Apostles in the methods which were employed and the results which were realized.

During the remainder of the first century and the earlier years of the second the lay element continued to exercise an important influence in the Christian Church. Throughout the entire East, and in Germany, France, Spain and Britain as well, the Gospel was widely diffused, and Christ was worshipped as God. The successors of the Apostles contributed largely to this result; but much was also effected by the efforts of those holy men who, in private stations, recommended religion in their lives, and taught the people the truths of the Divine testimony. The extraordinary gift of tongues appears to have gradually ceased as soon as the knowledge of Christ had spread among the nations; but individual activity, of a less miraculous though equally earnest sort, continued everywhere to characterize the body of believers.

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In the ages which followed, the prominence of the laity was essentially lessened, and their effective agency materially abridged. Owing partly to the paralyzing influence of persecution, partly to the excessive encroachments of corruption, and partly to the centralization of power in patriarchs, bishops and clergy, the laity were far less efficient and successful than in any previous period. The records of several successive centuries in the history of the Church are blurred with the sad recital of spiritual decadence and Christian inactivity. Indeed, through all the gloom of the Middle Ages there was nothing accomplished in the matter of ecclesiastical progress except by the clergy as a class.

During the prevalence of the feudal system the evils thus existent were greatly aggravated. A condition of vassalage universally prevailed, which was wholly subversive of independent Christian activity. The higher clergy were feudal nobles. Ecclesiastical tenants were a thoroughly recognized part of the general system. And the abasement of the masses, which everywhere attended the operation of feudal laws, seriously repressed the activity, if it did not absolutely destroy the existence of the laity. In the suggestive language of Motley, "Power the more subdivided became the more tyrannical. The sword was the only symbol of law; the cross was a weapon of offence; the bishop was a consecrated pirate; every petty baron was a burglar; while the people, alternately the prey of duke, prelate and seignor, shorn and butchered like sheep, esteemed it happiness to sell themselves into slavery, or to huddle beneath the castle walls of some little potentate for the sake of his wolfish protection."

With the dawn of the Reformation the darkness which had so long brooded over the private membership of the Church began to be dispelled. That struggle was a religious and ecclesiastical movement, and was the result of a long conspiracy on the part of kings and priests against religion and the masses. It asserted, among other things, the principle of evangelical freedom, as laid down in the epistles of St. Paul, in opposition to the system of an outward legalistic authority which fettered the individual conscience, and impaired the rights of private judgment. As the consequence, it broke the shackles of ecclesiastical oppression, and proclaimed to all the world the blessings of free thought and free speech. For a season, it is true, after the Papal yoke was cast off, the authority once exercised at the Vatican was usurped throughout all Protestant Europe by the sovereigns of the several

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realms. But, by reason of the pronounced opposition of the Netherlands, who lodged sovereignty in the people, and built it upon the basis of individualism, seconded by the efforts of the more intelligent and independent of the neighboring nations, this condition of things was gradually changed, and the laity rose into a higher sphere of experience, and assumed a wider range of action.

With the subsequent condition and characteristics of those composing the private membership of the Church you are doubtless all familiar. Steadily has their effective influence increased until, in point of position and prerogatives, they have well nigh become the peers of those who are called to lead "the sacramental host of God's elect." Particularly has this been the case in the century which has just closed. The exigencies created by a continuously advancing civilization, and the facilities afforded for every form of Christian effort, have aroused the energies and quickened the zeal of all who compose the Church of the living God. In a pre-eminent degree has this impulse been communicated to the laity. And hence, during the past hundred years, the great brotherhood of believers in the Christian Church have assumed a dignity and importance hitherto unknown.

Of course this condition of things has imposed new responsibilities, and necessitated the discharge of new duties. With these every Christian layman should be familiar. And hence it seems eminently fitting that our Reformed Church should suggest, as a prominent theme in its series of Centennial Discourses.

THE LESSONS OF THE CENTURY TO THE LAITY OF THE CHURCH.

I. In attempting the review of these lessons the mind naturally reverts, at the outset, to the important relation which exists between doctrinal purity and a vigorous Christian life. It was no unmeaning language which, in the first century, the Apostle Jude employed, when he exhorted those that were "sanctified by God the Father and preserved in Jesus Christ;" that they should "earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." This faith—possessed of such structural unity and completeness, invested with such Divine authority, and characterized by such personal adaptations—challenges the admiration and assent of all who love the Lord. Not only is it a revelation of the Divine pleasure and purpose, and therefore to be regarded with

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reverence; it is also a ministration to human necessity, and therefore to be accepted with thankfulness. At the period when the Gospel was given to the world there was urgent need of a doctrinal Christian system. Philosophy was sick of its own speculations; society was rotten with its own irremediable corruptions; and men whose minds and hearts were not wholly beclouded with barbaric ignorance and vice, longed for a religious system which should satisfy the cravings of the intellect and at the same time furnish laws for the life. Christianity was instituted to fulfill these aspirations, and singularly successful has it been in the accomplishment of this result. Its doctrinal statements, expressing with accuracy the revealed will of God, have moulded the character and modified the conduct of all who have sincerely believed. Nor can there be real elevation in spiritual experience and life apart from Christianity thus dogmatically presented.

There are those, it is true, in our time who, boasting the advancement of modern thought, regard religious consciousness as the germinal source of all religious action, and who, ignoring the consecrated claims of Christianity, refer all spiritual excellence to certain sensations of the soul. But, weighed in the balance of either cause or effect, a conception such as this is altogether unsatisfactory. Not that religious feeling is in anywise to be undervalued; on the contrary, spiritual sentiments and sympathies are important factors in Christian experience and life. A subjective emotion however, destitute of either substance or reality, can scarcely suffice as the religion of a rational and immortal being. While, as an effective agency for sanctifying and saving men, it is less influential even than the lights and shadows which flit over the landscape and paint the earth with hues of transcendent beauty, or shroud it for a season in oppressive darkness and gloom.

On the other hand, we hear continual references to a religion which is based upon dull, dead necessity, and blind impassive force working, no man can know how and no man can tell why. It is a necessity or force, we are assured, which "rules with the same calm and unconscious might the sweep of a comet and the transit of a planet, the path of a storm and the surge of a tide." All things by this system are said to be firmly and finally fixed, while what we take for the play of our freedom is but "the fluttering of the needle ere it settles to the pole." The noblest experiences of the human soul are affirmed to be merely the move-

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ments of an elaborate and involved mechanism, in which our characters are simply incidental adjustments, and our lives but "the spindles that twist the threads." This phase of religious belief, however, is as unsubstantial and unsatisfying as the other. It is certainly far from according with the necessities of human nature and the longings of human life.

Christianity alone, with its purity of principle and purpose, and its strivings after sanctity and salvation, is the power which, under God, can lift the soul above the level of sense and sin, and render it instinct with spiritual vitality and vigor. In the earlier centuries it cleared away the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and revealed to the race an ideal of Christian perfectness; and in all succeeding ages it has realized a similar result, giving humanity a fresher experience and a holier life. Indeed, religion, as embodied in the character and conduct of its disciples, cannot survive without doctrinal purity. In the absence of this element religious feeling inevitably decays, while even religious necessity becomes a thing of naught.

II. Equally however, does the retrospect of the past hundred years impress upon the laity of the Church the importance of devout spirituality. Constituted as is our holy religion, it must necessarily be possessed of diverse characteristics. On the one hand it is a system of faith, finding its seat in the soul, and involving the exercise and development of the intellect and affections. In order to its experience there must needs be the regeneration of the heart and the sanctification of the spirit. And hence in all ages it has assumed, to a larger or lesser extent, a meditative type, and has pervaded its disciples with the element of spirituality. On the other hand, Christianity came into the world as an aggressive and revolutionizing force. The powers then dominant were to be brought into allegiance to Christ. Judaism, which had become alike imperious and secular—heathenism, whose supremacy was almost unquestioned—and the authority of Imperial Rome, immense in extent and immeasurable in energy—were each successively assailed by its inherent might. Necessarily, therefore, the religion of Jesus was then, and ever since has been an active and practical principle. Without doubt the highest style of Christian believer is one who combines to the most complete extent, and in the most symmetrical manner, these two representative phases of our holy faith. Indeed, the only satisfactory manifestations of religious character and life are associated

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with the reciprocal influences of spiritual experience and aggressive activity.

The genius of the last century however, has in a marked degree been favorable to the culture of external Christian effort rather than internal religious life. During the past hundred years Simeon Stylites has been an impossible personage. For while, in some previous epochs of the world's history, the minds of men, loyal to the organon of Aristotle, have been introspective and metaphysical—in the last century, the mind of the people, loyal to the organon of Bacon, has been essentially utilitarian and practical. In no small degree has religion thus been bereft of some of her fairest features and some of her choicest charms. I have no disposition to decry the genius of our century or to deplore the tendency of our times. Within certain limitations, Mr. Emerson utters Divine truth when he says, "A breath of will blows eternally through the universe of souls in the direction of the right and necessary." God adjusts the character of the ages to the wants of the world during their immediate progression. At the same time the pendulum must not swing to an exclusive extreme in any one direction. And the history of the Church during the past hundred years, taken in connection with the present drift of religious sentiment and character, summons the laity to cultivate and evince a devout spirituality.

Certainly, Christ-likeness necessitates a compliance with this command. Nothing was more characteristic of the Son of God than His intense spirituality. He went about, it is true, doing good. But He also cherished a secret sympathy with the Father, which, more than all things else, gave tone to His inner experience and moulded His outer life. There is an intensive as well as extensive operation of existence. And true progress is to be measured by perpendicular projection rather than lateral spread. In a sense supreme, such was the distinguishing type of our Lord's personal character. And in this He but illustrated the law which pervades the universe, and which involves a philosophical progress toward spirituality. "The whole movement of history," says the author of the Paraclete, "in all that is vital and permanent, is a movement from the outward and visible to the inward and spiritual." Human consciousness attests this fact in regard to Christian experience, as human history records it with respect to creation, revelation and redemption. It is for all therefore, who are personally united to Christ, to

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cultivate a contemplative and sanctified spirit. So far from being secular and sordid, they should be sacred and spiritual, having their lives hid with Christ in God, and their whole natures absorbed in the knowledge, and love, and service of the Saviour. Every layman, by reason of his Christian love and life, should realize such an ideal of character as that men might truthfully say of him what Sir James Stephens has said of one of earth's noblest sons: "In his soul, as in a mirror, were concentrated all the lights radiating from every point of observation—whether human or Divine—and from his soul, as from a mirror, these lights were reflected back in every possible combination of beauty and sublimity."

III. But while the century just closed impresses upon the lay members of the Church the importance of spirituality, it also inculcates the lesson of earnest and untiring religious activity. Of the warrant for Christian work I have already spoken in sufficiently distinct terms. It is a natural feature of the religion instituted by Him who said, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." While not less is it an imperative necessity, in view of the mission which Christianity was intended to accomplish. The past century however, has been individualized in this respect, more perhaps than in any other. For reasons susceptible of an accurate analysis, the previous epochs of ecclesiastical history had partaken largely of a passive spirit. The contemplative type which religion had assumed—the tendency to centralization which had characterized the clergy—the feudal and aristocratic ideas which had pervaded the church—these, not to mention other minor considerations, had sensibly repressed the spirit of aggressive philanthropy and Christian zeal. Early however, in the century just closed the Church was aroused, as if by the blast of a clarion, to the realization of its duty with reference to the world. Those great revivals which had swept over Protestant Christendom sealed the conviction upon many thoughtful minds that Christian grace had never displayed its appropriate energy, and never wrought its befitting effects. As the consequence, various schemes of religious and philanthropic activity were devised and attempted to be executed. The Sunday school work was inaugurated, and the lay element employed in moulding its methods and realizing its results. Christian missions at home and abroad were in turn introduced into the practical aggressive economy of the Church. The great system of tract distribution, with its thousands

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of lay workers, scattering far and wide the printed leaflet whose every page was blazoned with the inspired truth of God, simultaneously commenced a career of effective usefulness. And thus, like the sweep of a mighty torrent, broadening and deepening continually in its course, this surging tide of lay endeavor informed with Christ's spirit, and consecrated to Christ's work, has rolled majestically throughout our land and the world. I need not rehearse the varied aspects it has assumed, the multiplied methods it has employed, or the beneficent issues it has accomplished. Suffice it to say, it has left an indelible impress upon our common Christianity.

Its latest and perhaps its noblest manifestation has assumed the form of Biblical evangelistic work. In England, Ireland and Scotland—in Germany, Holland and Switzerland—in even Papal Italy, France and Spain—as well as most notably in our own land and the British possessions across our border, this lay evangelism has been sowing its seed and reaping its harvests. Nor has it as yet gathered even the first fruits of what it is destined to garner. A critical comparison of Scriptural texts grouped around the two Greek words, *Κηρύσσω* and *Εὐαγγελίζω*, will suffice to show any student of the inspired Word that there is a Divine warrant for this form of Christian effort, and that the broadening and ripening fields of the world necessitate its employment.

Unmistakably, therefore, the history of the past hundred years inculcates upon all the laity of the Church the lesson of earnest and untiring religious activity. Instead of maintaining a passive spirit, and ignoring the claims of Christ and their fellow men, they are to quicken their spiritual energies and do with their might whatsoever their hands find to do. The pursuit of such a course is essential to the welfare of the Church and the world, and is especially of paramount importance to their own souls, if they would keep alive within them the knowledge and love of the Saviour they profess to serve. There is a beautiful legend to the effect that a rapturous vision of the Son of God was granted to a monk, who, with fervent devotion, was gazing eagerly upon it. At last the hour arrived in which it was his duty to feed the poor of the convent. Gladly would he have continued to gaze upon the likeness of his Lord. But mindful of his mission, instead of lingering in his cell he went out to discharge his humble duty. Upon his return, however, he found the vision still awaiting him, while a Divine voice uttered the suggestive words, "Hadst thou

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staid I must have fled." The legend is alike instructive and inspiriting. The vision of Christ in His fulness and beauty is given only to His faithful followers. Love and service are sole conditions of life and satisfaction. And those therefore, who compose the laity of the Church are required to be all absorbed in the work of the Lord.

IV. Quite as impressive and authoritative, however, are the lessons of the century to the laity of the Church in the matter of large hearted and systematic Christian beneficence. It is interesting to trace the progressive revelation of God's will in the Scriptures with reference to this department of duty. The Patriarchal dispensation propounded merely elementary ideas respecting the relations of property to religion. During the Mosaic economy the ordinances as to tithes and gifts were distinctly decreed and vigorously enforced. But when Christ came the higher motives of love and gratitude were associated with the discharge of this duty; and, although the precepts given were less definite, the obligations enjoined were more comprehensive. As the consequence, we find that in the early Christian Church the noblest spirit of self-sacrificing liberality pervaded the body of believers. Constrained by the love of Christ, they gave to others as God had given to them. In the centuries which succeeded, this condition of things was materially modified. Through the gloom of the Middle Ages, when Christianity was more a pretence than a reality, and when its adherents were informed with a spirit of selfish greed rather than self-denying grace, systematic beneficence was a principle scarcely existent. The Reformation roused to a certain extent the energies of God's people, so long dormant in this direction; but it was not until the commencement of the century which has just closed that the quality in question blossomed out into aught of the breadth or beauty which characterized the Pentecostal period.

The past hundred years, however, have made great demands upon the consecrated wealth of the Church. Educational institutions have been established and munificently endowed; immense charities have been projected and sustained in a manner suggestive of princely liberality; while the more ordinary, but no less effective agencies for the spread of the Gospel, have been supported with a loyalty and love which was honoring alike to God and His people. Still, however, the demand continues, and still the supply must be forthcoming. Above the incessant din of the

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world's busy activities sounds out shrill and loud the Divine command, "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him." The injunction is Divine in its origin, self-denying in its scope, definite in the proportion it demands, and universal in the obligation it imposes; nor can it with impunity be disregarded by those who constitute the laity of the Christian Church.

It is a doctrine of philosophy that man is a being of degrees; that there is nothing in the world which is not repeated in his body, nothing in his body which is not repeated in his mind, and nothing in his mind which is not repeated as in a higher sphere in his moral system. Thus all things ascend, and the royal rule of economy is that it also should ascend, and that whatever we do should have invariably a higher aim. Applying this principle to the use of money, it is manifest that the truest thrift is always to expend our resources on the higher plane. Mere physical pleasure is not to be compared as an object of investment with intellectual gratification and growth; while even the culture of the mental powers is far inferior, as a motive for expending money, to the ordering of that spiritual creation which wisely and well directed Christian beneficence may effect in the secret depths of the soul.

But this is by no means the only motive which should influence the laity to consecrate their wealth to Christ. The investments made in the direction I have indicated are as permanent as they are pure, and commend themselves to every thoughtful mind by reason of their abiding nature. Nothing outlives usefulness. The attractions of beauty, the adornments of art, the appliances of culture—all pale before the achievements wrought in the interests of utility. Illustrations of this truth everywhere abound. "The columns of Persepolis are mouldering into dust, but its cisterns and aqueducts remain to challenge the admiration of every beholder. The golden house of Nero is a mass of ruins, but the Aqua Claudia still pours into Rome its limped stream. The Temple of the Sun, at Tadmor, in the wilderness, has fallen, but its fountains sparkle as freely in his rays as when thousands of worshippers thronged its colonnades." And if mere material excellence is thus permanent, how much more must spiritual usefulness endure.

By the most cogent considerations therefore, are the laity of the Church summoned to the exercise of large-hearted, systematic

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Christian beneficence. The duty my brethren, is imperative, and faithfully should it be performed.

> "Give as the morning that flows out of heaven,
> Give as the waves when their channel is riven,
> Give as the free air and sunshine are given—
> Lavishly, utterly, cheerfully give.
>
> Not the waste drops of thy cup overflowing,
> Not the faint sparks of thy hearth ever glowing,
> Not a pale bud from the June roses blowing—
> Give as He gave thee, who gave thee to live."

V. But with equal pertinence and force does the retrospect of the past century inculcate an important lesson respecting Christian unity. The primary conception of the Church catholic and universal associates with the idea of brotherhood. In its germinal state it was a family organization, and even after it had broadened out into national dignity and importance many of its original characteristics were retained. During the ministry of Christ and His Apostles a delightful spirit of unity pervaded the body of believers. Under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost they had all "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." In the centuries which succeeded this early epoch, the Church lapsed from its primitive condition, and lessened the strength of the ties by which its members had been previously united. The past hundred years, however, have in a remarkable degree revolutionized Christian sentiment and practice in this particular regard. There is still, it is true, a tremendous clashing of theological arms and a by no means insignificant amount of sectarian strife. But, despite the darkness and din of the conflict, we see the forms of aerial watchmen gleaming in the sun, and hear angelic voices chanting strains of peace. As in the sixteenth century the Church experienced a reformation in the matter of faith, so now in the nineteenth century, it is the subject of a similar movement in the interests of love. The golden chain of affection is binding together all who compose the goodly fellowship of the saints. Calvary rather than Sinai is the typical source of the Church's inspiration; and bonds of law are being supplanted by bands of love. Indeed, the whole host of the Redeemed is marching in solid phalanx against the combined forces of ignorance and error, of depravity and sin; while, high above all the regimental standards, floats the banner of the Cross, blazoned with this suggestive inscription, "Every one that loveth is born of God."

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Unmistakably, therefore, the century which has just closed confirms the teachings of Scripture with reference to Christian unity. Not that the signs of the times necessitate an organic union of all the religious denominations of Christendom. The crucible has never been constructed in which all our Churches can be fused; and the chemist has not as yet been discovered whose skill can effect this spiritual amalgam. Nor that such absolute concord is to be expected as results from congenial mental habitudes possessed by nature or acquired by education. It is neither possible nor desirable to make all men think alike. Variety is the very basis of harmony; and in the sphere of ecclesiastical experience oneness of feeling is vastly preferable to unanimity of belief. The voice of God however, as uttered in the events and experiences of the past hundred years, enjoins upon the private membership of the Church the culture of that "unity of the Spirit," which is begotten of the Holy Ghost, and which derives from its Divine Author the life in which it resides, the elements of which it is composed, and the impulses under which it acts. According to a popular scientific theory all the planets came out of the sun. That central orb from time to time threw off a succession of rings, which were eventually consolidated into those shining worlds which "nightly walk the realms of space," and moving within the influence of their common origin, they swing without collision around their common centre. The theory embodies the normal type, and illustrates the true significance of Christian unity. From Christ through the Spirit do all true believers proceed; and around Him should they ever circle with absolute accord. Too long have petty jealousies and unholy emulations been allowed to disturb the peace of the Churches and the relations of their members. Too long have those professing godliness belied the spirit and neutralized the effects of the faith they have publicly espoused. Acting under the inspiration of their Divine Master, and obedient to the teachings of the century which has just closed, it behooves the laity to sound the trumpet of reform. The Church and the world alike demand that those who profess to love the Lord should be careful to love their brethren also. It is for them to have in essentials unity, in non-essentials diversity, and in all things charity. Only so can the Church realize the ideal of its Divine Founder, and foreshadow its future excellence and beauty. Only so can this spiritual structure be celestial and glorious, revealing in all its fair proportions from

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dome and turret, from glittering spires and airy traceries, its marvellous symmetry and oneness, while at the same time it swells from every organ pipe, and chants in every choral anthem the praises of Him whose essence is love, and whose being is characterized by unity.

Such are some of the lessons of the century to the laity of the Church. They are lessons preëminently practical, and lessons which convey instruction that ought to be embodied in the varied phases of our ecclesiastical economy. The past century has individualized and ennobled itself in nothing more than in its repristination of the primitive Church in respect to the position and prerogatives of those composing its private membership. In summoning them from the seclusion to which they had withdrawn—in arousing them from the apathy by which they had so long been pervaded—in impressing them with their personal responsibility for the welfare of Zion, and in firing them with intense enthusiasm for Christ, the past hundred years have wrought wonders in the way of ecclesiastical efficiency and spiritual success. To a certain extent the clergy, as a class, must always bear the burden of the Church's concerns. They are the Divinely appointed leaders of the sacramental host. But, by the efficient organization of the laity in every department of Christian effort, their duties are sensibly diminished, and the practical power of the Church is materially increased.

It is not desirable, therefore, that every young man of piety and promise should renounce secular pursuits and assume the duties of the sacred office. So far from this, it is in many cases a positive wrong to transfer Christian young men from their mechanical, mercantile or professional employments to the classical school, the college or the theological seminary, with a view to their subsequent entrance upon the ministry. Secular avocations cannot afford to lose the leaven which Christian principle and purpose infuse into their structure; while the power which these servants of Christ might add to the pulpit would not compensate for the loss sustained by the Church in their present spheres of usefulness. What the best interests of Christ's kingdom demand, and what the signs of the times seem to require, is the retention of the laity in their present position as private members of the Church, and their effective development in every phase of religious experience and every department of Christian activity.

Nor are we in this important matter to regard the limitations

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of sex. The past century has revolutionized the theories of Christendom respecting woman, and has assigned her positions and prerogatives superior to those she has ever before assumed. The traditions of former ages respecting her capabilities have been thoroughly exploded, and new dignities and duties have been formally devolved upon her. Of late this has been the case quite as much in the sacred as in the secular sphere. Her voice has been heard and her influence has been felt in those great moral and religious movements which have characterized the century. In the overthrow of slavery, in the suppression of intemperance, in the banishment of war from the earth, she has acted no inconspicuous part; while in the more distinctive work of the Christian Church, both at home and abroad, she has rivalled her brethren of the sterner sex. Manifestly, therefore, the lessons of the century are as applicable to wives, and mothers and sisters, as to husbands, and fathers and brothers. Christian women are summoned to increased enthusiasm for Christ, and to enlarged activity in behalf of His kingdom. The efforts they have already put forth in connection with Sunday school instruction, with tract distribution, with Christian visitation, and with Bible reading, are only preliminary to the more public and it may be self-sacrificing duties they will certainly be required to perform. And with a distinct appreciation of their position and responsibilities, it is for them to enter upon their work and diligently strive for its accomplishment. Indeed, every private member of the Church, of whatever sex, is called of God to discharge this important duty.

To the realization of this result however, the personal agency of the laity must necessarily be invoked. Aggregate results are always accomplished by individual efforts. And if each Christian layman, building over against his own house, whether that house be a workshop, a counting room, an office, a court, a forum, or an executive mansion, will have his heart imbued with the spirit of Christ, and his life consecrated to the service of his Divine Master, the most satisfactory issues are certain to be effected. There may not result from such a policy of procedure those startling exploits and those splendid achievements on the part of individuals which occasionally dazzle the senses of mankind; but, by the united efforts of all who love the Lord, the work of Christ in the world will go forward with effective energy and signal success.

At the opening, therefore, of this new century, it becomes the Christian laymen of the American Republic to appreciate their

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privileges and discharge their duties. Christ and the Church and their Country claim their consideration and demand their devotion. By maintaining doctrinal purity, by cultivating devout spirituality, by exhibiting consecrated activity, by practicing large hearted liberality, and by cherishing Christian unity, are they to fulfil their Divinely appointed mission. The voice of the Lord, as expressed in Providence, as revealed in Scripture, as uttered by the Spirit, gives in this matter no uncertain sound. The truths it announces are living stones in the colossal structure of His spiritual temple, and the results it proposes are the notes of an anthem whose cadences shall be silenced only when eternity shall end.

Beloved brethren of the laity, be persuaded then, to discharge these duties and realize these results. Let the cross of Christ attract you and the love of Christ constrain you. Then shall your Christian characters be broadened and deepened. Then shall your efficiency for good be developed and intensified. Then shall the Church of our Lord be "established, strengthened, settled." And then shall this long lost world be redeemed, every hill top resounding with the shout of joy, and every outstretched plain reflecting the Gospel's radiant morn.

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THE PECULIAR HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

IN RELATION TO

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

BY

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NEWARK, N. J.

1881

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"And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."—EPHESIANS, iv: 11, 12.

THESE are the ascension gifts of the Lord Jesus Christ to His Church in the world. Here are "Apostles," commissioned by Himself; "Prophets," to announce the great truths and unfold the future of His kingdom; "Evangelists," to proclaim the good news wherever they can find men to hear it; "Pastors," the shepherds of the flock; "teachers," who may be pastors or not, for the schooling of the children of God. In these extraordinary and ordinary orders of the ministry the Church has all that she needs for the high offices of her state. But it is not so much a matter of "holy orders" as of holy service.

Why were such various ministers necessary? "For the perfecting of God's people; to labor in their appointed service, to build up the body of Christ; till we all attain the same faith and knowledge of the Son of God, and reach the stature of manhood and be of ripe age to receive the fulness of Christ; that we should no longer be children in understanding, tossed to and fro and blown

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round by every shifting current of teaching, tricked by the sleight of men and led astray into the snares of the cunning; but that we should live in truth and love, and should grow up in every part to the measure of His growth, who is our Head, even Christ; from whom the whole body (being knit together and compacted by all its joints) derives its growth in the working of His bounty, which supplies its needs according to the measure of each several part, that it may build itself up in love."*

This is the Apostles' inspired ideal of the origin, the ranks, the purposes and the work of the ministry of the Gospel.

Was Paul "mad" when he so "magnified his office?" Can we take lower views and be true to it?

But the ministry must be raised up out of the Church herself. The gifts of tongues and of healing and other extraordinary supernatural endowments have been superseded by the ordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost in the calling and spiritual preparation of men for this work. Much is left for the Church to do in the training of her sons for their sacred calling.

In the times of Samuel and Elijah "schools of the prophets" were established at Bethel, Gilgal and other places, where "the sons of the prophets" were educated for their common work as men who were to receive and give forth "the Word of the Lord." Few of them were commissioned to predict the future, or to receive immediate Divine communications; but all of them were messengers of God to proclaim His revealed will and to instruct the people in the law and the testimony." The last public service of Elijah, before his translation, was his visitation of these schools of the prophets, from which he was taken in the chariot of fire.

Timothy and Titus, and other young evangelists, were under the special tuition of the Apostle Paul, whose pastoral letters are the guides of all Christian ministers. In these remarkable epistles great prominence is given to the knowledge and study of "the holy Scriptures," for the establishment and "defence of the Gospel, and as the only safeguard against false teachers and false doctrines." "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not this gift that is in thee. Meditate on these things; give thyself wholly to them that thy profiting may appear to all. Take heed unto thyself and the doctrine." "Hold fast

* Conybeare and Howson's translation, vol. ii., pp. 405, 406.

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the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus." "Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and convince the gainsayers." "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject."

In these advices, which have been quoted at random, we see the germ of that system of study of the inspired Word, and of that prayerful culture which is necessary "that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Uninspired men, and those who have neither prophets nor apostles for their teachers, surely need all that the most diligent study can give them for their work. Here then we find the foundations of ministerial preparation carefully laid in the Word of God.

In subsequent times, special attention was given to the education of the ministry. The great school of Origen, at Alexandria, was the famous model of its period. The writings of the Christian Fathers overflow with the learning of generations in which theological controversies were waged by giants, and ecclesiastical conflicts shook the Eastern and Western Empires to their foundations. The sounds of those great battles are still echoing through Christendom, and the men and events of that long period stand forth as conspicuous as any that shaped the secular forms of those historic ages. Tertullian and Cyprian, Origen and Athanasius, Cyril and Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great, Chrysostom and Augustine, and the mighty heretics with whom they fought the battles of the Lord, have left behind them no superiors in intellect and power, nor in their greatness as pulpit orators and theological writers. They were trained in no common school.

With this introduction, I now take up the subject assigned me in the course of memorial sermons which the General Synod has provided for its part of the national Centenary, viz.,

"THE PECULIAR HISTORY OF OUR REFORMED CHURCH IN RELATION TO THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION."

Without attempting a consecutive narrative of the progress of this vital movement, I shall merely indicate and illustrate those peculiarities which have marked it from the beginning of our American church life; and then draw from it some lessons which are appropriate to this memorable occasion, which blends so many national and ecclesiastical interests.

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What, then, is there peculiar in the history of the Reformed Church in America in relation to theological education?

I. *It was her inheritance from the Reformation; nay, even from some of the "Reformers before the Reformation."*

In the latter part of the fifteenth century there arose a religious community called "The brethren of the Common Life," founded by Gerard de Groot, at Deventer, in Holland, and governed by the rules of St. Augustine. In successive generations this order spread itself over the Netherlands and elsewhere, until it numbered nearly fifty houses. The brotherhood was united, by voluntary vows, for the promotion of religion, education and charity, by preaching, circulating books and tracts, the care of the sick and teaching of youth. Out of its cloisters Thomas a Kempis sent forth his immortal book, "The Imitation of Christ." One of its scholars, Zerbolt, devoted himself to the introduction of the Bible among the people in their own tongue, and to the use of the vernacular instead of the Latin prayer book.

The progress of the Reformation of the sixteenth century gradually destroyed the brotherhood, although Luther and Melancthon had given it their sanction and sympathy. Many of the members became Protestants and some became Jesuits, and some entered various other Roman orders. When the Reformation opened in Holland there were not a few of these recluse scholars who came forth with other men of renown, and gave their whole intellectual strength, their learning and their martyr spirit to the work. All of the emancipated Churches—Lutheran and Reformed, Presbyterian, Episcopal and Independent—in the Netherlands, in Germany, in Switzerland, France, England and Scotland, immediately provided for the most thorough education of the clergy. Theology ranked as "the science of sciences" in the universities, and the ponderous tomes of the great champions of the faith still attest their profound learning, their controversial skill, and the magnitude of the European conflict of which they were the leaders.

In this grand career the Reformed Church of the Netherlands "was not a whit behind the very chiefest" of her continental sisters. Her universities, her preachers, and her martyrs won imperishable renown. Her national Synods, her Confession of Faith, her Dordracene Canons, and her catechisms rank with the greatest and best of the period, and have not yet lost their power over the Protestantism of the world.

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When our Holland forefathers came to these shores they brought with them their faith, their church, their school, with preachers and teachers who were trained in theology, and their families, who knew and loved the Word of God. The children carried the rich dowry of their Mother Church to their new homes in the American wilderness, and they patterned their religious life after the model of the old home. The remarkable thing in all this is that the original founders of the colony of New Netherlands were a trading community, led hither by commercial adventure. They were not exiles "for conscience sake," like the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, whom King James "harried out of the realm," as he said he would, and whom even Holland could not retain in its refuges. But the ships of the Dutch West India Company brought over a richer freight than the traffic of the Indies ever gave them, when they bore the settlers of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange to the shores of the Hudson, with their freedom and their faith.

II. *Our Reformed Church History in America has been preëminently theological.*

True to her origin and faithful to her calling, our Church, from the beginning, has distinguished herself by her zeal for sound doctrine and a learned ministry. She would have none but well educated pastors even for her churches in the wilderness. The first ministers and their successors were men of respectable attainments in theology, and some of them were truly learned and eloquent. A diploma was as needful as a call, and none were called who were not properly qualified for their station. It has been well said that, in one sense, the churches, for a long period, existed for the sake of its theology—for its preservation and propagation.

This state of things probably arose, in a large degree, from the commanding influence of the ministry among each other and over their people. In those days the pastors swayed a New Testament bishop's power, and secured an official homage from all classes of the community which our modern clergy neither exact nor receive. But these ministers of the olden time gave their own high standard to everything in the churches. Graduates of Utrecht and Leyden settled quietly among their scanty books and their people in city and country parishes. Their pulpits rang with essential Gospel truths, expressed with precision and brought home to heart and conscience with holy earnestness. One of them, Joannes Megapolensis, of Albany, besides his ordinary pastoral duties,

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learned the language of the Mohawk Indians, preached fluently to the red men in their native tongue, gathered a goodly number of them into the communion of the church, and was the first Protestant Missionary to the Indians—preceding the apostolic John Eliot by several years.

Another, Domine Henricus Selyns, first settled in Brooklyn, and afterward in New York, was the acknowledged chief of all the ministers who had yet come from Holland. He combined in himself the highest reputation of preacher, pastor, presbyter, and leader of the sacramental host in the colonies. He was a true defender of the faith and freedom of the Dutch church, an eloquent orator, a learned scholar, and a Christian poet, who wrote with equal ease in Latin and in Dutch. His friend, Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, says, "He had so nimble a faculty of putting his devout thoughts into verse, that he signalized himself by the greatest frequency, perhaps, which man ever used, of sending poems to all persons, in all places, on all occasions; and upon this as well as upon other accounts, was a David unto the flocks of our Lord in the wilderness."

Some of them were authors and translators of valuable works. It is written that Dominie Rysdyk, of Hopewell, was as familiar with Latin, Greek and Hebrew as with his native tongue. None of them could have held up his head in a respectable Dutch congregation who was not well versed in the theology of the Reformation and in the knowledge of the Bible, which, with the catechism, was the text-book in every school, and the lively "oracle" of every Christian household.

The evidence of these general statements is inlaid with the entire structure of the family, the school and the Reformed Church life of those days in New York and New Jersey. And the fruits are self-perpetuating, like those of the primitive creation—"grass and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself after his kind."

No fact is more patent or more encouraging in the history of our American colleges and seminaries than this of the hereditary nature of liberal education. The large majority of students are the sons of graduates and professional men. "Like produces like." The sons of ministers, more than those of any other profession, enter the ministry. Education is often the only, and, certainly, it is the best capital that they can inherit, and they will have this, if it is desired and possible, at any sacrifice. In our

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own church this theological type is not likely to be broken nor effaced so long as there is material to fill the ancient mould. We must forget all our traditions and be unworthy of our ancestry if we do not keep up this succession.

III. *This tenacity of the Church for theological educations was the price of her independence.*

For the long period of one hundred and fifty years she had no distinct organized ecclesiastical constitution. Her highest public court was the Consistory of each church; nor could she ordain and install her own ministers. Her young men had to go to Holland for education and ordination, and ministers were called from the mother country. Meanwhile, many of these scattered congregations were like sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd's care, and dependent for long, weary years of waiting upon the Church in Holland, without representation in her courts, and with little but their love of the Gospel and the grace of God to hold them together.

Meanwhile there arose among themselves that fierce controversy which raged for more than a whole generation over this very question of their independence of the Mother Church; and "the key of the situation"—in military phrase—was the education of their ministry. The Church in Holland would not grant the independence of the daughter in America without full security for this great object. The Conferentie party on this side of the ocean stood stiffly by the Classis of Amsterdam in its stern demands. The Coetus, not less anxious for orthodoxy, but more earnest, practical and evangelistic, stood up for a separate ecclesiastical existence and for the cis-Atlantic training of its own clergy. The conflict waged until the churches were nearly torn to pieces; and when about exhausted in the strife, they clasped hands in "The Plan of Union," in October, 1771, and peace and independence came together.

But the price was paid. Immediate measures were taken, in accordance with the terms of the treaty which Dr. Livingston negotiated, for the establishment of a theological professorship and for the education of ministers, and for the founding of schools.

So ended that memorable struggle which almost cost the Church her life.

But her "war of independence" ceased just as that of our

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nation was coming on; and before the new professorship could be established, the whole country was in the blaze of the Revolution.

In April, 1775, the General Convention, or Synod, met in New York, just after the battle of Lexington, which occurred April 19th. But business was deferred, and a day of fasting and prayer to God, for "the sad and perilous condition of our country," was appointed for all the churches (May 7th). In October of the same year another extraordinary meeting of Synod was held in New York; but the following brief entry on the minutes tells the beginning of the story whose triumphant close our Centennial cannon are now thundering around the world: "By reason of the pitiful condition of our land, the consideration of the subject of the professorate is deferred" (p. 65). And so it stood "deferred" until, in 1784, three years after the Revolutionary war, Dr. Livingston, by and with the original advice of the Classis of Amsterdam, was elected the first Professor of Theology in the church of whose divisions he was the healer, and of whose independent organization he was the father.

IV. *Her peculiar historical relation to theological education has been the governing element in her polity and legislation.*

We have seen how it shaped her early history and became the basis of the Plan of Union. But it was also incorporated with the Constitution of the Church in a form which we do not find in the fundamental law of any other American Evangelical church. In the successive revisions of the Constitution it has not only held its place but it has been strengthened by the results of long experience.

We have time only to point out these well known and distinguishing features of our Constitution:

1. *It makes "the office of Teachers of Theology"* a separate order in "the offices of the Church."

The reason for this distinction is clearly stated in the nineteenth "Explanatory Article" of the Constitution, in these words: "The distinction between the first and second offices in the Church, that is, between the Ministers of the Word and the Teachers of Theology, is founded in the nature of the respective offices. It was noted in the early ages of the Christian Church; it was attended to at the Reformation, and was productive of important benefits, especially with respect to the education of candidates for the ministry.

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"The Reformed Dutch Church perseveres in preserving the same distinction, and determines that the instructing and preparing of youth for the service of the sanctuary shall not be left indiscriminately to every minister or any individual who may choose to assume that office."

2. *It places the professors in direct ecclesiastical relations to the General Synod*, by which they are elected, and to which alone they are amenable for their "doctrine, mode of teaching and moral conduct."

To add greater dignity to the office, the constitution provides most carefully for the fair and solemn election of professors, removes them from membership of any inferior assembly, prohibits their holding any pastoral charge, and also forbids them sitting as "members of any ecclesiastical assembly or judicatory." This was also designed, with significant forecast, to keep these high officers of the church aloof from the ordinary business and the agitating discussions of the Church, in any and all her assemblies. In token of this reverence for the office, the old custom has been for the General Synod to receive the occasional visits of its professors standing, and to invite them to occupy prominent seats near the president during their brief stay in the assembly. In other ecclesiastical bodies theological professors may sit as members, with all the accruing rights and privileges. This is not the place to compare the merits of the two plans. I have merely indicated the extraordinary dignity which our Reformed Church has conferred upon these "ministers of the Word" whom she has put into her professional chairs.

3. In entire consistency with these constitutional provisions, the minutes of our General Synod, for an hundred years or more, *exhibit the utmost attention to the professorate.* No subject has ever received more careful legislation, and none such "godly jealousy" and continued liberality.

The "Committee on the Professorate" has always been the most important standing committee of the General Synod. For many years it was "the Committee of Ways and means" for the whole church. Its reports are filled with principles, facts and illustrations of the working of this branch of our service, which are worthy of study.

4. *But the history of the several professorial endowments*, and of the later erection of the numerous ample edifices which adorn the seminary grounds, would fill whole chapters of a glorious record.

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Nothing else so clearly shows the strong hold which our system of theological education has had upon the heart of the Church at large, and of her ministers and members.

From the small beginnings of the fund for the support of the first professor, through all the movements for the second and third professorships, fifty years ago, to the splendid munificence which has been lavished by princely hands and loving hearts within the last seven years, it is safe to say that no other Protestant church, in proportion to its members and means, has a more encouraging record. The very controversies which have arisen at times over the seminary have but exhibited the anxiety of the Church for its welfare, and its material welfare has soon followed each conflict.

5. In the initiation of these measures the Reformed Church in America *rightfully claims the first place in the order of time.* She was the only one of all her sister churches that was rent in twain over the subject during the colonial period. She was the first that reduced it to a system; the first to demand *that it be in charge of a professorial instructor*, and *the first to appoint a theological professor.*

But for the Revolutionary war her theological seminary would have been started in the year of our national independence. In addition to Dr. Livingston's professorship, at the same meeting of the Synod, the Rev. Dr. Hermanus Meyer was also appointed instructor in the sacred languages. In 1792 the Rev. Drs. Solomon Froeligh and Dirck Romeyn were appointed additional professors to instruct students at their own homes.

In 1796 the seminary was located temporarily at Flatbush, L. I.; but in 1804 it was in New York, and in 1810 made its final removal to New Brunswick, two years before the Princeton Theological Seminary was founded, and only two years after that of Andover.

During Dr. Livingston's early professorship, in 1793, there was a proposal to unite Queen's College with Nassau Hall at Princeton. But this he opposed, and it was defeated. Previous to this there had been negotiations (1754–1755) conducted through the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, senior minister of the Collegiate Church in New York, and one of the leaders of the Conferentie party, for an amendment to the charter of King's (now Columbia) College, which was granted by the royal Government, providing "for the establishment of a professor of divinity, according to the doctrine, discipline and worship established by the National Synod of Dort."

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This arrangement was never carried into effect, although Domine Ritzema was a governor of the college, and the project had the sanction of the Classis of Amsterdam.

Had either of these plans succeeded, it is probable that the entire history of our Church and her system of theological education would have been radically changed.

With its removal to New Brunswick the relations of the seminary to Rutgers, then known as Queen's College, began to develop. After twenty-six years of service as theological professor, Dr. Livingston, at the age of sixty-four, resigned his pastoral charge, and accepted the presidency of the college in the year 1810; and in conformity with the covenant of 1807 between the General Synod and the trustees, he was also elected by that body to the theological professorship in the college, for the endowment of which sufficient funds had been raised in the Dutch churches.

Thus was fulfilled the special purpose assigned in the charter of Queen's College for its foundation, viz., "The education of the youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and other good offices."

The removal of the seminary to New Brunswick secured the revival of the college, which had been suspended several years for lack of funds. It was again closed from 1816 to 1825, when it began its new career. But the seminary lived on through all these years, doing its work and preparing the way for the final resumption of the college, with which its history was so intimately blended, in the same building, and with the same theological professors teaching in both institutions. May their historical relations and memories never cease to furnish inspiration for that nobler future which stretches, out in the broad perspective of their now separate careers. The mantles of the same ascended prophets have fallen upon them both. May the spirit of their Elijahs rest upon their Elishas.

V. No review of the peculiar history of our Church in relation to theological education can be at all fair or adequate, which does not include *the men and characters which it has produced, and the work which it has done for the Kingdom of God.*

First of all there rises to view that group of *venerable and illustrious men* to whom the Reformed Church owes her independence and her theological character.

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In the forefront of both of the great parties whose long conflicts ended in union and independence, were men of the old style, types of their age in dignity, learning, culture, manners, dress and address: men of piety, zeal and loyalty to the Church; "good soldiers of Jesus Christ," who fought their battles for principle with Dutch tenacity and heroism, and who at last made a peace which has never yet been broken.

That Convention of 1771 contained the leading ministers and elders of the Church, most of whom were representatives of the long sundered parties. There were scholars like Rysdyck, and Meyer, and Van Harlingen, and Westerlo; venerated pastors like De Ronde, of New York, and Schoonmaker, of Long Island, and Dubois, of Monmouth; pulpit orators like William Jackson, of Bergen, whose fame as a field preacher in New Jersey was second only to that of George Whitefield, and the eloquent Laidlie, who was the first preacher in the English language in our Church in New York. There were Dr. Jacob R. Hardenberg, the founder and first President of Queen's College, and Dr. Dirck Romeyn, the founder of the Academy of Schenectady, which soon after grew into Union College; both of them natural leaders of men, Revolutionary patriots, counsellors of statesmen, and hated, and feared, and persecuted by the enemies of their country in those "days that tried men's souls." There were many others, noblemen of the City of God, whose names shine on that roll-call, and whom we cannot even mention.

But all these worthies gathered around him who was the leader, the peacemaker, and the Father of our Church, the founder of her theological schools, the patriarch whose character, and services, and memory we revere as the nation reverences those of Washington. Dr. Livingston was God's angel of deliverance to a distracted Church. In him we find the type of our ecclesiastical character, the grandest representative of our theology, and the presiding genius of our polity. He, too, was one of the patriotic clergymen of the Revolution who have linked our Reformed Church with that memorable period, whose Christian loyalty to civil and religious liberty strengthened the cause of the struggling colonies, and whose courage and faith gave us also a free church in a free land. He lived, like Adams and Jefferson, half a century longer, to cultivate and enjoy the fruits of those mighty labors; and he died, like those illustrious men, amid the benedictions of multitudes whom he had blessed with the services

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of a glorious life. His departure was a translation—not like that of Elijah, with the chariot and horses of fire—but like that of Enoch, who "walked with God, and was not, for God took him."

A second group of worthies now appears; men of might, without whom all these movements would have been in vain. I mean *those veterans to whom we are indebted for the pecuniary foundations of our theological seminary.*

The history of the endowments of professorships, and of our entire educational system—including college, seminary and scholarships—is replete with untiring services, self-sacrificing gifts, and more than princely liberality. It is a history of many years of struggling, of many renewed and finally successful attempts, especially in times of commercial depression, to sustain the institutions. But the principal success is due to the concerted and persistent efforts of a few men "whose hearts God had touched," and who gave themselves to the work.

Never let our Church forget the great services and the personal liberality of Drs. John Knox and John Ludlow, and John N. Abeel and Jacob Schoonmaker, and of those eminent elders, Abraham Van Nest and Jacob R. Hardenberg, and Isaac Heyer and Christian Miller, with their associates, who went from church to church and from door to door and secured the funds to endow the second and third professorships. The ministers, too, out of their small incomes (many of which were not over four or five hundred dollars a year), paid about ten thousand dollars for founding these professional chairs. Farmers and merchants, "honorable women not a few," and whole congregations gave liberally.

Among the dead of former days we find the honored names of Elias Van Benschoten, Henry Rutgers and Rebecca Knox.

The Van Benschoten Bequest has educated not less than one hundred and twenty-five of our ministry, and probably more than that number. The Knox fund has always supported one incumbent, sending out one minister every three years. The Board of Education has educated above three hundred and fifty, in whole or in part, in their preparation for the ministry, and at present has seventy-two beneficiaries in its care. These figures illustrate the perpetual outflowings of the liberal things that have been devised by liberal souls. They recommend the safety, the permanency, and the beneficence of those investments which God is ever inviting us to make in his kingdom.

Within the last twenty years we find those of Mrs. Anna

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Hertzog, and James Neilson (who, though a Presbyterian, was allied by marriage to a well known Dutch family), and that of the most munificent of all, the late James Suydam.

All of these names are imperishably wrought into this "peculiar history of the Reformed Church in relation to theological education."

To this list must be added, in distinct remembrance, the principal donors of the splendid library: Mrs. Margaret Chinn, Dr. George W. Bethune, Dr. Thomas De Witt, and many more among the dead and the living. But, chiefly, we must name that sagacious and generous man whose most permanent monument is the complete and stately edifice which the General Synod has directed to be known to all as "The Gardner A. Sage Library." Long may he live to witness its fulfilment of his liberal devisings!

Next to these benefactors of the Theological Seminary appears *that succession of elect men who have filled its professorial chairs.* Already they number twenty-four, of whom only five—the eminent President of Rutgers College, and the present four incumbents—are living. Six of the professors taught theology in their own homes before the institution was located at New Brunswick. Of the rest, I need only mention the honored name of Livingston, Schuneman, Cannon, Mabon (*pro tem.*), John De Witt, Ludlow, Milledoler, Woodhull, McClelland, Van Vrankenberg, all of whom "sleep in Jesus."

Of their personal characteristics, their professorial qualifications and labors, their ministerial usefulness, their Christian lives and their precious memories, it is superfluous now to speak. Their "praise is in all the churches." They were choice spirits, around whom, in concentric circles, the Church, for an hundred years, has gathered her children and her affections. They have guided her theological teachings, moulded her preachers and pastors, prepared her evangelists for foreign missions, and successors for their own chairs, and shaped the minds that have controlled her career during this whole century.

The Alumni of the seminary are its most numerous and proper representatives. The new general and descriptive catalogue, which is now in course of preparation by a committee of the Alumni Association, contains the names of five hundred and forty-nine graduates from 1812 to 1875, inclusive. But before the removal of the seminary to New Brunswick, Dr. Livingston and

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his colleagues sent forth ninety-one students into the ministry (1784–1811). There were also thirteen licensed by the Coetus, one by the Conferentie (1748–1770), and thirteen by the "New Classis," or by the "Synod," after the adoption of the Articles of Union (1770–1784). Adding to these six hundred and fifty-seven ministers the twenty-four graduates of the theological department of Hope College, we have a total of six hundred and ninety-one individuals, and the graduating classes of this year, 1876, make the sum total of seven hundred and six ministers who have been educated, licensed and ordained in our own church.

From that roll of honor I select but three which are strictly representative, and are revered by us all.

At the head of the list of graduates from New Brunswick stands the beloved name of THOMAS DE WITT (1812)—our Nathaniel—that guileless, eloquent, apostolic man of God. Five years later appears that of JOHN LUDLOW, that "son of thunder" and impersonation of power. Eleven years later that of DAVID ABEEL, our first foreign missionary, and the first of all American missionaries in China.

The character of our ministers and theologians has, to a great degree, determined that of their churches and of the surrounding population. This is particularly true of regions where the people were homogeneous and where pastorates were long. The influence of the first pastors, and of their immediate successors in Somerset, Middlesex, Bergen, and other counties in New Jersey, is stamped upon each generation to which they ministered. The Frelinghuysens, Leydt, Hardenbergh, Cannon, Labagh, Zabriskie, Van Harlingen, Vredenburgh, the Romeyns and their compeers, did more than any other men of their times to shape the intelligence and virtue of their extensive parishes. They were the most public men of their communities—the leaders in every good word and work—"living epistles, known and read of all men." Their "lips kept knowledge;" they were the chief teachers of their people, "and wisdom and knowledge were the stability of (their) times and strength of salvation." This was their legacy to their country.

Not a few of our alumni have held, and others now occupy commanding positions in other denominations. If many of our brethren have not achieved eminence as authors, it has been largely because they have given themselves wholly to their pulpits and pastoral work.

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In this summary of our relations to theological instruction I have confined myself mostly to the past and to its formative and historic periods. Its more recent developments are sufficiently before the churches.

But specific mention must also be made of *the heroic efforts of our Holland churches and the Western Synod* to secure the blessings of collegiate and theological education for themselves.

Twenty-five years ago the parochial school, which was coeval with the settlement of the colony on Black Lake, was taken in charge by the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church, as the Holland Academy. Subsequently, under the care of the Board of Education, it grew, and, in 1866, was incorporated as Hope College. In 1867 the General Synod elected the Rev. Dr. Crispell as its Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, in Hope College, and several electors in other departments of theological study were also appointed at the same session.

With various modifications this institution has steadily kept on its way, struggling through many trials, to its ultimate success. It is a genuine development of the same principles which we have traced in the earlier annals of our Church, and it illustrates the faithful determination of her ministers and people, however poor, however tried, and against all discouragements, to perpetuate an educated and an orthodox ministry. Of those whom it sent forth during its formative state (1851–1863), twenty-one became preachers of the Gospel, besides seven teachers and two physicians. Since the establishment of its own theological department it has graduated twenty-four young ministers of Christ. And it is officially stated that, "but for the establishment of this institution, at least three fourths of its students would never have had any opportunity for education beyond the merest rudiments."

While I have necessarily been limited to the history of our own institutions, it is a great pleasure to state that *many of their most faithful friends have been among the ministers and people who have come into our Church from other folds*, bringing with them their learning, eloquence, wealth and power. Such men as Drs. McClelland and Berg, among our theological professors, and Laidlie, and Linn, and Brownlee, and Bethune, and Strong, and How, and Scott, in our pulpits, were God's gifts and our glory; and hundreds more have flocked to our old standard with unfaltering devotion and heroic faith.

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CONCLUSION.

A century in the life of a historical Church is but a span in the ages through which she may live. It has taken two hundred years to develop what little our own denomination has of strength, culture and power. She has been far outstripped by sister churches which have not been crippled by her peculiar hindrances. Yet she has contributed something of stability, intelligence, culture, freedom, and faith, and practical worth to the country, which entitles her to a suitable place in the celebration of its Centennial. She has given her sons and daughters, her scholars and preachers, her institutions and churches, her wealth and her character, her theology and her morals, her ancestral virtues, her love of liberty and her fair inheritance to build up the nation. At the least, it may safely be affirmed that she has "built the wall over against her own house." These elements have been gradually wrought into the very texture of American character, along with all that it has received from foreign climes and native growth.

But neither the nation nor the Church can live in and upon the past. *What shall the future be?* What may not another century produce if we are faithful? All that has been done in our theological education is foundation work, which ought to determine the solidity and proportions of the superstructure.

These things may be properly suggested:

First.—The necessity of keeping our goodly heritage of theological education intact.

Second.—The necessity of maintaining the highest standard of learning in every department, and also of enlarging the number of professorships and the system of instruction, so as to keep it thoroughly abreast the most distinguished seminaries in the land.

Third.—A theology which is so venerated and thoroughly scriptural should not be permitted to repose in the manuscripts of professors and students, illustrated only by oral instructions and supplemented by text books of authors of other lands and churches. May we not hope that, before this nineteenth century shall end, some gifted and learned professor or pastor may furnish the Reformed Church in America with a thorough exposition of her theology, based upon her three great symbols—the Belgic Confession, the Heidelbergh Catechism, and the Canons of Dordrecht? We ought to have such a work as Dr. Hodge has produced for the theology of which he is the most venerated living expositor, or something like those two noble volumes, the "Christian Dog-

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matics" of Dr. Van Oosterzee, of Utrecht. Such works are not prepared in a day; but our two hundred years of history may well claim what we venture to propose from her near future.

Fourth.—That the supreme object of our seminaries should be to make not merely a succession of able theologians and scholarly writers and readers of elaborate sermons, but to train young men who shall be *preëminently preachers of the Gospel to the people*—men whose mission and passion it shall be to save lost souls, and to build up the kingdom of God in the earth. Everything in and out of the Church points in this direction.

For the fulfilment of these designs a *fifth* requisite is, that the churches shall furnish a constant supply of their choicest sons with all their gifts and graces laid upon the altar of consecration.

There never was an age, since the apostles finished their work, that offered larger fields and greater rewards for the work of the ministry than this of ours. In all the Christian centuries I know not a decade nor a generation in which I would rather have preached the Gospel than in this "accepted time." The world has thrown down its old Chinese walls—the gates of brass are unhung and carried away. It is the era of vast evangelization and of rapid conquest for Messiah's throne.

Our Church, with her five hundred and six congregations, and more than seventy-five thousand communicants, ought to have at least five hundred young men now in preparation for the ministry. This would average less than one to each church. Is it too much to ask? Instead of that she has less than fifty in her two theological seminaries, and probably not more than a hundred and fifty in all stages of preparation, through a ten years' course of study. Is this the measure of her needs and prayers for the laborers? Money, books and buildings will be sure to come with the men who need them. But where are thy sons, O Mother Church? This centenary of Church and country ought to begin with great advances on the line, if we are to take our proper part in the religious movements of the period.

For this we need most of all the power and grace of the Head of the Church, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost. John Newton said, "None but he who made the worlds can make a true minister of the Gospel." And our Lord still appeals to his people, "Say not ye there are yet four months and then cometh the harvest. Lift up your eyes and look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest. The harvest, truly,

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is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth laborers into His harvest."

There is "the hiding of his power," and there is the secret of our future. A praying and a faithful Church will never lack a true apostle's succession of "able ministers of the New Testament." They are the ascension gifts of her crowned Saviour. They are her divine pledges of loyalty to him for "the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." *Amen.*

APPENDIX.

At the suggestion of brethren in the ministry whose scholarship and good judgment are entitled to consideration, it has been deemed proper to print as an appendix to this discourse on Theological Education the Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston's Inaugural Oration on "*The Truth of the Christian Religion*," which he delivered in Latin, May 19, 1785, before the General Synod, and at its request, in the old Dutch Church, in Garden street, New York. The record of the minutes of "the Christian Synod of the Dutch Reformed Churches in the States of New York and New Jersey, in North America," is as follows:

"In relation to the Professorship of Sacred Theology the Reverend Body have had the satisfaction of beholding the Rev. Professor J. H. Livingston publicly assume that office, with a learned and elegant dissertation in the Old Dutch Church, in New York." (P. 135.)

This inaugural of our first theological professorship is the only thing of the kind in our history; and although it was published, it has been long out of print, and few of our ministers have seen a copy of it. A very brief account of it is given in Dr. Gunn's Memoir of Dr. Livingston. (Pp. 168–169. New edition, 1856. Board of Publication, R. C. A.) It is an interesting fact that the supreme body before which this production was delivered then for the first time, took the name of "SYNOD." Previously from 1771, the year of the separate independence of our Church, its title was simply "The Reverend Meeting of Ministers and Elders of the Reformed Dutch Churches," etc. Thus the "Synod" and the "Professorship of Sacred Theology" are coeval.

W. J. R. T.

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THE

HEREDITARY INTEREST

OF THE

REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH

IN

EDUCATION, COMMON AND COLLEGIATE.

BY

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THE

HEREDITARY INTEREST

OF THE

REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH

IN

EDUCATION, COMMON AND COLLEGIATE.

THE subject assigned by the Committee for this Centennial Discourse is: The Hereditary Interest of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in Education, Common and Collegiate.

An appropriate text is found in *Eccl.* vi: 12. "The excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them that have it."

This proverb furnishes a starting point for my line of remark.

During the Middle Ages, for nearly five dismal centuries, the two dominant forces were Romanism and Feudalism. At the opening of the 16th century European civilization took a new departure.

Protestant Christianity arrayed itself against Romanism; and constitutional government, more or less derived from the people and controlled by the people, confronted irresponsible feudalism and unlimited despotism.

The religious movement was in advance, as it should be, since it represents the profoundest sentiment of humanity and springs from the depths of the soul—its moral conviction manifesting itself in the religious struggle in England at the time of Wicliff, in Germany at the time of Luther, in Holland during the terrible

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but triumphant war of eighty years between Protestantism and the Papacy. This great theological war was precipitated by the edicts of Charles V—edicts which his son Philip II determined at any cost to execute.

In this great theological war Philip II was willing to yield everything if he could but perpetuate papal rule in Holland and extinguish Protestantism. But the bigot champion of the Romish Church was compelled to yield papal rule itself and with it everything in Holland, and formally to acknowledge not only the Dutch Republic, but also the United Netherlands as a free Protestant independent nationality.

As a primary principle, Protestant Christianity recognizes God as supreme, and the Scriptures as the Word of God, and therefore the rule of faith and practice.

This essential principle implies the duty, as first and paramount for all, to know the Scriptures, and therefore the duty, without delay, to disseminate and inculcate the Scriptures, and everywhere to impart religious education. Hence, at the very outset in Holland, before they advanced to other rights, they recognized this duty and exercised this right when, as yet, the Protestants were known only as "The Church under the Cross," and the congregations assembled in the open fields, defending themselves against their persecutors by picket guards and barricades of wagons.

Bibles and religious tracts and books were distributed with sacred vigilance, if possible to reach every person in the vast assemblies. Papal authority and the papal minions condemned the Bible, forbade the study, and threatened and imposed fire, and sword, and inquisition; but the voice of the people, echoing the voice from heaven, was, "The Word of God is not bound."

Knowledge of the Scriptures stimulated to the pursuit of other knowledge. Like leaven it wrought, quickening, intensifying, invigorating.

While the war with Spain was fiercely raging, and at the conclusion of a siege among the most terrible in human history, one of the grandest exhibitions ever given by any people was presented in Holland, when the City of Leyden, reduced to starvation and almost to despair, summoned the sea to bring deliverance by submerging the besiegers. They cut the dykes, and with united voice declared, "Better lose the city than the cause." By the blessing of heaven their valor saved the cause and saved the

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city. And then, in the hour of their triumph over the foe, they arose to a sublimer height in a triumph over themselves; when offered the perpetual gift of an annual fair or the founding of a university, they chose the latter; and that year, 1574, was founded the University of Leyden.

This choice was beautified and solemnized by a preceding public act in the very hour of their victorious deliverance. The famished citizens of Leyden, who for two months had tasted no wholesome food, crowded the quays as the friendly fleet of Boisot entered the city. From every vessel bread was promptly thrown among the starving thousands. For a time they strove with eager, joyful haste to appease their hunger; and then, as the brave Admiral stepped on shore, greeted with warmest welcome, nearly every living person within the walls—as the historian informs us—repaired to the great church to render devout thanksgiving to God for this gracious deliverance.

In that age of great universities Leyden soon took foremost rank. And when it was customary for students to go from one university to another, and complete their course with a final longest stay at the most famous, it was common to make this stay at the University of Leyden.

Three hundred years have passed, yet never for a single year has the light of this university been dim or doubtful. It has shone out upon the sea and the land, the continent and the islands, and across the seas both east and west. Students have resorted to it not only from every part of Europe but also from America and the Indies.

We recall another illustration. Twelve years after the siege of Leyden, during the winter of 1585-6, there was in Friesland a slight lull in the tempest of war. The temporary repose was nobly improved by the establishment of the University of Franeker. This institution was founded upon the free principle, especially to encourage and aid deserving but indigent young men to secure a liberal education. Threatened with poverty and confronted by war, the public wisdom, generosity and courage, all were signalized. The new college was endowed; the tuition was made nearly gratuitous; and, above all, the expense of living was reduced to five, to four, and even to three pounds a year.

Planted in the tempest, yet divinely protected amid the storm, these universities grew into grand and goodly proportions until the fruit thereof did "shake like Lebanon."

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Fifty years later, yet even then twelve years before this papal war was ended, another university was founded, which reached such a degree of eminence that, before the close of the century, not only "students from all parts of the world," as the historian declares, "came hither for instruction, but doctors themselves resorted in great numbers to this renowned seat of learning"—a university which the world, and especially the Reformed Church in America, will gratefully remember—the University of Utrecht, which sympathized warmly in the early struggles of the Colonial Church and trained some of her first and foremost theologians.

While we do not forget the old town hall in which the first confederation of the Dutch Provinces assembled in 1579, nor that famous treaty—The Union of Utrecht—which became the essential basis of the Dutch Republic, we shall particularly recall the university which contained such men as Burmannus and Witsius, and which sent back to the American Church, among others, one of her worthiest sons to become her first Professor of Theology and President of her beloved college.

Just as the twelve years' truce was closing, and papal, feudal Spain was about to rekindle the flames of war throughout Holland, the Protestant Synod of Dordrecht, in solemn council for eighteen months, anxious to promote the well being of the Church and of the State, passed the famous decree in behalf of education. Without delay, and with the industry and watchfulness which characterized the people, both upon the land and the sea, the Reformed Church set a noble example for the State in establishing Church Schools throughout Holland. The object was at least twofold: first to prepare the children to read the Scriptures and study the principles of Protestant Christianity, as well as to gain a secular education; secondly, thus to qualify them to become ornaments of the Church of Christ.

The result was quickly manifest. The churches were replenished with intelligent and earnest Christians. The State was furnished with intelligent and patriotic citizens. The universities were supplied with students, and provided with professors so competent as to attract scholars from every part of Europe, who came to complete their studies in the universities of Holland. So famous did Holland become that she was styled "*Compendium Orbis.*"

An enlightened statesman, John of Nassau, eldest brother of William the Silent, uttered the profound conviction of the Re-

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formed Church in regard to *popular* education, while he suggested the proper policy of the State in these memorable words: "You must urge upon the States-General that they should establish *free schools*, where children of quality, as well as of poor families, for a small sum, could be well and Christianly educated and brought up. This would be the greatest and most useful work you could ever accomplish for God and Christianity, and for the Netherlands themselves." Such was the interest in popular education.

So urgent was the duty regarded by these Christian citizens, so prompt and efficient was the spirit both in the Church and in the State to satisfy this high demand, that, as Mr. Motley declares, "The New England pilgrims, during their residence in the glorious country of Holland, found *already established the system of free schools* which John of Nassau had recommended."*

And, as history again asserts: "Neither the perils of war, nor the busy pursuits of gain, nor the excitement of political strife, ever caused the Dutch to neglect the duty of educating their offspring to enjoy the freedom for which their fathers had fought. Schools were everywhere provided, at the public expense, with good schoolmasters to instruct the children of all classes in the usual branches of education; and the consistories of the churches took zealous care to have their youth thoroughly taught the Catechism and the Articles of Religion."†

We pass to trace the educational policy in the mission churches and in the colonies of Holland. With an activity hitherto unparalleled, colonies were undertaken, borne eastward and westward on the wide spread wings of Dutch commerce; and this, too, it should be remembered, in the very midst of the terrific war with Spain. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was established. The maritime prowess of Holland, victorious against Spain, bore the flag of the Republic triumphant toward the islands of the east, wrested from Catholic Portugal some of her enslaved but most valuable possessions—Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Formosa, Celebs, Amboyna, Timor, Ternate, Banda and the Moluccas. With the colonies of Holland the Reformed Church was planted on these islands of East India; and beside the churches, and by the church itself, schools were established—indeed the houses of worship on the Sabbath were the school-houses during the week. The missionaries—taught in the schools and universities of Holland—

* Mr. Motley's Letter to the St. Nicholas Society, 1869.

† Broadhead's History of N. Y., I, 462.

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were the accomplished and earnest teachers in these island schools. Baldaeus, a famous missionary in Ceylon, who, on his return, published his account in 1672, at Amsterdam, mentions scores of these schools with an average attendance of from six to seven hundred scholars of all ages. "The Dutch missionaries," it is said, "paid particular attention to the erection of schools for the education of youth in every one of their parishes. And native youth of talent were selected and educated in the Dutch language, in order that, through this medium having obtained more extensive knowledge, they might be well qualified to labor as teachers, catechists, and preachers among their countrymen. Some of eminent talents were even sent to Holland to receive a finished college education, and they returned ordained ministers."

The beautiful Island of Formosa was favored with the efficient labors of that renowned missionary of the Reformed Church, Robert Junius, of Delft. While establishing schools, he took especial care to inculcate on the young the first principles of Christianity. He arranged simple but comprehensive compendia of Christian doctrine; composed simple formularies of prayer; and, without delay, translated into the Formosan dialect select portions of Scripture. Before he returned to his native land, where, with unflagging industry and undiminished fame, he passed the remainder of his days, he had successfully organized numerous churches and attracted to the schools hundreds of pupils.

The work, so well begun by Junius, was carried forward by other missionary teachers sent from Holland. This noble work of Christian education in the East India islands reveals, at once, the practice of the Reformed Church at home and her policy abroad.

Though William the Silent, the founder of the United Netherlands, had fallen by the hand of a papal assassin, yet the motto he adopted had been faithfully observed, "*Je maintiendrai*"—I will maintain. The young Protestant Dutch Republic, together with the young Protestant Dutch Church had, with indomitable resolution, defended herself against the assaults of Spain during a war of forty years. She had extended her commerce in the face of her foes, planting colonies in the distant east, organizing churches, establishing schools, translating the Scriptures into foreign tongues, founding colleges, and universities, and free schools at home, printing books and pamphlets—thus laboring to diffuse intelligence at home and abroad.

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And now the twelve years' truce had expired. Spain, unsatisfied with her war of forty years—unsuccessful, yet proud, papal, persecuting—opened a new war of thirty years with redoubled violence and determination. Yet the Church and the Republic of Holland did not falter in the noble purpose to be Protestant and free, nor flag in the work of Christian education and reform, at home and in the distant east; but, with herculean vigor, organized a like movement in the distant west. The new world, though discovered a third of a century before and claimed by papal Spain, had made no progress. The savage and the wilderness remained. But now, under the auspices of Holland, Hendrick Hudson penetrated beyond the island of Manhattan, explored and named "the river of the mountains," and made his report. The West India Company was incorporated. Colonies were organized; and settlements were made at New Amsterdam, at Fort Orange, in different directions around Manhattan, in New Jersey and Delaware, and in Pennsylvania. While the thirty years' war was raging at home, still the work of colonizing and Christianizing was carried onward 3,000 miles away in the New World. As an essential condition to its charter, the West India Company bound itself "to maintain good and fit preachers and schoolmasters." When, to encourage agricultural colonization, the company granted a special charter of freedoms and exemptions, it was solemnly stipulated, Art. XXVII, "The patroons and colonists shall in *particular, and in the speediest manner*, endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may supply a minister and schoolmaster."

This decree was reënacted in 1630, in the "New Project of Freedoms and Exemptions." "The patroons shall particularly exert themselves to find speedy means to maintain a clergyman and schoolmaster, in order that divine service and zeal for religion may be planted in that country."

If a minister could not be readily supplied by the Church at home, it was at least careful to send with the early settlers a schoolmaster, who was authorized and instructed to conduct religious services, and to teach in the schools. The earlier records furnish repeated illustrations. Accordingly, as the historian informs us, even before the Church was organized the school was established—before the minister could come the schoolmaster was at his post.

Though the flames of war were now raging fiercely all over Hol-

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land, and the Spaniards in their desperation were attempting, at Berg-up-Zoom, to burst the barriers of the north, yet the cause of Christian education was sacredly cherished, not only in the Netherlands but also in the colonies across the seas. These colonies, pervaded by the Christian principles and the liberal ideas of the fatherland, brought with them, as we have already seen, the church and the school, the domine and the schoolmaster; so that as early as Gov. Stuyvesant's administration, as O'Callaghan, in his history of the New Netherlands, II, 546, declares: "Schools existed in almost every town and village in the New Netherlands." By leading men in the colonies intense interest was felt in the cause of education. At one time a delegation of nine proceeded to the Hague to press the subject upon the attention of the States-General, and to urge especially "that the schools be provided with good schoolmasters, so that the youth may be instructed and trained not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord." (Holl. Doc., IV.) Gov. Stuyvesant also wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam, earnestly asking for "a pious, well qualified and diligent schoolmaster." "Nothing," he adds, "is of greater importance than the right, early instruction of youth." To Stuyvesant's letter the Directors replied, "We will make use of the first opportunity to supply you." And the same year the promise was fulfilled.

While the council appointed the teachers, yet such was the relation of the government to the Church that its sanction was required. While the public school was dispensing education, the Church was on the alert, by her own charitable aid, to second the efforts of the state, and by means of free parochial schools to bring in the poor and secure for them the desired result—a Christian as well as a secular education. As the Colonial records advance, we mark with growing interest the repeated reference to the free church schools. We wonder not that Gov. Stuyvesant was desirous, as he says, "to promote the glorious work;" and that from his sick chamber, Nov. 14, 1647, he sent these noble words to the official board of nine men or "Tribunes:" "Not less necessary than a fort, for public defence, is the building of a new school and dwelling house for the schoolmaster, for the benefit of the commonalty and the education of the youth;" and that he offered "to bear personally a reasonable proportion of the expense, and continue to do so in the future," and that when, for political reasons, the plan could not be promptly executed, the nine tribunes of the

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people sent an appeal to the States-General of Holland, seconding the proposal; and, not only that the Governor and Council but the people coöperated in the movement, as Secretary Tienhoven declares, "The commonalty contributed funds" (N. Y. Col. Doc., I, 423), and as the petition from the citizens of Middleburrow and the appeal from the commissaries of the village of Bushwyck abundantly testify.

As early as 1638 is mentioned a public tax for the support of schools; and, in "The proposed Articles for the Colonization Trade of New Netherlands," schoolmasters and clergymen are specified as among the *necessary public officers*. (N. Y., Col. Doc., I, 112.)

Thus, in every direction, we find proofs of the high estimate placed upon education. Indeed, the fathers wisely and firmly held by the only safe position—the position from which, I fear, we are heedlessly drifting—that public virtue and public intelligence are the real and only safeguards of liberty—liberty, both civil and religious.

We are especially glad to be able to trace this educational policy to its source, in the Synodical action of the 16th century, by "The Believers under the Cross, scattered throughout the Netherlands," which action culminates in the decree of the famous Synod of Dort, in its 17th Session, Nov. 30, 1618.

It is pleasant to recall the fact that the spirit of the fathers was so warmly cherished by their colonial descendants. When, at length, the fortunes of war transferred the Government to the English, the church and the school were not surrendered by the Dutch. The Reformed Church intact still maintained its fealty to the Classis of Amsterdam, and, at its own expense and under its own supervision, in the face of external opposition, sustained its schools.

In 1673 the Dutch citizens obtained a special charter from the English government, authorizing them to erect churches and schoolhouses (Doc'y Hist., 655).

When Lord Cornbury interfered with the schools, and forbade any one to teach without "a special gubernatorial license," the Consistories protested against the arbitrary measure; and, unawed by the Governor's prohibition, the Consistory in New York continued to call and settle their schoolmasters as before. (Dunshee, p. 57.)

Schools were multiplied, as the population increased, and so

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great was the care to maintain the usual standard of instruction that teachers were procured from Holland at twofold expense. And the Consistory, afterward, in a letter of acknowledgment to their friends in Holland, declare that they "do not regret the heavy and unusual expenses incurred." (Con. Min. I, 249.)

But, not only did the Dutch Colonists sustain public and private schools, as is abundantly shown by the public records, it is also worthy of remark that as early as 1652 an effort was made in the interests of higher education. "Many of the inhabitants desired the establishment of an Academy, Latin or High School." (N. Amst. Rec., III., 233.)

An urgent petition was transmitted to Holland. The petition was granted. So that as early as 1659 a Latin Academy or High School was established in New Amsterdam. The ardent hopes of its founders were more than realized. In less than three years it attained so high a reputation that children were sent to it from Virginia, Fort Orange and the Delaware, to receive a classical education.

During the Revolutionary war, while the British had possession of New York, the schools were closed, and the churches were filled with prisoners, or converted into riding schools. But four days after the treaty of peace was signed at Paris, the Consistory resolved, "That Mr. Peter Van Steenburgh, who was the public schoolmaster of this congregation at the commencement of the war, and is again returned to this city, shall be considered bound by his former call, and shall have permission to dwell in the schoolhouse, and open his school in the large room built for that purpose." (Consist. Rec., 1783.) Two and a half months before the British evacuated the city, Nov. 25, 1783, the school was reorganized; and since that time it has, I believe, been continued without interruption.

But the Colonial Church began to feel the urgent need of a College and Theological Seminary, and, at length, secured a Charter from the Crown of Great Britain, bearing date March 20, 1770, incorporating Queen's College. In 1825 the name of the college was changed to that of Rutgers, and this change was sanctioned by an act of the State Legislature, Nov. 30, 1825. Thenceforth the college engaged in successful operation, increasing in men, in means, and in influence, and to-day, in point of excellence, ranks among the best colleges in America.

I have already referred to the formal action of the Synod of

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Dort, to promote education, especially among the children of the Church. Two centuries confirmed the wisdom of this plan. At the organization of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America significant action was taken in the same direction. The Classis of New York had already adopted a strong report of their committee on the subject of education. This report was also adopted by the General Synod of 1814. This plan is illustrated by the history of the school established and supported by the Collegiate Church of New York. This school, steadily maintained for nearly two hundred and fifty years, may be taken as a sample of the policy which the Church would pursue in regard to parochial schools, and of the result which she feels authorized to anticipate. To argue the expediency of these schools, in a free republic of free schools, is not at all my purpose or my province in this discourse; but rather to present the practice as proof of the Church sympathy with popular education—even to the extreme limit of popular destitution.

That the interest of the Reformed Church in education is not local and special, but general and characteristic, is further confirmed by the Mission policy in South Africa, and India, and China, and Japan. A letter from the Synod of the Reformed Church in South Africa, in 1852, urges an appeal in behalf of common schools and colleges. In India, and China, and Japan, not only are the missionaries hastening to translate the Bible into the native tongues, and supply tracts and books for the use of adults, but also to establish schools of various grades for girls and boys. Already in India they have two academies, and one in Japan, with between one and two hundred academical students. They have five day schools in China, thirty-eight in India, two in Japan, with between one and two thousand scholars; and an appeal comes this very year for devoted and able teachers, to supply the indispensable demand of the missionary work, and maintain the educational policy of the Reformed Church.

In the light of this entire discussion it is obvious to remark the prominence which education held in the policy of the Reformed Church of Holland—education common and collegiate, secular and religious. Under the blessing of heaven thus she became strong and efficient for her work at home and abroad, both eastward and westward, in the very presence of a haughty foe and a false faith, establishing schools and churches of the Reformed

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faith throughout the United Netherlands, founding churches and schools in distant islands and continents.

The lesson is no less obvious than the historic fact. As inheritors of their Christian faith and policy, we should emulate their noble example. Our Board of Education should feel the desired inspiration of awakened zeal and energy in the Church. Our educational institutions should rise in our Christian estimate, and be quickened by our fostering care, relieved from debt and strengthened by endowment; and, supplied as they are with wise men and true to administer and instruct, the Church should see to it that she patronize her schools. Let there be neither indifference nor detraction. Make the schools satisfactory in all their appointments, and keep them so. Our eastern college has a worthy record. In times of adversity she has not only struggled nobly, but has shown an overmastering tenacity of life. In her prosperity—in great part the high reward of her own valiant endeavor—she has challenged the grateful admiration of the Reformed Church and the respect of other communions. For the recent good success in this direction much praise is due to the able faculty of instructors, inspired and guided by the untiring zeal and admirable prudence of the President. The beneficent coöperation of generous friends, from the time of Van Benschoten to that of Gardiner Sage, has been duly recorded in history, and commemorated in brick and marble, and especially commemorated in the men it has helped to furnish for the service of Christ. Cherished in the affection of the Church, the memory of such beneficence shall be more enduring than marble; its influence shall enlarge as the years roll on, and its reward shall be eternal.

Let me say, in all earnestness, these examples should be multiplied. In no direction is there greater need or greater opportunity. In no direction can Christian beneficence find safer investment or larger usefulness, or more enduring fame. Schools and colleges founded and endowed perpetuate the name and influence of every benefactor. Amid the shock of war and the changes of time these institutions remain unharmed—the badges and the bond of a real brotherhood in the republic of letters—the productions at once and the prophecy of a nobler humanity. The universities of Holland remain though the Dutch Republic disappeared one hundred years ago. Our own college, which, for fifty years has borne the name of Rutgers, will perpetuate and publish

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it with other honored names to the ages yet to come. And the best of all is that while such fame is secure, such influence is forever multiplying.

My plea for Rutgers shall be a plea for Hope College—the stronger because the need is greater.

Founded at the impulse of Christian sympathy to meet a growing want in the great West, tried by unparalleled suffering, sustained by unwonted self-denial, Hope College deserves and demands our encouragement and aid.

In view of the historical facts thus sketched, we are authorized to cherish pride of ancestry.

We honor our ancestors, not only because they drove back the waves and rescued Holland from the dominion of the sea, thus adding a province and a nation to the world. We honor them, not only because for eighty years they endured all suffering and self-denial, fought great battles and won grand victories. We honor them, not chiefly because they drove the papal invader from their soil, advanced their flag triumphantly on every sea, and carried their commerce to every clime, opening new passages eastward and westward, planting new colonies in the distant places of the old world and the new, thus from their slight territory and slighter population outrivaling the vast Roman Empire in its palmiest days. We honor them, not chiefly because of their success in art, though by common consent the carvers and engravers and adorners of Holland rank among the first in the world, as for more than three centuries the churches at Amsterdam and at Antwerp, and the cathedral windows at Gonda have borne witness; while she could boast such noted names as Van Dyck, and Rubens, and Rembrandt, in a school of art which vied with the foremost of the modern schools, and well nigh reproduced the classic excellence of ancient art. Nor do we honor them chiefly because in the learned professions they counted such jurists as Hugo Grotius and Heinsius, such divines as Gomarus and Witsius, such physicians and surgeons as Tulp and Boerhave—in literature such historians as Bor, Brandt, Hooft and Van Meteren, such poets as Vondel and Catsius, such scholars as Scaliger and Erasmus, such philosophers as Plancius and Huygens.

But we honor them chiefly because of the pure and lofty principles they cherished—principles for which they practiced self-denial, for which they fought and bled and died—principles which

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they rescued from the grasp of tyrants, maintained at all hazards, and transmitted to us as their dying legacy. This is our great inheritance from Holland; and for this especially we honor the fatherland, for this above all we gratefully cherish the memory of our noble ancestry. Well may Holland be called "The Mother of Republics."

It is time that history vindicate itself. While it should not withhold a jot of deserved praise from others, it should recognize the pleasant obligation to render to the Church and people of Holland the honor which is their due. If this call for correction of the popular estimate and for readjustment in certain directions, let it be made.

If the Dutch patriots have historically suffered through papal injustice which would thus avenge itself for the greatness of their success in behalf of liberty and Protestantism, let history repair the injustice. If they have suffered through national competition and jealousy, or if Protestant indifference has beguiled historians into a partial record, it is high time that impartial history make reparation. We are glad to see our countrymen undertaking this just and honorable task—not only lineal and loyal descendants but New Englanders as well, like Motley and Prescott, who have so finely verified the aphorism of Milton: "Worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relators."

By common consent of these worthy historians, as well as of Bor and Brandt and Van Meteren of Holland, and Davies of England, Holland took the lead in introducing the system of common schools and free education.

Before the Puritans, as refugees from persecution in England, sought an asylum in Holland, common schools had been in successful operation there; so that the great leaders of 1581, who wisely formed and fashioned the young republic, "had," as Mr. Motley declares (United Neth's, ii, 126), "studied in the common schools and later in the universities of a land where to be learned and eloquent was fast becoming as great an honor as to be wealthy and high born." The prevalence and success of this system of common schools and free education were witnessed by the Puritans while they dwelt unmolested in Holland during the twelve years' truce; and when, at the renewal of the Spanish war, they embarked at Delft Haven for the New World, they brought with them what they had learned and seen exemplified in Holland, and could have seen nowhere else in Europe or in the world—free education in free schools. 218

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There, too, they saw exemplified the incipient institution of representative government—the States-General being a Congress of deputies representing the various provinces that formed the United Netherlands, which was the Dutch Republic, enlarged like our own from a few to several States in Union.

Not only did the Puritans witness the prevalence of common schools and free education in Holland, they also witnessed and enjoyed what they were denied in their own land—freedom of speech and freedom of the press. So that what Milton, thirty years later, was, like a Titan, laboring in the Areopagitica to secure for England, they saw already established throughout Holland—a free press which, with Briarean arms, was hastening to supply the whole public with books, and tracts, and Bibles.

There they saw a Church of the people rather than of prelates, as in England, or of philosophic theologians, as in France—a Church which emphasized popular rights, rather than the territorial claims of princes, as in Germany, which relied upon the Scriptures rather than tradition—a church with an elective government (the Consistory), supporting free public schools, and supplementing these with free church schools, including the full and free study of the Scriptures, not only as a right but as a duty, proclaiming a free worship for the people—for all the people. In the language of the historian, securing that "sublimest element of all in civil liberty—freedom of conscience;" and, as we would add, that essential element in religion—freedom of conscience.

It is a remarkable exception in history that while "the Dutch had a national religion, they had no act of uniformity" (Broadhead, I, 110). So earnest were they in vindicating this principle—the freedom of conscience—that, when in the New Netherlands it was to some extent infringed, the government in Holland seriously rebuked the colony.

This policy of toleration made Holland an asylum for the persecuted of all lands. This principle of toleration made the Netherlands conspicuous as an educator, even in Protestant reform. This great principle Cameron and his compeers carried back to Scotland; the English soldiers bore it with their victorious banners back to England, frightening the tyrant king with the fear of revolution; and the Huguenots and the Puritans brought it with them from Holland to the wilds of America.

We do not wonder that, as promptly as possible, the Puritans established free schools, which they had already seen in successful

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operation during their sojourn in Holland; but we do wonder that they were so slow to inculcate freedom of conscience and permit freedom of worship to Quakers and Baptists, when they themselves had in their Dutch asylum at Leyden for twelve years enjoyed it and seen it proclaimed and practiced throughout the Protestant Netherlands; and we are not a little surprised at the insinuation (either with or without intent) veiled in this familiar line:

"They sought a faith's pure shrine."

But, as we recall their subsequent struggles for freedom and their valiant defence of faith, we read with undisturbed admiration the final stanza of Mrs. Hemans' noble hymn:

"Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod!
They have left unstained what there they found—
Freedom to worship God."

In the great debate on the Declaration of American Independence, John Adams, the "pillar of its support," as he was deservedly styled by Mr. Jefferson—John Adams delivered the final and overmastering speech which made the affirmative vote unanimous. On the next day—July 3d, 1776—Mr. Adams wrote to a friend: "Yesterday the greatest question was decided that was ever debated in America; and greater, perhaps, never was or will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting Colony, 'that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.'"

Yet, in the presence of history we must admit, as we should without reluctance, that two hundred years before the same great principles were boldly announced by the patriots of Holland. Grandly did the Prince of Orange declare to Philip, "We contend for nothing less than freedom of conscience, our wives and children, our lives and fortunes." (Brandt, x, 554.)

Grandly, in 1576, did the provinces declare, in "the Pacification of Ghent," their determination, by mutual assistance and by the blessing of heaven, to expel the Spaniards; to suspend the papal edicts of Charles and Philip, and to exercise toleration both toward Catholics and Protestants. (Van Meteren, vi, 125, 131.)

Grandly, in 1579, did the deputies declare, in the preamble to the famous "Union of Utrecht," their purpose to protect themselves against the attempts of the Spaniards to separate and dis-

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member the provinces, to render "the Pacification of Ghent" of no effect, and thereby to bring them into subjection and slavery. (Davies, ii, 74.)

Grandly did the States-General, assembled at the Hague, July 26, 1581, declare their independence of Philip and of Spain—affirming the great truth, at that time so novel and so startling to Europe and the world, that "subjects are not created for the Prince but the Prince for the subjects;" that a bad ruler forfeits all claim to allegiance; and, after enumerating the offences of Philip, declaring him, "*ipso jure*," forever deposed from his sovereignty in the Netherlands. (Van Meteren, x, 209.)

The Dutch patriots of 1576 settled this vital question, as did the American patriots of 1776, on inalienable right, not upon the old charter wrung from Mary of Burgundy in 1476; on inalienable right, by which their Batavian ancestors, one hundred years before, had demanded the charter from Mary. With far seeing wisdom they based this principle upon self-evident and unassailable ground, and thus furnished the text of the American Revolution, and of every revolution for constitutional liberty. Thus they taught the principles and practice of civil freedom to the Puritans, whom for twelve years they sheltered at Leyden—and more—to every citizen and stranger in Holland—to men everywhere and for all time who read their declaration of independence.

More than this, in their national motto, adopted at Utrecht in 1579, they indicated to the people, then and ever, the means of securing this right, *by Union*—"*Eendraght Maacht Maght;*" and in the inspiring motto of that hopeful chieftain, William the Silent, they indicated the way to maintain it: "*Je maintiendrai*," thus making it permanent; grandly anticipating the noble sentiment with which our great orator completed the grandest climax in American eloquence: "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever."

It is due to the merit of these Dutch patriots to remember that the year which saw the Puritan exiles from England seek an asylum at Leyden—1608—saw the birth of Milton. Yet that was the 40th year since the Spanish war began, during which a generation of great men in Holland, with the cooperation of an indomitable people, had wrested the provinces from the grasp of Philip, and established the Republic of the United Netherlands.

More than this, even before the Englishmen of the 16th century appeared who made the Elizabethan period "The Golden age of

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England," the great Dutch leaders had already wrought their grand task and sent their quickening, lasting influence forth upon the world, and secured an immortal fame.

Yet more, while the Dutch Republic arose nearly a century before the English commonwealth, it lasted nearly a century after the English commonwealth had disappeared!

Here let it be remembered, as significantly related to my theme, that these great men of the Netherlands who founded the Dutch Republic, who were, as Motley declares, "Men of thorough education, of great ability and eloquence," these foremost men of Europe, who would have done honor to the legislative assemblies and national councils in any country or any age, had received their education, as the same historian declares, in the common schools and universities of Holland.

We should encourage a wider and purer political education, which would teach the reason, the right and the value of civil affairs, that we may be saved from the peril of having, as Milton says, "In a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such tottering conscience as many of our great counselors have lately showed themselves, but rather steadfast pillars of the state."

With what care did these wise Hollanders seek merit and fitness for positions of trust and duty!

How could this be secured but by education—by knowledge, "which giveth life to them that have it?"

Their necessities demanded intelligence, vigilance, honesty. The sea threatened ruin; the Spaniards threatened subjection; the Papacy threatened the terrors of the Inquisition; surrounding monarchies threatened the Republic. Only with these qualities in constant exercise could they successfully oppose these fourfold foes which, with tireless intent, stood ready to destroy them. Dishonesty would be a high crime. Heedlessness would be worse than a crime—an irreparable blunder; ignorance, both a calamity and a crime. Is not the lesson applicable to our day? Should not he run that readeth it, in haste to impress it upon the citizens of our own United States? Are we not summoned, by necessity, to correct dishonesty and brand it as a crime, whether in high life or low—a crime which shall by no means go unpunished?

Shall we forget Philip and Alva, who as civilians were Romanists, and as Romanists called upon and ready to subject every-

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thing to the supreme command of the Papacy, to deny and destroy freedom of thought and freedom of conscience, though to accomplish this cruel purpose it was necessary to carry the Inquisition to every home in Holland, and drench the land with Protestant blood? Indeed it was the boast of Alva that he would make the whole land a desert, rather than let a single heretic remain. As I repeat these words, pictures rise in memory which I cannot, dare not stop to contemplate. Alas! poor, noble Holland. In thy sufferings how solemn shall be thy witness forever against Roman intolerance. The serious question comes back to us, has the spirit of Roman intolerance changed, or is it only held in check by the significant attitude of freedom? Be not deceived. If this check be broken, like the dykes against the ocean, will not the flood of persecution burst upon us and our country? Can we forget the terrible siege of Leyden? the Spanish fury at Antwerp? the siege and the sack of Harlem? the untold, unparalleled woes of Holland, as for forty—for eighty years she suffered and resisted papal persecution and Spanish frenzy?

Let us heed the lesson that we have just read, and, while we exercise religious toleration toward all, let us see to it that toleration be reciprocated now and forever. We do not complain that others choose a worship diverse from ours; but we do demand, in the name of God and humanity, that henceforth, forever, religious persecution cease. Let us heed the lesson which we have read, and see to it that from dishonesty our republic receive not final detriment, but that public honesty be restored.

Let us heed the lesson, and with this Centennial year resolve that the masses shall be educated to understand what true liberty and toleration mean—be educated to understand and respect the ballot—educated to understand the Scriptures, to fear God and defend our free constitution. The crisis is grand and urgent. Our responsibility is greater than that of our ancestors. Our inheritance is greater than theirs. We inherit all the past, its warnings and its encouragements, its weakness and its wisdom—all should instruct us. Our danger too—let me say with solemn seriousness—our danger is greater than theirs. In our vast country the elements of evil are vastly multiplied. If, in any direction, or at any centre, these should suddenly combine and explode, they might, with fearful crash, shatter the commonwealth.

In this great land and at this age, the times make haste. An

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undercurrent of ignorance and evil from the Great East or from the Great West might, with refluent, resistless force, engulf liberty and law. Against such enemies there is no security but extermination. External prosperity may be like the hectic flush. Safety consists alone in restoring moral tone and intellectual vigor, and spiritual health to the body politic. From internal weakness or dissension, if at all, our republic shall perish. Let us be incited to patriotic vigilance by the warning that if we fall, not only will the pillars of the constitution fall with us, and upon us, but the desire of the nations, the hope of the world, will share in the catastrophe.

In the good providence of God we are permitted to behold this Centennial year of the nation. Let us, as a Church and as a people, gird ourselves anew for duty—resolve, each for himself and each for all, to guard the public honesty, intelligence and Christian integrity. Then may we, as we should, in this Centennial year, "thank God and take courage," and hope that others who come after us shall hail returning Centennials in free Christian America.

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THE

LITERATURE OF THE CHURCH

DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY

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"This shall be written for the generation to come."—PSALM cii: 18.

LITERATURE is a word comprehensive of every visible sign, token, mark, or symbol, employed, however rudely or skilfully, to represent human thought, feeling, or conduct. It ranges from the primer up to the encyclopœdia—from the coarse inscription on the rock to the tasteful typography of the modern press. It finds its expression in the silent vault or gloomy crypt, on the coins and medals which eternize the struggles of human ambition, in the palimpsest heavily scrawled by tradition, in the vellum of compacts and treaties, no less than in the multitudinous books which swell the wealth of modern libraries. It includes all and everything, everywhere, that in all times gone the human mind has done to fix its myriad thoughts in symbolizations, crude or compound, by which one generation may live in all its successors. Between Memory and Hope, as the two poles of all human action, literature spreads like the atmosphere, and is made vital by that ever pulsating energy which resides in the universal mind of the race.

Of literature it must be said that it holds all historic time in its keeping, and records the experiences, the labors, the aspirations and the achievements by which the past becomes a grand propulsion, whose weight and momentum, like the irresistible tide of the ocean, forces the living present, with all its floods of passion,

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toward that mystic shore of destiny over which the future hangs its parti-colored clouds. A people without a literature is like a man without any power of recollection, and therefore without those springs of action which urge to effort and daring accomplishments. The people who founded these colonies came for the most part from lands wherein had been gathered the best treasures of the amplest literature which the learning, wisdom and research of the most advanced nations had been able to produce. Education had not, indeed, as yet become common, but there had been giants at work, raising their monumental productions so high that from their summits light will continue to fall, until the vanishing procession of the ages shall have been gathered beneath the splendor of the eternal day. In poetry Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, Shakespeare, remain to be the long despair, no less than the fountain of a daily delight to a multitude of gifted minds. Erasmus, Calvin and others had explored heights and depths which few now-a-days dare attempt to reach. The universities of the old world were manned, before Manhattan Island was found, with scholars, whose works remain until this day to be used like the temples of Oriental cities, whose costly and elaborate materials are removed, to go into structures which penury and weakness erect for private advantage.

The Reformed Church in Holland aimed from its beginning to rear a learned as well as a pious ministry. Through nearly all the colonial period the Church in this country had been dependent upon the ecclesiastical authorities on the other side of the ocean. Inconveniences, hindrances, strifes and even great scandals grew out of this remote connection. They who sought to effect here an independent organization were at length rewarded for their perseverance, patience and fortitude, by seeing their work established. The founding of Queens, now Rutgers College, was among the first fruits of their well considered action. They wanted a college in which to educate a well qualified evangelical ministry. Faithful to the best traditions and the best purposes of the Church in the fatherland, the fathers of the Reformed Church in America aimed to lay its human foundations so broadly and firmly that the superstructure might be comely, and stand in strength for the coming needs of generations that should dwell within its inclosures.

In undertaking to give some account of the literature of the Reformed Church within the round period of the last one hundred years, I do not intend to make out merely a fleshless catalogue of

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books, pamphlets, sermons, addresses, essays, poems, histories, works of science, law and theology, produced within the time under review. Nor shall I call the roll of all the names which are identified with the literature of our venerable Church. My work will be rather one in which there shall first of all be an honest attempt to dissect circumstances, and so ascertain under what conditions our literature began to be.

Then will follow some contrasts, comparisons and reflections, which may serve, in part at least, to show that though we have not been so affluent as some other denominations around us, in the sending forth of contributions to the general literature of our age and country, still we have done our proportionate share, and thus have not fallen altogether short in proper efforts to shape and mould the civilization which is in process of development here.

One hundred years ago American literature was exceedingly scant. Newspapers were few, and supported only by dint of hard exertion. Of making many books there had not yet been a beginning on the part of American publishers. What few works had been written here were mostly printed, if printed at all, in London, to encounter there the supercilious cruelty of a most contemptuous criticism, which, up to the date of our national independence, and long after, was received with over much respect by American readers. The axe, sword, rifle, hammer, trowel and sledge took precedence of the pen at a time when our nation began in earnest to set up here an establishment of political power and material wealth, which should be for the protection of the freedom that had been exiled from other lands. They were doing those great deeds out of which should flow the epics of moral grandeur. They were facing hardships with a valor which has served to inflame eloquence and inspire poetry, when an hundred autumns now have cast the glory of forests upon graves whose very dust has the vigor of immortality. The Reformed Church shared the common condition of all, and thus for a long while was shut up to the hard necessities of its external surroundings. Still there was going on an unconscious and unseen preparation for higher steps of progress. Plans for execution were being formed; larger views of social and civic responsibilities grew with the years.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back through creeks and inlets making,
Comes, silent, flooding in the main."

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The forces which produce a living literature are subtle and often hidden from contemporary observers. They have always been held in restraint by the despotism of limiting and contracting material interests. Literature is not a fabric but a growth, and the beginnings of every literature have been spontaneous. Human nature itself first, and then next the wonder world, revealed to the senses and interpreted by the imagination, supply the groundwork on which the literature of every age and nation has invariably originated. This species of literature may be greatest and grandest at the dawn of a nation's existence. The poets, prophets and seers, who utter immortal thoughts in never dying verse, have seldom been the children of luxury. History follows poetry in chronological succession, but the historian of a single country cannot be until events have given him his materials. History is the true amber that fills and holds the small and great things which constitute a social, civic and religious progress of a people or age. Philosophy comes after history.

It is well worth our passing thought, at least, that all philosophy, of whatever sort, political, moral, mental, scientific or religious, is, in the main, the attendant of advanced culture. It is the product of leisure, wealth and popular sympathy. States must grow strong, institutions attain glory, and the common mind be aroused to the study of the speculative and the abstract, before philosophers can venture to dispute, wrangle and fight over the problems of human destiny, with any good hope of a hearing. Whether poverty or riches may be the more favorable to the production of works of genius is not a question to be considered now. It is very certain that not until a nation or people has founded libraries, created colleges and universities, and gathered materials for scholarly use, will there be much done in the higher branches of a philosophic or scientific literature. Men must have leisure and be exempt from the daily oppression of penury, with its sharp vexations, before they can set themselves to the task of producing treatises, which, if not large, involve nevertheless large study and long research for their preparation.

Whatever might have been the conditions of the ancient world, it is evident that in our own times we must have a class of thinkers and authors who can give themselves wholly and without much of outside interruption to those profound investigations now required by the large horizon under which knowledge extends its increasing sway. On this account we may well be glad that

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within the past twenty-five years the foundations of our colleges and universities have been strengthened by liberal endowments, the standard of their education raised, the quality and the number of their respective faculties improved, and the whole apparatus of instruction made more effective for the service of special sciences and general literature. It is from these seats of learning in America that our American literature has come for the most part in the past and will chiefly come in the future. What Oxford and Cambridge have been to England our universities will be to America in that near future which is to bring out our intellectual resources, as the last century has brought out our material, mechanical and industrial. But it may as well be owned that the literature of the great Republic within the past one hundred years has not been great. We still import our best treatises on science and criticism. The classics of our literature are English. Works on Biblical subjects, all around, which are most valuable, come from across the sea. We have a few good histories, some superior treatises on law, a few poets whose names were once honored abroad until the modern "fleshly school" arose to find in poetry the slave of sensualism, and perhaps two theologians, Jonathan Edwards and Charles Hodge, whose labors merit the fame which has been fairly earned. Nor is this all that we have to confess under this head. Our ablest and best writers have not as yet discovered enough American material out of which to create a strictly American literature. Bryant may celebrate the forests primeval in a single ode, while Tennyson luxuriates among romantic fables of the Arthurian age. Longfellow has sung the song of "Hiawatha," and Whittier has given us the Indian legend of "Mogg Megone," but we have no material for the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," or for any other poem, full of the mysteries of a thousand troubled years.

If we come to the consideration of special literature we may say that in variety, bulk and purpose, the productions of the American press at large have outstripped that of other nations, excepting, in a comparative way, Germany only. The latter country makes books and pamphlets faster and cheaper, but is not so prolific of newspapers. Under the head of specific literature I would include everything which is produced for a practical end. Having now for more than twenty-four years been connected with the religious press in New York city—within that period being charged with the duty of examining the works of the American publishing

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houses—I have again and again been compelled to admire the predominance which works of a truly solid and practical character have uniformly maintained over the light and ephemeral literature which blooms and dies in a single summer's day. In Reformed Church literature but little was done during the first quarter of the century beyond the production of sermons, catechisms and ecclesiastical papers, and yet through these substantial growth, and those conservative elements of character which have so long distinguished this Reformed Church, were secured. The Ministry of our Church, from the beginning until now, has been held to a more rigid and more extended course of study than that of any other denomination in the country; and the result of this may be seen now, at the end of a century, in the thorough indoctrination which our people have received in the undoubted Christian faith, and in those principles of philosophy by which our literature is valued in proportion as it tends to establish that glorious liberty which is of, by and for the truth.

Passing now from the period of preparation to that of achievement, we find that the contributions made to the literature of the Church itself, and to the country as well, by its ministers and members, have been many and various, ranging themselves under all the distinctive heads into which literature may be divided. We have had and still have poets whose productions are welcomed, admired and quoted; historians who have treated of local and of large affairs; philosophers who have given us treatises on the sciences of ethics and of law; scholars who have won an honest fame by their investigations in Biblical and in physical spheres. From the membership of our Church there have gone forth a remarkable number of men to fill chairs of learning in our literary and classical institutions, or to preside over the interests of colleges and of universities. In practical theology, the one work which as yet has no superior, came from the judicious pen of a professor in our Theological School at New Brunswick, Rev. Dr. James Spencer Cameron. The pages of our leading quarterlies have constantly borne witness to the ability of many of our ministers and laymen in handling the weightier matters of sacred literature, and if the famous orations called forth on great occasions are to be included in our survey, then it is but just to claim for some who have been of our household the possession of that peerless power by which multitudes are moved at the bidding of one. For the sake of illustrating this general statement, I ven-

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ture to group together the names of sundry writers who have given substance to our literature. In the field of history, Drs. B. C. Taylor, A. Messler, Professor Demarest, Thomas De Witt, E. Tanjore Corwin, J. Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., and S. B. Schieffelin, Esq., may be instanced. Among theological and controversial writers we find the names of Drs. Berg, Gordon, Janeway, John De Witt, Ganse, Professor Doolittle, Hartley, Brownlee, Quin, Proudfit, Westbrook and others, who have boldly defended the faith. In Biblical literature we have the productions of Drs. McClelland, Tayler Lewis, T. W. Chambers, President Campbell, J. T. Demarest and Rufus W. Clark, whose works indicate the direction in which theological science will continue to be explored. Works on experimental and practical piety have been produced among us in considerable numbers. The names of a few authors only can be given here. Bethune, Rogers, Collier, Zabriskie, Bingham, will readily occur to the memory. The biographies produced among us are very numerous, but for the most part are brief, being confined to the limits of spoken discourses. Dr. Gunn, Rev. Dr. John A. Todd, Dr. Chambers, Dr. A. B. Van Nest, Dr. C. Van Santvord are conspicuous as the authors of volumes highly valued. The missionary literature of our Reformed Church has been made influential by the productions of Drs. Livingston, John Scudder, David Abeel, John V. N. Talmage and other men, who have distinguished themselves by their active devotion to missionary work. In discursive literature we meet with the works of Chancellor Matthews, Chancellor Ferris, Chancellor Crosby, Rev. Drs. W. J. R. Taylor, Alexander McClure, James Ludlow, Prof. Woodbridge, E. C. Benedict, A. B. Winfield, James Romeyn, Henry G. Livingston, Professor R. Bethune Welch, Henry Mandeville, John B. Thompson, and many more whose pens have been well employed. In imaginative and polite literature our annals do not greatly abound. Dr. Brownlee wrote and published a novel which was too good to become popular. "The Dutch Domine of the Catskills," by Rev. Dr. Murdoch, met with considerable favor, but was soon lost in the flood of more attractive stories. Marion Harland (Mrs. Terhune) has been our most successful writer of fiction. It would be unjust to close this outline without referring to those honorable women whose pens have added grace, no less than strength to our literature. The writings of Miss Letitia Griffeth were, in her day, kindly received, though they may be forgotten now. Mrs. Vanderbilt, Margaret

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E. Sangster, Miss Matthews, Caroline May and Mrs. Pruyn very well represent the class of female authors who, in prose and in poetry, are enriching our religious literature with productions which will not soon perish.

The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church was established in 1827. It was conducted by an association of gentlemen, edited by William Craig Brownlee, a Professor at New Brunswick, and issued from the Rutgers Press, of that city. On its titlepage it bore the motto "*Nisi Dominus Frustra.*" It was a pioneer in this department of literature. The *Quarterly Christian Spectator*, of New Haven, was not started until 1829, two years later than the *Magazine*. It is a most entertaining and instructive exercise of thought to go back and examine the drift and purpose of these two periodicals. In the first volume of the *Magazine* we find many and able appeals in behalf of missions, foreign and domestic; arguments in support of efforts to evangelize the Jews; a sharp review of Bishop Hobart, the father of High Churchism in this country; Dr. Chalmers' sermon against "Cruelty to Animals," preached in Edinburgh, March, 1826, and which, possibly, may have stirred the reformatory spirit of Mr. Bergh, for the pulpit originates many movements in society without receiving any open acknowledgment. There are also some learned articles on ancient manuscripts, together with many valuable historic sketches. The *Spectator* is full of controversial articles. It reviews Dr. Spring, and condemns his views of regeneration. It takes ground against Dr. Taylor's doctrine of depravity, and, curiously enough, moves over the battle field which fifty years ago resounded with the din of controversies, now hushed by the sweeter strains of a tolerant charity. The brief comparison, however, just presented, shows the manner or style in which the literature of our Church has differed from that of others.

We have had small and but rare occasion to contend with theological heresies arising within our own ecclesiastical household. While, indeed, we have resisted bordering errors, we have at home kept "the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace."

The *Christian Intelligencer* was the successor of the *Magazine*. It is in its forty-seventh volume. From the beginning of its career of usefulness until now it has maintained a character which has made it a sound expositor as well as trusted counsellor and leader. Representing the solid and conservative opinions of a church not easily lured into ensnaring novelties, it has uniformly

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received the respect and confidence of contemporaries. Its first editor was Dr. Cornelius Westbrook, a man of scholarly attainments and a vigorous writer. He was succeeded by Drs. DeWitt, Knox and Brownlee, who gave to its columns some of the best fruits of their learning, wisdom and piety. In turn they were followed by Mr. John H. Bevier, a brother-in-law of the publisher and proprietor, whose services extended over a period of six years. In 1852 the paper was placed under control of the general Synod, whose committee selected me for the editorial chair. I discharged the duties of the office for sixteen years, at the end of which time in 1868, I resigned. The management then passed into the hands of Rev. E. R. Atwater. In 1870 the *Intelligencer* was purchased by Mr. Ezra A. Hayt, a merchant and banker, who still owns and controls it. Mr. Charles D. Deshler, its present managing editor, is a gentleman of large information, indefatigable industry, exact learning, and of large experience as a writer for the public press. The pages of this venerable journal exhibit every week the results of careful and judicious editing. Our efforts to establish and maintain a *Quarterly Review*, I am sorry to say, have not been successful. The *New Brunswick Review* was started on a good foundation and promised well. It failed from lack of harmony among its conductors. Dr. Berg's *Protestant Quarterly Review* went through ten volumes and then suspended. It was afterwards revived; but, owing to the disturbances occasioned by the civil war, was not long continued. The *Sower and Gospel Field* has been found useful in the service of our several Boards. This much must suffice as an outline of what has been done in the field of periodic literature. Some of our ministers are contributors to the *Princeton Review*, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and other first class periodicals.

No review of the literature of the century could be regarded as in any sense complete which should omit to give an account of our literary, classical, scientific and theological institutions. These have had an experience of hardship and hindrance at first, followed by subsequent growth not unlike that of all kindred institutions in this country. It should be known that the chief seats of learning in the United States were founded in the main by Protestant clergymen, who right well knew how intimate is the connection between science, literature and religion. Out of their small salaries they drew contributions for collegiate education. By their exemplary liberality

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they induced others to join in their efforts. They laid foundations whose superstructures stand to-day the defence, hope and glory of our land. Our chief institutions are at New Brunswick, N. J. At the beginning, Rutgers College was both a classical and divinity school. The College and the Theological Seminary were served by one faculty. The separation of the two came as their respective importance grew, and means for their sustentation increased. The Presidents of Rutgers College have been Rev. Drs. Jacob R. Hardenburgh, John Livingston and Philip Milledollar, Hon. A. Bruyn Hasbrouck, Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen and the present incumbent of the office, Rev. Dr. William H. Campbell. It is impossible to speak in terms of extravagant praise of Dr. Campbell's administration. He has raised the college from penury to affluence, from a condition of weakness to one of great strength. It has now a position inferior to no other college in the Middle States. Its faculty is composed of men thoroughly prepared to do skilful work as educators. Professors Cooper, Murray, Riley, Doolittle, Cooke and Lockwood are among our best contributors to the classical and scientific literature of our age. Nothing is now needed at New Brunswick but the addition of a law school to make our cluster of institutions there complete. The Grammar School, College, School of Science and Theological Seminary are all cordially sustained, and are winning new honors from year to year. They stand as clear exponents of the high value which our church places on the highest style of culture. Hope College, in Michigan, is passing through its inevitable juvenile struggles; yet it has given abundant promise of usefulness, and there is reason to believe that it will eventually be established in strength.

In summing up this rapid survey of a period quite too extensive for minute treatment in a single discourse, I may briefly characterize the literature of the Reformed Church by saying that first and last, and all the way through, it has been purely and strictly evangelical. There is a vicious notion entertained in some quarters, and advocated by popular authors, to the effect that literature is an affair wholly apart from religion. It is held that a truly literary performance is a matter of art and not of moral purpose. With such it is a rule to exclude Christianity from having any connection with their works. They care more for form than for spirit. In the hands of such writers literature is an affair of mere words, skilfully arranged to gratify the love of the beautiful. These devotees of Greek art are more

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paganized than were the Greeks themselves, who after all sought for what was wise under the investiture of the fair. The great masters in English literature drank not only from the fountain of Helicon, but also from Siloa's stream, that flowed fast by the oracles of God. But our finical transcendentalists have a school of writing which aims to make art its own sufficient end, and literature a religion of genius to supplant the religion of faith. With this species of literature happily the people of our communion have never formed an alliance. They may admire its moonshine, but prefer the kindling rays of the sun. They have been taught to know that the best use to which language can be put is the exposition and enforcement of truth. Accordingly we look in vain among the productions of our writers for any work, literary or scientific, which is not ruled by the authority of Christ. Not that I mean to say that we have despised literary culture, for we have not. Whatever is elegant in style, graceful in rhetoric and cumulative in logic, may be found to adorn, embellish and strengthen the works of our writers. But with us the standard of good writing is not limited to tone or coloring, but resides rather in that moral conscience which demands that if any speak or write it shall be according to the oracles of God.

Our literature, moreover, is eminently patriotic, and by this term, in this connection, I wish it to be understood that the great bulk of all that has passed into our literature is marked by a fervent desire to make American liberty the fond mother of intelligence, virtue, industry and order, throughout all our borders. By all her traditions brought from the old country; by all her sufferings through the Revolutionary era; by all her faith in that Calvinistic Protestantism which has begotten States and quickened decaying nations to life, this Reformed Church has been pledged to a patriotic work in her schools, her colleges, her pulpits and in her press. She is thoroughly American, because she believes that here the Kingdom of Christ will come with power and extend its sway, until Occident and Orient shall mingle their praises, until widest seas and loftiest mountains shall speed the message once brought to earth by the angels, when the manger in Bethlehem held the long desire of all the nations. Because it is patriotic, much of our literature has been pronounced, in its resistance to Ultramontanism as essentially anti-republican; of German, French and English rationalism, which would destroy liberty in its roots, and of all those foreign manners and customs

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which are aiming to convert proper, civic and social freedom into wild license and the abuse of all decent order. Of her record here she need feel no shame.

Lastly, I observe, that whatever our literature may be, much or little, strong or weak, it is all the product of men and women who had no time for literary ease or the indulgence merely of their tastes. They have all had other work. The duties of the pastoral office are exacting and exhausting. The time of a minister of the Gospel is never his own. He belongs to others more than to himself. The cry of pain, the tears of affliction and the shadow of death never wait for his convenience. He must read, study, write and speak, and be always ready to serve any good cause, no matter what ache may disturb his brain, no matter what weariness oppress his frame. There have been pastors, it is true, who brought forth learned works, but almost always at a ruinous expense of health. When, therefore, we consider that the pastors of our Church have been engaged in their legitimate tasks with a fidelity which disarms criticism, we may wonder not that they have written so little but so much, creating a body of useful, practical, solid, Christian literature, which has given no uncertain sound, and which, after all, is most admirable as a promise and a prophecy of what shall be under happier circumstances and more favoring conditions.

AND NOW MY TASK IS DONE. It has not been, however, so much of a toil as a pleasure. We do well to remember the way by which we have come. Piety finds no sweeter occupation than the contemplation of the signal events which mark the unfolding of the Divine purposes. At the end of a hundred years we look back to their beginning, we compare now with then, and we see that from a little band of patriots we have become a nation, extending across a continent, and disseminating our principles around the globe. Yet the century just closed has been hardly anything more than one of preparation for the future. It has been the grandest century of recorded time. More has been done for the advancement of every human interest within this period than in any other of equal extent. It has been a century of political revolution—American, French, German, Italian, Greek and Asiatic. It has been a period of governmental reconstructions going forward in the interests of popular liberty, both civil and religious. It has been a century of wars, not for dynastic power so much as for the overthrow of dynasties. It has been a mission-

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ary period, and nations once secluded have been brought into fraternal communion with the commonwealth of nations. It has been distinguished, too, for its advance in natural science and in practical art. Steamboats, railroads, telegraphs, steam printing presses, with all their accessories, are the product of this century which we celebrate. It is impossible to doubt that a new era for our race is dawning. But without a literature shaped to the present needs of this new order of affairs, without an American literature, vital with American aspirations, principles and purposes, we may still be held back by rusty chains of tradition or misled by syren songs of soft enchantment into paths perilous and fatal. It is not our vocation as Americans to dwell at the base of the Nilotic pyramid and muse over vanished centuries. The old cities, the old cathedrals, the old trumpery of European palaces may interest antiquarians, but they who will be true to this age, in this land, must be creators of a new civilization, which shall throb with a life native to our soil. "The backward looking sons of time" may find a languid luxury in stirring the gathered dust of ancient empire; but they who hear the voices of the day will take heart for a grand work yet to be done—the production of a literature that shall draw its inspiration more from the fountain head of all human expectation than from the broken cisterns of classic renown—that shall unite the humanities with the robust faith begotten by the Holy Spirit—and shall so blend the light of science with the light of revelation that everywhere the night of ignorance may be broken and the Day Star arise on every shore.

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REFORMED CHURCH

IN AMERICA.

ITS TYPE OF DOCTRINE, AS REPRESENTED BY THE SYMBOLS OF HEIDELBERG AND DORDRECHT.

BY

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ITS TYPE OF DOCTRINE, AS REPRESENTED BY THE SYMBOLS OF HEIDELBERG AND DORDRECHT.

"Ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered to you."—Rom., vi: 17.

THIS portion of Scripture has been selected because it seems appropriate for a discourse on a subject which has been assigned to me by act of the General Synod. The original phrase, which in the text is rendered "*form* of doctrine," might be rendered more literally "*type* of doctrine." The subject assigned is:

"The type of doctrine" of our Reformed Church, "as repre-
"sented by the symbols of Heidelberg and Dordrecht."

These terms cover broad ground. They present a field far too extensive to be fully explored in the time which even the most generous patience would accord to a single spoken discourse. From the many paths which lie open before us and invite our entrance a selection must be made.

By the type or form of doctrine mentioned in the text, the apostle, doubtless, meant the doctrine itself in the form in which it had been communicated; and, accepting the phrase in this sense, it would be permissible for me to occupy the time with a brief *statement* of the doctrines which are formulated in our authorized standards. But this would be only to do ill that

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which has already been done well. Our standards themselves present those doctrines, in order and terms so admirable that nothing could be added or taken away without marring, in some degree, their symmetry. Moreover, they explicitly demand that they may be judged of by themselves, and not by any partial representation or misrepresentation of themselves or their contents, made by either friend or foe. In the eloquent peroration which is appended to the Canons of the Synod of Dort occurs this vigorous sentence: "Wherefore, this Synod of Dort, in the "name of the Lord, conjures as many as piously call upon the "name of our Saviour Jesus Christ to judge of the faith of the "Reformed Churches, not from the calumnies which on every "side are heaped upon it, nor from the private expressions of a "few among ancient or modern teachers, but from the public "confessions of the churches themselves and from this declara- "tion of the orthodox doctrine, confirmed by the unanimous con- "sent of all and each of the members of the whole Synod." Restrained by this solemn conjuration, I will not attempt, in this discourse, to state the doctrines of our Church, either in brief or at large, but refer you for such statement to the authorized standards, which are accessible to all, and express the doctrines with a brevity, a completeness, a perspicuity, and a precision which, in these respects, leave nothing more to be desired.

Nor is it my purpose to enter upon any elaborate *defence* of those doctrines. That would be an attempt to compress within the limits of a brief discourse arguments which fill not only volumes but libraries, and within the compass of an hour to handle and dispose of the high themes of "providence, foreknowledge, will and fate," over which the athletes of the intellectual and spiritual arena have been contending for ages. The attempt would be manifestly foredoomed to failure, and, therefore, as from the statement so also from the defence of our doctrines I will refrain, and refer you, for this, to the solid arguments drawn from reason and Scripture, with which the literature of the Reformed churches already abounds, and which have long stood, and will continue to stand as ramparts impregnable against all the assault of adversaries.

Still less will I trouble you with an exposition of the *minor points wherein our standards differ from those of other churches* which hold substantially the same faith. Our type of doctrine is that which is frequently designated by the term Calvinistic. It is so designated, not because we acknowledge Calvin, or any other

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man, to be our master, but because the doctrine we hold agrees in substance with that which he held, and of which he was, in his day, the most eminent expounder and advocate. It is also not infrequently spoken of as the Reformed type of doctrine, because it was held in common by those churches which called themselves Reformed, by way of distinction from those which were called Lutheran or Arminian. But these Calvinistic or Reformed churches were many, and were planted in many nations, and, in almost every nation, were compacted into a separate ecclesiastical organization, having its own distinctive doctrinal symbol or symbols. While all these symbols agree in substance, we are yet able, by close examination, to detect some minor points on which they are slightly at variance. We would, therefore, keep quite within the limits of our subject if we should thus examine our own standards, for the purpose of discovering on what points, and to what extent their utterances differ from those of other Reformed standards of acknowledged repute. To attempt this, however, would be to deal with theological niceties and abstractions altogether unsuited to an ordinary congregation. A discussion of them might be interesting to an assembly of clergymen or a class of divinity students, but to the great majority of hearers would be both tedious and profitless.

With your permission, then, I propose to take a path different from any of those already indicated, although it will occasionally intersect them. The doctrinal standards of our Church, as you are all aware, are three in number, and are called, respectively, *The Belgic Confession*, the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and the *Canons of the Synod of Dort or Dordrecht*. One of these, the Belgic Confession, is not expressly mentioned in the terms of our subject; but it will be assumed that the intention was to include it, inasmuch as without some reference to it no representation of our type of doctrine could be considered complete. It is the most venerable of all our standards, was re-affirmed by the Synod of Dort, and was, indeed, the basis of that Synod's action; and therefore it may be presumed that express mention of it was omitted only for brevity's sake, and because it was regarded as forming, by implication, an integral part of the Symbol of Dort.

Each of these symbols has its history. Each one was the outgrowth of events, and bears the marks of the events out of which it grew; or, to employ the figure suggested by the title of our discourse, the events constituted in part the *mould* in which our

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type of doctrine was cast; and *my purpose is to recite briefly some of the principal events and circumstances in the midst of which our doctrinal standards originated, and as briefly to show how, by them, the standards themselves were modified and shaped into the form which they finally assumed.*

I.—Belgic confession.

First, we will consider in this manner our Belgic Confession of Faith. This was the earliest formal exhibition of the Protestant faith in the Netherlands. There, as in other countries, the leaven of Protestantism had long before been introduced, and had been quietly but steadily working.

The great Protestant Reformation is very frequently spoken of as the Lutheran Reformation, and with sufficient propriety, since Luther was confessedly the foremost of its champions. It must not be forgotten, however, that there were reformers before Luther, and mighty influences preceding him and preparing the way. A hundred years before the voice of Luther was heard in Germany, Wycliffe was opposing the errors of the Romish church in England, and translating the Scriptures into the common English speech. A hundred and five years before Luther threw down the gage of battle, by burning the Pope's Bull in the public place of Wittenberg, John Huss, of Bohemia, was himself burned at the stake, in the open field near Constance.

So, also, in the Netherlands, to use the expression of the historian Motley, heresy was "a plant of early growth." Beginning with the twelfth century, we can trace an unbroken succession of sects, waging a perpetual but unequal warfare with the power of the Romish hierarchy. Coming down to later times, we find that forty years before Luther denounced the sale of indulgences by Tetzel, Wessel Gansvort, of Groningen, was speaking and writing not only against indulgences but also against the mass, and prayers for the dead, and even against the supremacy of the Pope. He maintained "that Popes might err as well "as other men, and that when they did err they ought to be op- "posed, and that their decrees did not bind otherwise nor farther "than as they were consistent with the Word of God."* Also, in language most explicit and emphatic, he set forth the great reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone. So thoroughly did he take what would now be called Protestant ground that Luther him-

* *Vide* Brandt; History of Reformation, vol. i, p. 32. London, 1720.

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self afterwards confessed, "If I had read Wessel before I began, my opponents would have imagined that I had derived everything from him, so entirely do we two agree in spirit." Contemporary with him, and contending for the same truth with equal earnestness and scarcely inferior ability, was his familiar friend and fellow citizen, Rudolph Agricola.* By the labors of these faithful men, and of their companions and disciples of lesser note, the seeds of Protestantism were sown broadcast over all the Netherlands, and were but biding their time to spring up and bear abundance of fruit. Following close in their footsteps came yet another of still greater name and fame, the renowned Erasmus, of Rotterdam, whose genius and scholarship were such that for a time he was the foremost man in the literary and Christian world. In his witty satire, entitled "The Praise of Folly," which was speedily translated into every language of civilization, he exposed the corrupt morals and absurd pretensions of the Romish priesthood in such droll fashion as to provoke all Europe to mingled laughter and scorn. Thus, by the skilful use of the potent battery of ridicule, he helped largely to break down existing abuses. Also, by his editions of the New Testament, he called attention anew and more earnestly to the study of the Scriptures, and thus helped no less efficiently to lay a solid foundation for reform. He was sadly wanting in the sturdy courage which characterized many of his co-laborers. He confessed with all candor that there was not in him the stuff to make a martyr of, saying, "Let others aspire "to martyrdom; as for me, I do not think myself worthy of such "honor." But, although from personal timidity and love of ease he recoiled from the conflict when it began to be waged in dead earnest, he yet did as much, perhaps, as any other one man to precipitate the conflict, and also furnished effective weapons to those who engaged in it with a courage greater than his own. Hence in after years it was said by some that "Luther gathered the fatal seed in Erasmus' garden;" and by others, "that Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation and Luther hatched it."

It is evident, therefore, that the Netherlands did not lack their full share of the so-called "Reformers before the Reformation." When the great movement which rocked the whole continent to its foundations was fully inaugurated, there was no other country more thoroughly prepared to take an active part in it. Protestant ideas had already laid strong hold of the hearts of the peo-

* Brandt: vol. i, p. 33.

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ple from influences which had long been at work among themselves. At the same time they were most favorably situated for the introduction of kindred ideas from without. Their country was at once the mart and the workshop of Europe. Their opulent cities were centres not only of industry and commerce but also of intelligence. Men of every land were constantly coming and going, and "ideas were exchanged as freely as coarser commodities." As the Jesuit historian, Strada, mournfully puts it, "not "the Rhone from Germany, or the Meuse from France did send "more water into the Low Countries than by the one the contagion "of Luther, and by the other, of Calvin, was imported into the same "Belgic provinces."

Moreover, the spirit of the people was singularly propitious for the reception and spread of such contagion. They were already inspired with an unconquerable passion for liberty, both civil and religious. They were among the foremost in intellectual alertness. Nowhere else was education more general or knowledge more widely diffused. "It was their boast that common laborers, "even the fishermen who dwelt in the huts of Friesland, could read "and write and discuss the interpretations of Scripture." The historian, therefore, might have continued his mournful plaint by adding that the sea was not more ready to welcome the waters which the rivers poured into its bosom than were these same alert and intelligent people of the Belgic provinces to give welcome to the doctrines, akin to their own, which were poured in upon them from France and Germany.

This was especially the case with respect to the doctrines introduced from France. Mr. Motley asserts that the Reformation first entered the provinces, not through the Augsburg but through the Huguenot gate. We cannot accept this assertion without certain qualifications. In one sense the Reformation did not enter into the Netherlands at all; it grew there as a plant indigenous to the soil. Afterwards, indeed, there entered into the Netherlands, as into other countries, certain aids and influences from without; and, so far as these are concerned, the assertion is substantially correct, for the reason that the Huguenot gate, more than any other, stood wide open. Between France and the Netherlandish provinces intercourse was easy and constant. The people of the two countries were allied even in language; for, in a portion of the provinces, French was the mother tongue, as it continues to be to this day. It was across the French frontier

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that there came the first of those flaming field preachers who gathered eager audiences, numbered almost by the ten thousand, and set them all on fire with enthusiasm. The natural result was that the Protestants of the Netherlands were, from the beginning, brought into closer fellowship and sympathy with their brethren of France than with those of any other country.

Among a people thus prepared from within, and thus open and receptive to truth from without, the Reformation principles spread with almost unexampled rapidity, and rooted themselves so deep that they could not be exterminated by any human power. As we all know, however, most vigorous measures were taken for their extermination. There was no sparing of confiscation or banishment; of prison, or sword or stake. All the great elements of nature were pressed into service—fire for burning, water for drowning, air for hanging, and earth for burying alive.

To the persecution, which was begun under Charles the Fifth, and continued under Philip the Second; which was waged with a ferocity which may, without extravagance, be called devilish; which endured through more than a whole generation, and turned the fairest and most prosperous country in Europe into a land of darkness and the shadow of death; it is not necessary for me to make more than the briefest allusion. It is already pictured on the pages of our American historian, and that so vividly, that even after the lapse of centuries humanity stands shocked before the ghastly and sickening details. It is enough for our present purpose to say that so early as 1550 the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, published an edict declaring that no one should print, write, copy, keep, buy, sell, or give any heretical book or writing, or hold or be present at any heretical meeting, or read, teach, or expound the holy Scriptures, or preach secretly or openly, or entertain any heretical opinions; and that all persons guilty of any of these offences should be executed, to wit, the men with the sword, and the women to be buried alive, if they *do not* persist in their errors; if they *do* persist in them, then they are to be executed with fire. This edict of Charles was afterwards reissued by his son Philip. But not content with this, the same Philip, on the 16th of February, 1568, published another edict of a character more sweeping, in which each and all of his subjects in the Netherlands—nobles and people—with the exception of a few persons specially named, were, for their apostacy and heresy, adjudged guilty of high treason, and were condemned to death in mass. It was further

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ordered that this sentence should be instantly executed, without regard to age, sex or condition; and for this purpose Alva was sent with his disciplined soldiery, and a special tribunal was organized, which has been rightly named "The Council of Blood." Grotius, who had abundant means of knowledge, and was not given to the making of rash statements touching matters of fact, asserts that even Charles the Fifth, before his abdication, caused "the butchery of no less than a hundred thousand men, to make "a trial if this fire were to be quenched with blood." And yet Charles, as compared with Philip, was merciful. How many more were butchered under Philip we dare not even estimate. One chronicler records, among the events of a single year, that there was no city so small that there were not in it fifty, a hundred, two, and in some instances, three hundred put to death.* As we read such records we cannot but recall this most gracious king's avowal that he would make a wilderness of the whole country rather than have it inhabited by heretics, and admit that he did all that lay in his power to make good his royal word.

It was in the very heat of this fiery persecution that our Belgic Confession was forged. Its author was *Guido de Bres*, a native of one of the French speaking provinces, and eminent among those brave preachers to whom the people flocked in such multitudes, not only in the cities but also on the dykes and in the open fields. It was written in the French language, and having been examined and approved by some of the more prominent brethren, was published in the year 1561.† Six years afterwards the author, while endeavoring to escape, with several others, from the besieged city of Valenciennes, was captured by the Spanish authorities, was thrust into a filthy dungeon, was kept there under guard and heavily ironed for about two months, and then was taken to the gallows and publicly hanged.

* Meteren, Histoire des Pays Bas. La Haye, 1618, fol. 50.

† Until quite recently it was supposed that no copy of the original edition of the confession was extant, and in the absence of this conclusive evidence, the precise date of publication was involved in uncertainty. Vinke, in his "Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Reformatae Nederlandicae," Praefatio, p. xxx, states that scholars were divided in opinion—some inclining to 1561 and others to 1562. Within a few years, however, the question has been definitely settled by the discovery of a copy of the original edition, which has been deposited in the Royal Library at the Hague, and on the titlepage of which is the date 1561. Van Toorenenbergen, in his "Bladzijde uit de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Geloofs belijdenis," gives the text as found in the original edition and a *fac simile* of the titlepage.

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The churches which adopted the Confession called themselves "*The Churches of the Netherlands which sit under the Cross.*"* So stands their formal title in the acts and proceedings of their earlier synods.

At the very first appearance of the Confession there was prefixed to it a letter to King Philip of Spain,† which is worthy of attention, alike for its pathetic, yet lofty eloquence, and its vivid portrayal of the sufferings and perils to which the churches were exposed. A part of it may be translated as follows:

"*The faithful of the Low Countries, who desire to live according to*
"*the true Reformation, conformed to the Gospel of Our Lord*
"*Jesus Christ, to King Philip their sovereign lord.*

"If we were permitted, Sire, to appear before your Majesty, to "clear ourselves from the crimes wherewith we are charged, and to "shew the equity of our cause, we would not resort to this secret "method of making known to you the groanings of your people, "by a mute request or a written Confession. But inasmuch as "our enemies have filled your ears with so many false reports "that we are not only prevented from appearing in your pres- "ence, but hunted from your territories, and burned and mas- "sacred wheresoever we may be found, at least, Sire, grant unto "us that which cannot be denied even to the brute beasts, "namely, that our lamentations may be hearkened to as from "afar; to the end that, if having heard us, your Majesty judge "us to be guilty, the fires may be increased, and the racks and "torments may be multiplied throughout your realm; but on the "contrary, if our innocence be made clear to you, that it may con- "strain you to be unto us a stay and a defence against the fury "of our enemies.

"It is charged that we are rebels and movers of sedition, aim- "ing to subvert all government, to bring in all manner of confu- "sion, and not only to liberate ourselves from your power and "jurisdiction, but even to wrest the sceptre from your hands. * * "But we protest, before God and His angels, that we desire "nothing else than to live with purity of conscience in obedience "to the magistrates, to serve God and to reform ourselves accord- "ing to His word and His holy commandments. * * * We ren- "der thanks to our God that the blood of our brethren, poured

* "Nederlandsche Kerken die onder't Kruis Sitten;" *vide* "Kerklyk Handbockje."

† This letter is given by Van Toorenenbergen in its original form. That which appears in Vinke, although in French, is a translation from a Dutch version.

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"out in our cause, or rather in the cause of Jesus Christ, and "for a testimony to the truth, crieth out, and that the banish- "ments and imprisonments, the proscriptions and racks, and tor- "tures, an dother afflictions innumerable do shew forth that our "desire is by no means carnal; forasmuch as we could live in "much greater ease, according to the flesh, if we did not maintain "this doctrine. But having the fear of God before our eyes, and "terrified by the threatening of Jesus Christ, who saith that He "will deny us before God His Father if we deny him before men, "therefore we yield our backs to the stripes, our tongues to the "knives, our mouths to gags, and our whole bodies to the flames.

"As for the persecutions which are waged against us as ene- "mies not only of your crown and the public weal, but also of "God and His Church, we beseech you to judge of these by the "Confession of Faith which we herewith present, and which we "are ready and resolved, if need be, to seal with our blood. By "this, as we hope, you will perceive that we are most unjustly "charged with being schismatics, rebels and heretics, since we "avow and confess, not only the principal points of the Christian "religion, as comprised in the symbol and common faith, but all "the doctrine revealed by Jesus Christ for our life, righteousness "and salvation, published by the Evangelists and Apostles, "sealed with the blood of so many martyrs, and preserved in its "purity and completeness in the Primitive Church, until by the "ignorance, avarice and ambition of the ministers it has been cor- "rupted by inventions and human traditions contrary to the "spirit of the Gospel. * * * *

"To you, Sire, to you it belongs to take cognizance of these mat- "ters—to you, to oppose errors however deep rooted by length "of time, and to defend the innocence of those who, hitherto, in "your courts of justice, have been oppressed rather than heard."

Such is a portion of this remarkable letter. If not part and parcel of the Confession itself, it certainly is a most luminous and eloquent comment upon it. I have indulged in somewhat copious extracts, because, so far as I know, it has never yet been fully translated into English, and is comparatively little known in our churches. In my judgment it ought to be translated, and, in our English version, set in its old place at the head of the Confession, that so the churches might be perpetually reminded, not only of the faith of the fathers but also of the sublime steadfastness with which that faith was maintained.

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Suffer me also to call your attention to some other letters, which are no less interesting. As I have already stated, Guido de Bres, the author of the Confession, was publicly hanged. During the imprisonment, previous to the hanging, he contrived to write and send some letters to his wife and mother. These letters are still extant,* and as they also are but little known, and have never been translated into English, I will read to you a few extracts from one of them:

"*My dear and well beloved wife in our Lord Jesus:*

"Your grief and anguish, troubling me in the midst of my joy and "gladness, are the cause of my writing you this present letter. I "most earnestly pray you not to be grieved beyond measure, as "fearing to offend God. * * * If the Lord had wished us to "live together longer, he could easily have caused it so to be. "But such was not his pleasure. Let His good will be done then, "and let that suffice for all reason. Moreover, consider that I "have not fallen into the hands of my enemies by chance, but by "the providence of my God, which guides and governs all things, "small as well as great, as we learn from the saying of Jesus "Christ: 'Fear not, the hairs of your head are all numbered.' "* * * How then could I be overtaken by misfortune or adver- "sity without the permission and providence of God? That "could not be in any wise, unless it be that God is no longer "God. * * * *

"When I was arrested, I said within myself, 'We have made a "mistake in that we travelled in such a large company—we have "been betrayed by such or such a one—we should have made no "halt anywhere;' and in the midst of these perplexing thoughts I "was all cast down in spirit, until I lifted up my soul on high and "meditated on the providence of God. Then there came to me a "wonderful peace. Then I began to say, 'O my God, Thou hast "caused me to be born at such day and hour as was ordained by "Thyself. All my life long Thou hast shielded and preserved me "in the midst of wonderful perils. * * * If, then, the hour "has at last come for me to depart this life, that I may be with "Thee, let Thy holy will be done. I cannot escape from Thy "hands, and I would not, even if I could, for to be conformed to "Thy will is my highest joy.' All these considerations have made "and still make my heart to be very glad and peaceful, and I pray

* They are found in Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," Genève, 1570, and are reproduced in a pamphlet entitled "Guy de Bres et ses Lettres," etc. Genève, 1835.

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"you, my dear and faithful companion, to be glad with me, and "to thank the good God for what He is doing, for He does nothing "but what is altogether right and good. * * * I am shut up "in the strongest and wretchedest of dungeons, so dark and "gloomy that it goes by the name of the Black Hole. I can get "but little air, and that of the foulest. I have on my hands and "feet heavy irons which are a constant torture, galling the flesh "even to my poor bones. But, notwithstanding all, my God fails "not to make good His promise, and to comfort my heart, and to "give me a most blessed content. * * * I pray you, then, to "be comforted in the Lord, to commit yourself and your affairs to "Him, for He is the Husband of the widow and the Father of the "fatherless, and He will never leave nor forsake you. * * *

"Good bye, Catharine, my well beloved! I pray my God to "comfort you, and give you resignation to His holy will.

"Your faithful husband,

"GUY DE BRES,

"*Minister of God's Word at Valenciennes, and at present "prisoner for the Son of God.*"

Such were some of the events and circumstances attending the origin of our Confession of Faith. Turning now to the Confession itself, we will see that they have left their impress on almost every article of it.

The men who formed or adopted it were, at the peril of their lives, contending earnestly against the errors of Romanism, and, therefore, we find that it is first of all and in every fibre Protestant.

It takes a firm Protestant stand with respect to the Scriptures: "We receive all these books, and these only, as holy and canoni- "cal, for the regulation, foundation and confirmation of our faith. "We distinguish those sacred books from the apocryphal. We "believe that these Holy Scriptures fully contain the will of God, "and that whatsoever man ought to believe unto salvation is suf- "ficiently taught therein. Neither may we compare any writings "of men, though ever so holy, with those divine Scriptures, nor "ought we to compare custom or the great multitude, or an- "tiquity or succession of times or persons, or councils, decrees or "statutes, with the truth of God, for the truth is above all."*

It rejects the Romish doctrine of intercession of the saints: "We believe that we have no access unto God save alone through "the only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ. And who will

* Articles V, VI, VII.

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"sooner be heard than the own well beloved Son of God? There-
"fore, it was only through distrust that this practice of dishonor-
"ing instead of honoring the saints was introduced."*

It rejects also the Romish corruption of the Sacraments. Against the seven so-called Sacraments of Rome it declares, "We are satis-
"fied with the number of Sacraments which Christ, our Lord, hath
"instituted, which are two only, viz., the Sacrament of Baptism
"and the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ. We reject all mix-
"tures and damnable inventions which men have added unto and
"blended with the Sacraments, as profanations of them."†

It withstands the overbearing pretensions of the Romish church. It says, indeed, "We believe and profess one catholic and univer-
"sal Church," and "that all men are in duty bound to join and
"unite themselves with it;" but adds, significantly, "We ought
"diligently and circumspectly to discern from the Word of God
"which is the true Church. As for the false church, she ascribes
"more power and authority to herself and her ordinances than to
"the Word of God, and persecutes those who live holily accord-
"ing to the Word of God and rebuke her for her errors."‡

It maintains firmly the essential Protestant doctrine of justification by faith; declaring, "We justly say with Paul, that we
"are justified by faith alone."‖

It is very noticeable, however, that while the errors of Rome are rejected, the rejection is couched, so far as truth will permit, in mild and courteous terms. The Confession is, indeed, of the nature of an apology. Those who spoke through it were not wishing to bring railing accusations against others, but only to state modestly and yet firmly their own belief; and, therefore, they carefully refrained from everything savoring of denunciation, lest thereby animosities already too fierce should be provoked to still greater fierceness.

The same apologetic character of the Confession appears in still other articles.

The Protestants of the Netherlands were constantly charged with being heretics; therefore, they avow that they willingly receive the three great creeds of the early Christian church and the teachings of the ancient fathers conformable thereunto, and thus avow that they are not heretics but Christians after the pattern of the purest days of the church.§

* Art. XXVI. † Articles XXXIII and XXXV. ‡ Articles XXVII and XXIX.
‖ Article XXII. § Art. IX.

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They were charged with being movers of sedition and in league with the so-called Anabaptists, who in those troublous times were committing outrages in various countries. They therefore declare that they hold it to be "the bounden duty of every one to subject "himself to the magistrates, to pay tribute, to shew due honor "and respect to them, and to obey them in all things which are "not repugnant to the word of God." They further declare that they "detest the Anabaptists and other seditious people, and in "general all those who reject the higher powers and magistrates, "and would confound that decency and good order which God "hath established among men."*

Furthermore, the churches of the Netherlands, as we have seen, were in more frequent intercourse and closer fellowship with the churches of France than with those of any other country, and this fact also has left its impress on the Confession. Calvin was a Frenchman, and was at that time the recognized leader of the Protestants in France, as Luther was of those in Germany. As a natural result the Confession is Calvinistic rather than Lutheran. Its Calvinism, however, is of a moderate and conciliatory tone, for the reason that many questions which afterwards came into prominence had not as yet challenged attention.

And finally, those fiery persecutions of which mention has been made could not but leave their impress also on the Confession, and I think that it is seen most unmistakably in the article on Divine Providence. In those dark and terrible times the faithful could see no light except as they looked Godward—could find no refuge but in God; and, therefore, they looked and fled to Him. As I read from that touching letter of Guido de Bres you could not but notice how frequently he recurred to the providence of God; how unspeakably precious it was to him; how he rested in it with a blessed content, notwithstanding the dungeon, and fetters, and impending death. The same spirit breathes in the Confession, and, in part, through the same words, with a fervor and heartiness which can hardly be matched in any other similar production. It declares, "we believe that the same God, after he had "created all things, did not forsake them or give them up to for-"tune or chance, but that he rules and governs them according "to his holy will, so that nothing happens in this world without "his appointment. This doctrine affords us unspeakable consola-"tion, since we are taught thereby that nothing can befall us by

* Art. XXXVI.

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"chance, but by the direction of our most gracious and heavenly "Father, who watches over us with a paternal care, keeping all "creatures so under his power that not a hair of our head—for "they are all numbered—nor a sparrow can fall to the ground "without the will of our Father, in whom we do entirely trust; "being persuaded that he so restrains the devil and all our ene- "mies, that without his will and permission they cannot hurt "us."*

II.—HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

From the Confession we turn now to the Heidelberg Catechism, and in so doing we pass to another land and language. The Confession, as we have seen, had its origin in the Netherlands, and was first written in French. The Catechism originated in Germany, and was first written in the mother tongue of the Germans.

Among the provinces into which Germany was divided in the sixteenth century, one of the most extensive and fertile and prosperous was known as the Lower Palatinate or the Palatinate of the Rhine. Its governing prince was styled the Elector. Its chief city, and the seat of government, was Heidelberg, famous for its charming situation at the junction of the two valleys of the Neckar and the Rhine, and still more famous for its university, which, even in the fourteenth century, had achieved a reputation as among the foremost seats of learning in Europe. In this city of Heidelberg was first published our Catechism, bearing the same name.

From causes on which we have not time to dwell, the Palatinate was among the last of the German provinces to be roused to a hearty participation in the great Protestant movement. There, as elsewhere, we discern many influences going before and preparing the way. It is not amiss to note the fact, by the way, that among the pioneers of the Reformation in the Palatinate certain Netherlanders occupy a conspicuous place. Before the close of the fifteenth century the same Wessel Gansvort and Rudolph Agricola, who have already been mentioned as among the early reformers of the Netherlands, were called to be professors in the University of Heidelberg, and taught there the same truth for which they had been contending at home.† The Netherlands, therefore, were not merely receivers of truth from abroad,

* Art. XIII. † Alting; Historia de Ecclesiis Palatinis, cap. iii.

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but had also the greater blessedness of giving as abundantly as they received. A few years later—in 1518—there was held in Heidelberg a general convention of Augustinian monks, and among those present at the appointed time, by order of the superior, was the monk of Wittenberg, Martin Luther,* who had journeyed most of the way from his home in Saxony on foot. Europe was already ringing with his fame; for in the year previous he had bidden defiance to the Papal power by nailing his ninety-five theses against indulgences to the door of the church of All Saints, at Wittenberg. During his stay at Heidelberg, Luther, by invitation, engaged in a public discussion, in which he earnestly presented the truth which had excited such commotion in other provinces. Many were impressed by it and embraced it. There was no serious persecution. The reigning Elector tolerated the new views, and his successors, in greater or less degree, encouraged them. Nevertheless they spread somewhat slowly, and when at last the Reformation was thoroughly established in the Palatinate, there had arisen the first great controversy, which was destined to split Protestantism into two rival and antagonistic sections.

Of these sections one was called the Lutheran and the other the Calvinistic or Reformed. The subject of the controversy was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It was not on the point of predestination, or of any doctrine connected with it, that the divergence began. On this nearly all the great reformers were at the outset substantially agreed. Luther asserted the doctrine of predestination in terms quite as emphatic as any that were employed by Calvin. But with respect to the Lord's Supper there was developed a difference which proved to be irreconcilable.

In the Romish church the administration of the Supper had been corrupted into the celebration of the mass. It was held that at a certain point in the celebration the elements of bread and wine were, in some mysterious and miraculous manner, converted into the veritable body and blood of Christ. As bread and wine they ceased to be. They were transubstantiated—that is, transmuted into entirely different substances, even Christ's body and blood; and hence the doctrine was called that of "transubstantiation."

All the reformers were agreed in the rejection of this doctrine as false; but when they came to the question, "What is the true doctrine?" their agreement was at an end.

* Alting; cap. xi.

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Luther on this subject seems never to have been able to cast off entirely the influence of his early monastic training. In his first confession, which is known as the Augsburg Confession, and which, although written by Melancthon, was neither more nor less than Luther's thought expressed in Melancthon's words, he speaks most respectfully and even reverently of the mass. Although several years had elapsed since his open break with Rome, his language is conciliatory in the highest degree. "Our churches," he says, are falsely accused of having abolished the "mass, for it is retained with us and celebrated with the utmost "reverence. Moreover, almost all the customary ceremonies are "preserved, except that, for the edification of the people, some "German hymns are intermingled with those in Latin." Seven years afterward, in the Articles of Smalcald, penned by his own hand, he wrote in a very different strain, declaring that the Popish mass was "the greatest and most horrid of abominations, "the chief and most splendid of all Popish idolatries." But notwithstanding the advance thus made, somewhat of the old delusion remained with him to the end. While his senses assured him that the bread and wine were not changed into Christ's body and blood, but remained as they had been, bread and wine, he nevertheless could not shake off the belief that somehow the actual body and blood were there. He took his stand on our Lord's own saying, "This is my body," and maintained that it was to be understood literally. Pressed to explain how that could be, when all the senses testified to the contrary, he answered that, in some invisible and miraculous manner, which the senses could not discern, the body and blood of Christ were present, "in, with and under" the bread and wine. This was called the doctrine of "consubstantiation," because it represented that the substance of our Lord's body and blood was conjoined with the substance of the elements at the Lord's table.

Luther's doctrine concerning the "real presence" was, therefore, not so very far removed from that of Rome. According to both alike, a physical miracle must be wrought at every administration of the Lord's Supper. According to both alike, our Lord's body must be literally present on the earth in places innumerable at one and the same time. Indeed, the difference between them seems to lie chiefly in the different answers given to the quite insignificant question, "What becomes of the bread and the wine?" Rome averred that they ceased to be, and that in some mysterious

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way the body and blood of our Lord were substituted for them. Luther averred that they remained, and that in some way no less mysterious, the body and blood of our Lord were conjoined to them. According to both views the body and blood were literally present, and were literally eaten with the mouth.

We are not surprised that other leading reformers, notwithstanding their profound respect for him, were constrained on this point to dissent from the great German. Zwingle dissented, and with him went all the Swiss churches. Melancthon, bosom friend and almost other self of Luther as he was, in the closing years of his life, could not here agree with him. Calvin, also, took other ground, and with such eminent ability that he came to be the acknowledged leader of the opposition. He maintained that our Lord's saying, "This is my body," is to be understood not literally but metaphorically, and that the plain meaning is, "This represents or symbolizes my body;" that in the holy supper Christ is not bodily present at all, but only spiritually present; that He is received not with the mouth but by faith; that the bread and wine are neither changed into nor conjoined with his body and blood, but are the emblems and memorials of them, and by his appointment the visible signs and pledges of His invisible grace.

That, in the beginning, was what was chiefly meant by Calvinism. When the term first came into general use it did not suggest, as at the present time, certain doctrines touching predestination. This had not yet come into prominence. By Calvinism was meant something opposed to Lutheranism. The ground of opposition was the Lord's Supper. To be a Calvinist was simply to hold the view concerning the Lord's Supper which, outside of the Lutheran communion, has prevailed in the great mass of evangelical churches the world over.

Such was the so-called "eucharistic" controversy. The two views were so diametrically opposed to each other that all efforts toward compromise proved vain. The dispute became not only earnest but acrimonious. In 1529 Luther and Zwingle, and a few of their respective adherents, were brought together in conference at Marburg, with the hope that they might be able to come to some sort of an agreement. The two parties sat facing each other, with a long covered table between them. After the conference had proceeded for some time Luther took a piece of chalk, and wrote on the table cover in large letters, "Hoc est corpus meum," and stuck sturdily to the literal interpretation of the text. At the end

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of the conference the parties were no nearer to an agreement than they were at the beginning. Finally, when all hope of agreement was gone, and the parties were about to separate, Zwingle, with tears in his eyes, arose and offered to Luther the hand of fraternal fellowship, and Luther, in the vehemence of his opposition, refused to accept the hand. The harshness of the great leader was communicated to his followers. In some of the Lutheran states the feeling was so bitter that Calvinistic refugees, seeking shelter in Germany from the persecutions in other lands, were denied asylum, and driven mercilessly away.

The heat on one side was met by a corresponding heat on the other, until, as one writer forcibly expresses it, all Germany was like a forest on fire. How vehement the strife became at last, we may judge from the fact that at another conference, held a few years later than the one already mentioned, a number of secular counsellors were deputed to be present, with instructions from their sovereigns "to keep the peace, if, unhappily, the theologians "should act unseemly toward each other."

The result of the strife was a lamentable division in the Protestant ranks. Luther, by the sheer weight of personal influence, carried with him most of the churches of Germany, and Calvin, by the weight of reason and Scripture, carried with him most of the other churches of Europe.

The Palatinate might naturally have been expected to take its stand with the other German states on the Lutheran side; but, as we have already seen, Protestantism did not enter there until a comparatively late period, and when it did enter, it carried with it the controversy fully developed. There was no previous commitment, as in other German states, to the Lutheran view, and hence the other side had a fairer opportunity for an unprejudiced hearing. Moreover, the Palatinate, lying near the border, was an asylum for a great number of Calvinistic refugees from France and the Netherlands, who were cordially welcomed, and permitted to organize churches after their own pattern, and preach their Calvinistic faith without molestation.* The result was that both sides had their adherents, and by their boisterous dissensions kept the churches of the province in a ceaseless ferment.

* Some of these French refugees, of a later date, after remaining for a season in the Palatinate, went to Holland, and resided there long enough to acquire the language and to become identified with the Dutch Church. Subsequently they removed to this country and settled upon the banks of one of the tributaries of the Hudson. Hence has resulted a curious commingling of names. The prevailing patronymics are still

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While affairs were in this posture, Frederic the Third, a prince who is universally conceded to have been endowed with rare qualities of both mind and heart, succeeded to the electoral throne. He had a vigorous understanding, a sound judgment and remarkable administrative capacity. He was at the same time a most devoted Christian, and as such, earnest in his efforts to promote the highest welfare of the people over whom he was set to rule. In a land then favored with not a few princes eminent for their piety, he was surnamed Frederic *the* Pious. His chosen motto was, "Lord, as thou wilt;" and to do the Lord's will and help others, and especially his own subjects, to do it, was the chief aim of his life. It has been nobly and truly said of him, that "in him "the prince and the Christian were so intimately joined together "that the one cannot be thought of without the other."

Both as prince and as Christian he set himself with all his heart to accomplish, if possible, two specific objects. One was that of quelling strife and bringing order and unity into the distracted church of his dominion. To this end he at first tried persuasion, and when that failed, as it could not but fail, he determined to exercise, kindly but firmly, his authority. He would not permit that his people should be forever disturbed and harassed by the endless quarrelings of hot-headed theologians, and since Lutherans and Calvinists could not or would not come to any terms of agreement, he would take it upon himself to decide which of them should have the supremacy. In accordance with the spirit of that age he deemed it his right to make such decision by virtue of his princely prerogative, and also his duty to make it, as one charged not only with the temporal but also with the spiritual welfare of his subjects. German as he was, and although, as he himself asserted, he had never read so much as a page of Calvin's writings, nevertheless his own convictions, derived immediately from the Scriptures, were on the Calvinistic side, and on that side, therefore, the weight of his electoral authority was cast.

The other object on which his heart was set was that of the Christian education of the youth. Neither he nor any other ruler

French, indicating the French extraction of the original settlers. The name of the village is German (New Paltz), in grateful commemoration of their hospitable reception in the Paltz or Palatinate of Germany, and for a like reason the name given to the stream on which the village is located is Dutch (Wallkill), after the river Waal, in Holland.

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of his time had the most remote conception of the modern theory which would restrict the action of Government in the matter of education to that which is exclusively secular. That idea had not been broached as yet. He believed it to be his most solemn duty to see to it that his people were not only educated, but religiously educated. His conviction, expressed in his own words, was, "That there can be no well established order, either in church, "or state, or families, unless the youth are instructed from their "earliest years in true and pure religion, and constantly exer- "cised in it;" and, rightly or wrongly, he was firmly persuaded that it rested with him to provide such instruction and exercise.

As the most efficient method for the accomplishment of both these objects, he determined that a catechism should be prepared which might serve at once as a rule of faith and a manual of instruction throughout his dominion. The persons whom he selected as most competent for the task were Caspar Olevianus, the court preacher, and Zacharias Ursinus, professor of theology in the University of Heidelberg. Both were distinguished not only for learning but also for piety and pacific disposition. The principal part of the work was performed by Ursinus. When the draft of the catechism was completed, Prince Frederic called together at Heidelberg a Synod composed of the leading superintendents and pastors of the Palatinate, and submitted the work to them for examination and judgment.* They examined it carefully and conscientiously, approved it as in accordance with the Word of God, and recommended its adoption and publication. It was accordingly published simultaneously in both German and Latin, in the year 1563.

From the outset it was intended to be a true people's book. Measures were, therefore, taken to bring it before the people, and, as one of the ancient church orders expresses it, "To make it clear, pleasant and comfortable to them."

First it was divided into nine sections, and the ministers were required to read one of these every Sunday, clearly and understandingly, in the churches, and thus read the whole catechism in the hearing of the people in the course of every nine Sundays. Then it was divided into fifty-two sections (called "Lord's days"), corresponding to the number of Sundays, or "Lord's days," in the year, and the ministers were required to preach on one of the sections every Sunday afternoon, and thus to expound the whole

* Alting: cap. cxliii.

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catechism in the course of the year. At the same time it was introduced as a text-book in all the schools, and the children and youth were daily drilled and instructed in it. In order to stimulate them to greater proficiency, frequent public examinations were held; and we are assured, on what seems to be good authority, that, for a time at least, the right of citizenship, and even permission to marry, were made dependent on the ability of the parties to repeat the principal portions of the catechism. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or propriety of some of these measures, it will hardly be denied that they were very likely to prove effective.

Meanwhile the fame of the catechism had passed far beyond the narrow bounds of the province in which it originated. Never was any similar work received with such eagerness. As it has been well said, "It ran a victorious course of acknowledgment throughout a large portion of the Christian world." It was speedily translated into most of the living languages of Europe, and into some of those of Asia. In universities it was used as a text-book of instruction, and made the basis of lectures on theology. It was the subject of treatises so numerous that they form a literature by themselves. Probably, with the exception of the Bible, no book has ever been more furiously assailed or more vigorously defended. Many portions of it have been fought over again and again. Lutherans and Romanists were joined together in the attack, and the Reformed were united in the defence. On account of its surpassing merit it was accepted as preëminently THE Catechism of the Reformed or Calvinistic churches, and as such was a recognized power in Christendom.

Nowhere did it meet with a more cordial welcome than in the Mother Church of the Netherlands. There it was formally adopted as a standard of doctrine, and was ordered to be taught in the schools and regularly expounded from the pulpit. Thence it was brought by the early Dutch emigrants to this country. Somewhat later it was brought hither in like manner by emigrants from Germany, and so has come to be the catechism of the Reformed Dutch and German churches of America.

Passing now from the history of the catechism to its contents, we find there also the impress of events and circumstances.

Like the Belgic Confession, it was prepared in the heat of the conflict with Romanism, and like the Confession it is throughout and emphatically Protestant.

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Unlike the Confession, it is not in any sense or degree apologetic. The Protestants of Germany were not harried, and gagged, and imprisoned, and slain, as were their brethren of the Netherlands; but were in great measure protected by the civil authorities, and could, therefore, afford to speak out more boldly. Instead of standing on the defensive they assumed the aggressive, and in the Catechism the aggressive attitude is very clearly seen in the portion which treats of the Romish mass. There is no mincing of words or phrases in the interest of courtesy, but with a blunt earnestness which cares only for the truth, it is declared "that the mass, at bottom, is nothing else than a denial of the "one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and an accursed "idolatry."

But besides the controversy with Rome there was also the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, which was rending Protestantism asunder. Lutheran and Calvinist were assailing each other as fiercely as both together were assailing the Romanist. It was deemed essential to the peace and well-being of the churches of the Palatinate that, so far as they were concerned, this unfortunate controversy should be ended by a definite settlement—and no less essential to the interests of truth that the settlement should be in favor of the Calvinistic side. Hence the catechism takes its stand on that side unmistakably and firmly. It speaks with no uncertain sound. It treats of the Lord's Supper with unusual fulness of statement, and asserts the Calvinistic doctrine with noticeable clearness and vigor.

Apart from this one troublesome controversy, however, the churches were in substantial harmony, and it was manifestly desirable that the harmony should, by all available means, be encouraged and promoted. Therefore, the Catechism was shaped with reference to this end also. It avoids, for the most part, the knotty points and abstruse theories with respect to which Christians differ one from another, and confines itself mainly to the simpler and essential truths on which all are agreed. As we examine it we find that, with the exception of the part devoted to the sacraments, it consists almost entirely of plain and practical expositions of the apostles' creed, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer. But these are the common heritage of the Church universal. Everywhere, and among Christians of every name, they are the accepted summaries of Christian faith, Christian duty, and Christian privilege. They thus constitute one of the

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strongest bonds of Christian union, and in giving them such prominence it was manifestly desired and intended that the Catechism should tend to the fostering of Christian peace and concord, not only among the churches using it, but also between them and all other churches which, as members of the one body of Christ, are united to the one living Head.

Again, the Catechism, as we have seen, was prepared with the definite purpose of instructing and exercising the children and youth in the Christian religion. But these children and youth were the baptized children of the Church, and the Catechism addresses them as such. It speaks to them not as aliens and strangers but as members, by baptism, of the household of faith. It assumes that they are not the devil's children but God's children, and heirs of His covenant and of the blessedness of His kingdom. It therefore at the outset teaches them to enter into and rest in that blessedness. Its first question is, "What is *thy* only comfort in life and death?" and it teaches the child to answer, "That *I* belong unto *my* Saviour Jesus Christ." It says to him, "Why art *thou* called a Christian?" and again teaches him to answer, "Because *I* am a member of Christ, so that *I* may confess His name." Thus, through all its course, the Catechism, following the order of Christian experience, not only teaches him what that experience is, but, as it has been happily said, seeks to "breathe" it into him, that so it may become his own in all its fulness and power.

And, finally, the Catechism is German in origin; and among its most conspicuous features is what has well been called German "heartsomeness." Unlike most works of the same class, it abounds largely in the emotional element. It pulsates in its whole frame with a joyful Christian life. This characteristic may perhaps be most clearly illustrated by example and contrast. Let us look, then, at the Westminster Shorter Catechism's definition of God's providence. "God's works of providence are his most holy, wise and powerful, preserving and governing all his creatures and all their actions." A truly admirable definition of its kind. It is perfect. Language could not be more concise, exact and comprehensive. But still it feels cold. It sounds very much like a proposition in Euclid. Now, let us hear from Heidelberg. "What believest thou when thou sayest, 'I believe in God, the "Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth?'" "I believe that the "eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is, for the sake of

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"Christ, His son, my God and father, on whom I rely so entirely "that I have no doubt but He will provide me with all things neces. "sary for soul and body; and farther that He will make whatever "evils He sends upon me in this valley of tears turn out to my "advantage; for He is able to do it, being Almighty God, and "willing, being a faithful father." There is nothing like coldness there. It is truth warmed, vitalized; and, as the Christian re peats the words as his own, his heart burns within him with holy joy and confidence.

If we wish another conspicuous example of the same element, we need not look farther than to the very first question and answer of the whole course.

"What is thy only comfort in life and death?" Note, by the way, the winning gentleness of this beginning. The first word is "comfort"—that is, "blessedness"—and, as in the sermon on the mount, we are given to understand at the outset that the kindly intention is to show us what true blessedness is, and in what way it may be attained.

Looking now to the answer, we find that the sum of it is, "that I belong to Jesus Christ, who hath satisfied for my sins in "His own blood." But note again how that truth is expressed. It is (not that I belong, but) "that I, *body and soul, both in life and death* belong" (not merely to Jesus Christ, for that will not satisfy the loving heart, but) "to my *faithful Saviour* Jesus Christ, who" (not with his blood merely, for that blood deserves praise; and therefore it is, who) "with his *precious* blood hath" (not satisfied, but) "*fully* satisfied for all my sins."

So the Catechism begins, and so it continues to the end. Throughout it speaks to the heart as well as to the head, for it has in it not only strong meat to invigorate the understanding, but also wine on the lees well refined, to make the heart glad in the God of our salvation.

III.—Canons of Dordrecht.

There yet remains to be considered the latest of our doctrinal standards, the symbol or Canons of Dordrecht. This was prepared at the Synod which met in the City of Dordrecht, in South Holland, in the year 1618. The special object for which the Synod was convened was the settlement of a controversy by which both church and state had been for some years very seriously disturbed. The subject of the controversy was predestination, and certain

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points of doctrine connected therewith; and in the course of the controversy, Calvinism, which had before been sharply distinguished from Lutheranism, became no less sharply distinguished from Arminianism.

In the year 1602 James Arminius—from whose name the term Arminianism is derived—was urgently recommended by his friends as a candidate for the vacant professorship of divinity in the University of Leyden. So far as talents, learning and eloquence were concerned, he was admitted to be admirably qualified for the office. But there were grave suspicions touching his orthodoxy on the points which have been mentioned. Already the Classis of which he was a member had been constrained to call him to account for alleged departures from the Belgic Confession. Many of the leading ministers, therefore, objected most earnestly to his appointment, on the ground that it would be detrimental to the faith, and peace, and well-being of the churches to put one who seemed to be infected with heresy in a position where he could scarcely fail to communicate the infection to those who were in course of preparation for the ministry. His friends persisted, however, in pressing his claims, and he was finally permitted to assume the chair, but on the express condition that he should previously hold a conference with Francis Gomarus, another professor in the same university, and by a full and candid declaration of his views, clear himself from all suspicion of heterodoxy. The conference was accordingly held, and Arminius gave solemn assurance that the suspicions which had been entertained were ungrounded, and also gave solemn promise to teach nothing which was opposed to the received doctrine of the churches, as expressed in the Catechism and Confession of Faith.

For a time he seems to have kept the promise; but in the course of a year or two it was discovered that, by private conversations with his pupils, and by manuscripts privately circulated among them, he was successfully instilling the very errors which he had disavowed. The churches were alarmed; classes and provincial Synods took action; and efforts were made towards the calling of a general Synod, in order that the matter might be investigated and finally disposed of by the highest ecclesiastical authority. But the General Synod could not be convened without the concurrence of the supreme civil authority, the States-General, and on various pretexts this concurrence was withheld. Arminius, therefore, continued to occupy his chair until his death, which

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occurred in 1609. It was hoped that when he died the controversy would die with him; but the hope proved vain. The number of those favoring his views largely increased. In the following year —1610—they organized themselves into a body and presented to the civil authorities a paper which they styled a remonstrance, and hence acquired the name of "Remonstrants." For a similar reason their opponents were called "Contra Remonstrants." The Church was now divided into two parties, waging ceaseless strife, and the strife continued and increased until it convulsed not only the Church but also the State. Purely ecclesiastical in the beginning, it soon came to be political as well. It assumed, indeed, the nature of a conflict between the Church and the State. The political head of the Arminian party was the grand pensionary, John of Barneveldt; that of the Calvinistic party was the foremost soldier of the age, the stadtholder Maurice, of Nassau; and the fierce personal animosities subsisting between these two great men added new intensity to the strife. The whole population became involved in it, from highest to lowest. As Motley has truly said: "An undevout man in that land and at that epoch was "almost an unknown phenomenon. Religion was as much a recog- "nized necessity of existence as food or drink. It was the atmos- "phere of men's daily lives. It were as easy to find people going "about without clothes as without religious convictions." Therefore, "in burghers' mansions, peasants' cottages, mechanics' "back parlors, on board herring smacks, canal boats and East "Indiamen, in shops, counting rooms, farm yards, guard rooms, "alehouses, at banquets, burials, christenings or bridals, wher- "ever and whenever human creatures met each other, there was "ever to be found the fierce wrangle of Remonstrant and Contra "Remonstrant." There was arraying of "province against prov- "ince, city against city, family against family. It was one vast "scene of bickering, denunciation, heart burnings, mutual excom- "munications and hatred."

The excesses indulged in on both sides were deplorable. There was not indeed any resort to burning, or hanging, or drowning, or burying alive, as in the days of the Spanish supremacy; but, beside hard words, there was much deposing of ministers, locking out of congregations, and not a few banishments and imprisonments.

With the political aspect of this controversy it is not our province on this occasion to deal. We have to do only with the ecclesiastical.

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Strenuous efforts have been made to cast the chief blame of the controversy on the Calvinistic party. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Motley, in his recent biography of John of Barneveldt, has so far swerved from his accustomed fairness as to join substantially in the effort. Barneveldt, as has been said, was the political leader of the Arminians, and Mr. Motley, with the proverbial partiality of biographers, is so carried away with admiration for the many noble qualities of the great statesman and patriot, that he can discern in him no fault, and in his opponents no virtue. He forgets the judge and becomes the advocate. For the Arminians he has words of commendation, or, at worst, of gentle rebuke. But as for the unfortunate Calvinists, he ransacks the vocabulary for opprobious epithets wherewith to pelt them without mercy. In the compass of a single paragraph he assails them with such choice terms as "hot gospellers," "despotic," "dogmatic," "haughty," and "intolerant."

To all this it may be replied that they were unquestionably "hot," but so also were their adversaries, and, from the very nature of the conflict, it was impossible for either to be otherwise. The question was deemed by both to be one not merely of doctrine but also of property, of politics, of patriotism. Suppose that, in this country, a conflict should arise between Romanists and Protestants, or between two Protestant denominations, however nearly allied in faith and order—suppose that the contest should be not merely as to which doctrine is true, but as to which should be established by the power of the State to the exclusion of the other, and which party should have control of the churches, school houses, and ecclesiastical funds—it will probably be admitted that, even in this nineteenth century, such a contest would develop heat enough to set the whole continent in a blaze. But such, in substance, was the contest of which we are speaking, and it is not surprising that it set the little territory of the Netherlands in a blaze.

It must be conceded also that the Calvinists, in their heat, were too much disposed to be despotic and intolerant; but it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that they were no more so than their adversaries. Each party was as despotic and intolerant as it had power to be. The Arminians, after the fashion of weaker parties the world over, spoke many fine words about toleration, but forgot to act accordingly. They were the first to make appeal to the civil arm, and, in the cities and provinces where they

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gained the ascendancy, they locked church doors and banished or imprisoned ministers quite as vigorously as the Calvinists did the same things in other provinces.

The plain truth is, that with respect to heat and intolerance in waging the controversy, there is scant room for choice between the two parties. Both were in accord with the spirit which universally prevailed in that age, and only in the light of that age can they be fairly judged. In order to estimate aright their respective merits, we must look back of the method to the nature of the controversy itself, and as we do this we discover two facts, concerning which there can be no reasonable dispute.

One is that the Arminians were the innovators, and as such the aggressors, and that the Calvinists simply stood for the defence of the old and accepted faith. Many writers have labored hard to convey a different impression. One would think from their representations that the churches of the Netherlands were all dwelling together in peace and quietness, and were likely to continue so to dwell; but that certain wrong headed and ambitious intermeddlers, in an evil day, paid a visit to Geneva, and there became acquainted with a monstrous theological system technically called Calvinism; that with the perverse instinct of wrongheadedness they laid hold of its most palpable absurdities, carried them home, and there endeavored to force them down the throats of others; and that all the trouble arose because the others were unwilling to accept the repulsive novelties. But the truth was precisely the reverse of this. It was the Arminians who brought in the new doctrines, and the Calvinists who held fast to the old. The Belgic Confession, as we have already seen, was moderately but unquestionably Calvinistic on the points of dispute. For nearly half a century it had been an authorized standard of the Netherland churches. The Arminians were never once called to account for having departed from the doctrine of Geneva, but continually for having departed in their public teachings from the Belgic Confession. They could not deny the charge, and when pressed with the authority of the Confession they disputed its authority, and demanded that it should be revised and altered. But the great body of the churches did not wish it altered. They believed it as it was. It was inexpressibly dear and even sacred to them, both for what it was in itself and for the memories, associated with it, of holy martyrs who had suffered for it, and terrific struggles by which it had been maintained. We cannot judge them very harshly,

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therefore, if in the face of an organized attempt to subvert this sacred and long established Confession they displayed not only vigor, but also some degree of heat in resistance.

Another fact equally beyond dispute is, that in this protracted conflict the Calvinists were contending *against*, and the Arminians *for* the subjection of the Church to the authority and control of the State. During the older days of the papal supremacy the Pope had claimed and exercised authority over Church and State alike. In the countries in which the Reformation was established the papal yoke was cast off, and that was one step gained in the direction of liberty. In these same countries, however, the authority which had been wrested from the Pope was for the most part seized by the sovereigns. After the Reformation in England Henry VIII was, to all intents and purposes, pope in his own dominions. It was simply a transfer of authority from the Vatican to "our palace of Westminster," and the decrees from the one were no less arbitrary than those from the other. So also in the Palatinate, as we have seen, the Elector who was head of the State assumed to be head of the Church, and imposed a catechism in accordance with his own personal views. So it was, as a rule, throughout all Protestant Europe. Every sovereign claimed full authority, by divine right, to shape the creed of his subjects, to order their worship, to appoint ministers, and in all things to govern the Church as absolutely as he governed the State. In most countries the claim was yielded without a struggle. But not so in the Netherlands. There the Reformed Church, from the beginning, resisted the State control. The long forty years' war had been religious even more than political. It had been fought for a pure faith and worship, as well as for national independence. At the end of it the Church came out with an organization more compact and effective than that of the State, and having taken off one yoke it was not disposed tamely to submit to another. The civil government, indeed, after the fashion of its neighbors, stoutly asserted authority in matters ecclesiastical; but the Church as stoutly denied. It said in substance, "I "will not intrude on your domain, nor will I suffer you to intrude "on mine."

In this conflict between the Church and State the Arminians were champions of the State, and contended for its supremacy, and the Calvinists were defenders of the Church, and contended for its independence. Upon neither party had dawned the idea

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of tolerating several churches in one country; still less had dawned the idea of complete separation between Church and State. These ideas were reserved for future generations. Both parties were agreed that there could be but one Church in the land, and that the bond of union between it and the State could in no wise be severed. The question at issue was simply, "Shall "the State rule the Church, or shall the State keep within its own "sphere, and let the Church, in its sphere, rule itself?" The Arminians answered: "The State shall rule the Church. It belongs "to civil government to determine doctrine, appoint ministers, "and prescribe laws and ordinances for worship." The Calvinists responded: "No! the Church, in her own domain, acknowl- "edges no master but Christ. Under Him she has the right to "determine her own doctrine, worship and polity, and no earthly "power may justly interfere." The Calvinists of the Netherlands were, therefore, fighting in the same battle, and on the same side, with their Calvinistic brethren of England, who are better known to us under the name of the Pilgrims. Because of the full sympathy between them, the Pilgrim Fathers, when pressed out of their own country, took refuge in the Netherlands, and there, in the City of Leyden, dwelt in peace for several years. While they were there, their leader, John Robinson, publicly identified himself with the Calvinistic party, and with great ability defended both their doctrine and their claim to independence of State control. The pilgrims who went from Leyden to Delft Haven, and thence sailed in the Mayflower to Plymouth, were able, in this land, to establish such independence; and so another step was taken in the direction of religious liberty. For when once the State and Church were independent of each other's control, there followed, almost of necessity, that complete separation between the two, which, as we have found by experience, ministers most effectively to the well being of both.

The Calvinists of the Netherlands, being confronted by immeasurably greater difficulties, were unable to achieve the same complete success; but they struggled for it manfully and long, and at last succeeded in part. From the beginning of the controversy they demanded a Synod, in order that the ecclesiastical matter might be lawfully disposed of in an ecclesiastical manner. The Arminians appealed to the States-General, and the States-General refused to convoke the Synod. The Calvinists reiterated their demand, and at last, after twelve years of persistent effort, gained

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their point. A decree was issued ordering that a national Synod should convene in the City of Dordrecht, in the month of November, 1618.

By this time, however, the controversy had grown to such dimensions that all the Reformed churches of Europe were interested in it, and it was therefore deemed advisable to invite them all to take part in its settlement. Accordingly, letters were addressed to all the foreign churches, through their respective sovereigns, requesting them to send some of their most learned and prudent divines to the Synod as delegates. In compliance with this request all the churches appointed such delegates, and with the exception of those from France, all the delegates were able to attend. Those from France, when on the point of setting out, were stopped by an edict from the French king. When the Synod assembled, it consisted of eighty-six members. Nineteen of them were delegates from the churches of England and Scotland and the various Reformed States of Switzerland and Germany, and the remainder were professors from the Netherland universities, and pastors and elders delegated by the Netherland churches. The Synod was, therefore, not only a National Synod of the Netherlands, but also a council, fairly entitled to be called œcumenical, of all the Reformed churches of Europe.

The delegates from the Church of England were four in number, and of these one was a bishop, and two others afterwards became bishops. All the other members of the Synod were Presbyterian. Nevertheless, the dignitaries of the Episcopal Church joined heartily with them, month after month, not only in deliberations, but also in preaching and praying, and thus, in a manner, worthy in this day of special note, did most practically recognize the Presbyterian churches as portions of the one true Church of Christ. Nor was such fellowship in the least degree repugnant to their feelings; for the good Dean (afterwards Bishop) Hall, when about to retire from the Synod, declared that "there was no place on earth so like heaven as the Synod of Dort, and where he should be more willing to dwell."

The Synod remained in session a little more than six months. Soon after its organization every member bound himself by the following solemn engagement: "I promise before God, in whom I believe, and whom I worship, as being present in this place, and as being the Searcher of all hearts, that during the course of the proceedings of this Synod, which will examine and decide not only

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the five points and all the differences resulting from them, but also any other doctrine, I will use no human writing, but only the word of God, which is an infallible rule of faith, and during all these discussions I will only aim at the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and especially the preservation of the purity of doctrine. So help me my Saviour, Jesus Christ! I beseech him to assist me by his Holy Spirit!"

After this solemn adjuration they proceeded to examine deliberately the Arminian tenets, and unanimously condemned them as unscriptural. They examined, as deliberately, the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism, and unanimously approved them; the delegates from the English Church withholding their approval, however, from the article which treats of church government.

Finally, with great care, they prepared and unanimously approved and subscribed a declaration of what seemed to them to be the teaching of the Scriptures concerning the points especially controverted; and this declaration was accepted by the churches of the Netherlands as a standard of doctrine, under the title "The Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht."

Turning now to the Canons themselves, we find them to be just what we would expect them to be, from the events and circumstances attending their origin.

The controversy by which they were called forth was concerning certain specific heads of doctrine, and, therefore, in the Canons we do not find, as in the Confession and Catechism, a compend of the whole Christian faith, but only deliverances on those heads of doctrine which had been called in question. They are severally entitled "Divine Predestination;" "The Death of Christ and the Redemption of Men thereby;" "The Corruption of Man," his "Conversion to God," and "The Preseverance of the Saints."

The Synod consisted exclusively of Calvinists and representatives from Calvinistic or Reformed Churches, and therefore the Canons are Calvinistic. They are more decidedly so than the Confession and Catechism, for the reason that on the points in question the Confession and Catechism had been represented as doubtful. The Canons, therefore, speak out in words concerning whose meaning there can be no possible mistake. On the points where the faith of the Reformed Churches had been assailed, it was built up higher and stronger than before.

But, furthermore, while the Synod consisted exclusively of Calvinists, its members were the representatives of the churches

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of many nations. It was impossible that in a body thus constituted there should not be developed differences of opinion. The records of the Synod itself show conclusively that on many minor points the members could not and did not agree. It was therefore necessary that the Canons should be carefully drawn, so as to leave room for such differences; that nothing should be inserted to which any member of the Synod could not heartily subscribe; and as the result we have in the Canons a statement of Calvinistic doctrine which, although decided, is at the same time tempered with moderation. The very elements of which the Synod was composed rendered it imperative that extremes should be avoided, and that the final deliverance should include only that to which all the Reformed churches could yield a cordial assent.

As the result, then, of our examination, we may briefly characterize our type of doctrine by saying that

It is *Scriptural;* in that we receive the Scriptures, and them alone, to be the infallible rule of faith, and will not allow that any writings of men may be compared with them, or in any wise detract from their authority.

It is *Protestant;* in that we protest against and reject the manifold errors of the Romish Church.

It is *Evangelical;* in that we hold to the common and essential truth of the Gospel, which is received by all branches of the Christian Church in all parts of the world.

It is *Calvinistic*, in the *earlier* sense of the term, in that we differ from the *Lutherans* in our doctrine of our Lord's Supper; and Calvinistic in the *later* sense, in that we differ from the *Arminians* in our doctrine on predestination and the points connected therewith.

And finally, it is *catholic;* in that while we hold and love our own doctrine, we at the same time cordially acknowledge all those who believe on our Lord Jesus Christ, and avoid sin and follow after righteousness, whatever be their name or denomination, to be our brethren in Christ, and members with us of the one catholic or universal Church which has been bought with His blood.

I deem it proper to add, that while the doctrinal symbols which have been reviewed are the recognized standards of our Reformed Church, we nevertheless do not require the members of the Church to subscribe to them. Such subscription is demanded only from the ministers. Since they occupy the position of public teachers, they are, with manifest propriety, required to give solemn pledge

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that they will not teach any doctrine repugnant to that which is maintained by the Church. But no such pledge is demanded from those who apply for Church membership. We hold, with Paul, that we are bound to receive all whom Christ hath received, and our custom is to receive all who give credible evidence of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, trusting that if they are in error on any non-essential point, they will, with God's blessing, find their way out of the error under the faithful preaching of the truth.

The history which we have been reviewing is one, very largely, of controversies—of conflicts. We cannot help deploring them, and still more, the fierceness with which they were waged. At the same time, speaking after the manner of men, it may be said that the conflicts were inevitable. The mightiest thing in this world is that invisible, intangible thing which we call an idea. That, of all things, is the hardest to kill. It is matter of historic record that the greatest wars of history have been fought out, not over questions of property or even of person, but over ideas, political or religious. For an instance of this we need look no farther than our own recent history, for it was a conflict of ideas touching slavery and freedom, State sovereignty and Union, that drenched the half of our broad land with blood. But the most masterful of all ideas, those which, by instinct, the soul recognizes to be supreme, are those which pertain to religion. When these come sharply into conflict, somehow, the conflict must be fought out to some sort of conclusion; and with our own recent history fresh in memory, however much we may be grieved, we cannot be surprised that the conflict has so often been transferred from the field of argument to the field of battle. Nay, we of this land should rather be moved to profound gratitude. We should thank God with all our hearts that thus far He has spared our land that direst of all calamities, a war of religions, and pray to Him most earnestly to avert that calamity to the end of time.

Suffer me, in conclusion, to speak a very few words in behalf of those religious ideas which are grouped under the sorely vilified name of Calvinism—using the term in its more modern sense. It is quite the fashion, now-a-days, to scout them in the name of modern liberality and enlightenment. Its doctrines are styled *dogmas*, and itself is freely spoken of as the most virulent of all known species of dogmatism—with a special and even snarling emphasis on the first syllable of the word.

But a dogma, in the original sense of the term, is merely an

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opinion, a way of thinking; and in that sense all sound minded men have their dogmas. To be without them would be simply to be an idiot. The mind can no more be without dogmas than the body without bones.

Dogmatism, in the offensive sense of the term, consists not in the nature of the creed which is held, but in the temper and spirit in which it is held, and in the behavior which is manifested towards those who hold a different creed. The shortest creed may be accompanied with it in full measure. We have abundant evidence in our own day that men may hold a creed but one remove from sheer emptiness—may doubt whether there is a God—may doubt whether they themselves are human souls, made in God's image, or mere brutes of a higher grade, developed from an ape—and may yet hold their empty creed with an audacity and a pugnacity of dogmatism as virulent as any that can possibly be conceived.

And so, also, on the other hand, the longest creed may be held in a spirit utterly free from the least trace of dogmatism; for some of the most gentle and humble-minded men that have ever lived have so lived, and died with a creed of orthodoxy most extreme.

And, if I understand it rightly, the creed called Calvinism, in all its features, tends to just that humbleness of mind. Its main truths are but two in number. One is that concerning God's Sovereignty. That was proclaimed long ago, by inspired men, when they sang or said, "The Lord reigneth, let the earth "rejoice." "He doeth according to His will in the army of "heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth." He "worketh "all things after the counsel of His own will." Certainly the thought of that sovereign Ruler of the Universe cannot but tend to make humble those who are but His creatures, dwelling on His footstool.

The other main truth of Calvinism is that concerning man's helplessness and sinfulness. This also was proclaimed long ago, and no less explicitly, when it was said, "Without Me ye can "do nothing;" and, "Ye were dead in trespasses and sins;" and, as this sinks into the mind and heart, it cannot but tend to promote the same humility.

But while this doctrine makes men humble it at the same time makes them strong. It teaches them to say "I am poor and "needy, yet the Lord thinketh upon me;" "The Lord is on my

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"side; I will not fear. What can man do unto me?" "When I "am weak, then am I strong." "I can do all things through "Christ, which strengtheneth me." Hence, in every age, in the ranks of those holding this doctrine, heroes have been found; men, and women also, strong to do, patient to suffer, courageous to die for God, and His will, and truth. To express it in the eloquent words of Mr. Froude, who speaks not as theologian or partisan but as historian: "When all else has failed—when "patriotism has covered its face, and human courage has broken "down—when intellect has yielded, as Gibbon says, 'with a "smile or a sigh,' content to philosophize in the closet, and "abroad worship with the vulgar—when emotion and sentiment, "and tender imaginative piety have become the handmaids of "superstition, and have dreamt themselves into forgetfulness "that there is any difference between lies and truth—the slavish "form of belief called Calvinism, in one or other of its many "forms, has borne ever an inflexible front to illusion and men- "dacity, and has preferred rather to be ground to powder, like "flint, than to bend before violence or melt under enervating "temptation." "Grapes do not grow on bramble bushes. Illus- "trious natures do not form themselves upon narrow and cruel "theories." "The practical effect of a belief is the real test of its "soundness." "Where we find a heroic life appearing as the "uniform fruit of a particular mode of opinion, it is childish to "argue in the face of fact that the result ought to have been "different."

It is for us, my brethren, to continue that line of practical testimony, alike to the special truth which we hold as a denomination and to the larger and general truth which we hold in common with all our brethren in Christ; and may He enable us to do it in spirit so thoroughly Christian that there shall be no strife between us and our brethren of other names, other than a striving in love, on the part of each, to render the best service to Him who is beloved and adored as the common Master of us all.

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ITS SYSTEM

OF

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION.

BY

REV. W. H. CAMPBELL, D.D.,

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

1881

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ITS SYSTEM

OF

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION.

"What mean ye by this service?"—EXODUS, xii: 26.

THE Reformed Church requires its pastors to preach on the Heidelberg Catechism, and the duty of telling what is meant by this service having been assigned to me, I now enter on its discharge, and it is a labor of love.

God declares (Rom., x: 10), "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." This is the method of God, and there can be no growth in Christian life where it is disregarded. Mark then carefully God's way.

The truths of religion are received through the teaching of the Holy Ghost. They are then known by the mind as the truths of God, and as such the understanding assents to and receives them. Next the heart with its affections warms them into life as *principles*—that is, the sources of all right feelings. Then the will vitalizes them into *principles* of activity—that is, the sources of all right actions. And from these divine truths, thus received by the whole soul, come enlightenment, motive, encouragement, power to love God and serve him with a constant purpose. This is believing, and so, according to the divine process, truth takes hold of the whole soul, and it does so because the Holy Ghost is in the truth, and hence it has its spirit and life. Christ said,

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"The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." (John, vi: 63.)

When the truth has become all this to the soul in believing, then that soul must and will confess unto God. And it is by this acknowledgment that the growth of the soul in the divine life is gained. Justification comes by believing; salvation—that is growth, upbuilding—comes by the thankful acknowledgment unto God of the truths thus received. The believer must confess unto God that he has received them, that they have become to him the principles of all right thoughts, feelings, purposes and actions, and then and thus he is sanctified by the truth. Confession is, therefore, the abiding duty and privilege of the Christian. First the truth must live in the soul by believing, and then be openly confessed unto God. Truth would die out of the soul unless confessed; and confession, without the Spirit's abiding inworking, is formalism and hypocrisy.

The importance of confession in this high sense has been always acknowledged by living Christians, and whenever the truths of God come out distinctly in the Christian consciousness, confession is made with the mouth unto God. The Bible, and particularly the Book of Psalms, is full of such confession. Thus the fortieth Psalm, which is a Messianic Psalm, shows us our blessed Lord confessing, and he thus teaches us both to do and how to do this duty.

"I have preached righteousness in the great congregation. Lo! I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart. I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation. I have not concealed thy loving kindness and thy truth from the great congregation. Withhold not thou thy tender mercies from me, O Lord: let thy loving kindness and thy truth continually preserve me."

The Christian thus confesses in secret, family, social and public prayer, in songs of praise, in the profession of religion, in partaking of the sacraments, and in any and every other way which the intelligent thankfulness of the Church may suggest or appoint. The *duty* God appoints, the *manner* of its discharge is also largely marked out in Scripture, though it is left somewhat to the enlightened thankfulness of the Church and the individual Christian.

Thus to aid in confession creeds arose very early in the Church. The Apostle's Creed dates from A. D. 300, and a little later we

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have the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds. And thus it continued in the Church, though under very varying circumstances, from the days of the Apostles down to the Reformation.

That Reformation was a wide-spread believing with the heart unto righteousness, together with the rejection of the errors of Popery repugnant to the doctrines of grace. And as soon as the spiritual eyes of the Reformers had been thus opened and purged, and they began to look about them, alas! what did they see?

1. The people, clergy and laity ignorant of true spiritual religion.

2. The children growing up in ignorance of spiritual religion.

3. Confession no longer a declaration unto God of deeply felt truths, but a formal repetition of the Apostle's Creed.

And in view of these mournful facts these newly enlightened people had three duties to perform:

1. Openly to confess unto God all those great truths which the Holy Ghost had now brought out so clearly into the Christian consciousness.

2. Thus to confess also the more fully and clearly, in order that, by God's blessing, these truths should never again be so disregarded by clergy and laity, nor be allowed to pass out of the consciousness of the Church.

3. To see to it that the children of the Church should no more grow up in ignorance of these fundamental truths.

And the Reformers gained these three all important ends by one and the same means—*the catechism*. And in this sense, and with these three ends in view, the catechism was the legitimate product of the Reformation.

The name catechism was old, but the thing which the name now represented was new. It had no existence before the Reformation. It was the legitimate product of that wide-spread work of the Holy Ghost.

Many catechisms were the products of the Reformation. All of them sought the three great ends just stated, and many attained them in a very heart cheering degree. My attention must, however, be confined to our own catechism, the Heidelberg. It was published A. D. 1563, and in 1574 was declared by the Synod of Dort to be of full symbolical authority for the whole Church of Holland. And shortly after the ministers of the Church of Holland were required to preach upon it every Sabbath afternoon, going over the whole once a year.

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When the Christians of Holland came to this country they brought their religion with them, and introduced here the customs of the Church at home. Hence the catechism has been always explained by the pastors, and our present rule requires the explanation of it to be completed in four years.

The excellencies of this catechism, briefly stated, are these:

1. It is a summary of all the truths of Scripture, which by the Holy Ghost have become in the renewed soul the principles of right affections and actions.

2. These truths are stated in the way the Spirit brings them home effectually to the soul, and, as the soul receives them, by faith. Hence the catechism gives us a full Christian experience.

3. These truths are so stated as to be a confession with the mouth unto salvation of what the heart has believed unto righteousness.

4. The Heidelberg Catechism contains all the truths of spiritual religion. No truth, hitherto unknown, has been brought out into the Christian consciousness since A. D. 1563—that is, in the last three centuries.

A careful consideration of these points of excellence will show that no reason exists which would warrant the setting aside or the modification, in the least degree, of this old and complete summary of the truths of Christian experience.

On the contrary, these considerations afford the strongest reasons why we should continue thus to confess with our mouths, and why the old and the young should be taught the catechism in order that they might know, theoretically and practically, the grace of God, the work of the Holy Spirit, the pure truths of Christian experience, and be thus prepared, in their turn, to confess them with their mouths unto salvation.

And does not this same careful consideration make equally plain the wisdom of requiring pastors to preach upon the catechism.

In the light of all that has been said, it seems as if any questioning about the wisdom of such preaching was in fact asking whether it was wise to do an important duty intelligently, or to do it now ignorantly and formally, and by and by not at all. For by preaching on the Heidelberg Catechism, better than by any other way I know of, the duty and privilege of confession is kept constantly in the view of the Church.

The catechism is framed to be, and it is a confession of *felt*

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truths—truths which, through the Spirit, have been received and are rested on and loved. From the first question to the last this form is kept up. Its language is that of a Christian gratefully acknowledging the truths he has learned, and by whose grace and power he has been taught them. Confession by its aid is a reading off what the Holy Ghost has written on the soul.

And the intelligent, faithful discharge of this duty has had, in the past, the best of consequences upon the pastor, the people and the children of the Church.

The pastor has been at once brought to know and feel what is required of him as the guide of the flock. If he is not to be a blind leader of the blind, he must be taught by the Spirit all these living soul-truths. And he has been brought to his knees praying for divine illumination. In the study of the pastor preparing to preach on the Heidelberg Catechism, the regeneration of the soul by the Holy Ghost may, and perhaps has more than once or twice taken place; while the confirmation of his faith and growth in all spiritual graces has been the constant attendant of his faithful preparation. Thus this observance, carried out according to its true intent, has raised up a godly ministry, having a large and well rounded Christian experience, and taught and guided in all things by the Spirit.

And this prayerful, spiritually taught pastor has brought to the people the whole and not a partial Gospel. He has brought in order and proper connection the whole counsel of God. And as each of these truths has had, in his preaching, its own proper place and its own appropriate office as a principle, a source of right affection and action, so the Christian has received the full spiritual nourishment needful to make the strong man in Christ, who can leave the first principles and go on unto perfection.

Such study and preaching has also driven far off from our pulpits that controversial spirit which is the bane of godliness. A disputatious preaching of the truth is a preaching of error; for it is the misuse of that which was given for edification and not for destruction. The truth is, indeed, to be at all times defended against the assaults of error. But its best defence are the words of love proceeding from a heart that has drunk deep of the Spirit of Christ. And theology is best learned, and only correctly known when the utterances of the lips are the confessions of what the Holy Ghost has written on the heart. It is thus alone that any reasonable expectation can be entertained that our defence of

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the truth will be accompanied by the demonstration and power of the Spirit. And from that alone can come enlightenment, conviction, renewal and sanctification.

And, further, the warm full heart in the pulpit has always caused attentive ears in the pews. The fire in the soul, which springs from experiencing the worth of spiritual religion, has always communicated itself to the people. In the kingdom of grace the law is *from heart to heart*, not *from lip to heart*. And when the preacher believes and confesses, and seeks to do both intelligently, fully and heartily, then, by God's blessing, as is the pastor so is the people. Such faithfulness has never lacked the attestation of the Spirit.

And such a course of intelligent, orderly connected preaching of the doctrines of grace has, under God's blessing, preserved the Church from those dangerous errors and practices which often spring up and destroy its peace and purity. The steadfast, abiding friends of truth, good order and purity, have been found where the whole counsel of God has been preached. Where a full Christian experience has been held up to view as purchased by Christ for the believer, and as attainable by him. WHERE the order and connection of truths has been shown, in a word, *where* Christians are well indoctrinated, *there* steadfastness in the belief and practice of the truth has always been seen. And all our history shows that our best days have been when the catechism was faithfully explained in the pulpit by the pastor, and the people, thus intelligently instructed, taught the truth to their children and exemplified it in their lives.

And can any one imagine that the random manner in which many preachers choose their topics of discourse can bear comparison with that arrangement of doctrines of discourse which the united wisdom of the Church formed, and which has stood the test of three centuries.

Nor must any one here say to me, objectingly, "I have never so preached on the catechism nor have I so understood the duty." To this I answer, whose fault is it that you have not so understood and discharged your duty? It is almost inconceivable how any one of ordinary understanding could read our catechism through and fail of seeing that what I have set forth is the purpose of the book, from the first question to the last. Its whole aim is to cause full believing of the truth with the heart, and the intelligent, thankful acknowledgment. Every question shows

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what is sought, every answer is the response of the believing, thankful heart. Question and answer unite in saying: He who has the truth in his head but not in his heart holds it in unrighteousness, and the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all such ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

Where, I ask, is this end and aim so held up as in the Heidelberg Catechism? I love other catechisms for their doctrinal fulness, purity and clearness of statement, but in none of them do I find mind, heart and conscience held fast as in our own. It has all the doctrinal fulness, purity and clearness of the best, and beyond them all it is ever crying, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

An additional remark in regard to the children of the Church is here important.

I do not affirm that our Church holds opinions in respect to the relations of the baptized children to the Church different from those entertained by other branches of the Church of Christ, to which we are more nearly affiliated. But I ask any one to read carefully the answer to the 74th question in our catechism, also the prayers before and after the explanation of the catechism in our Liturgy, and also our form of infant baptism. The candid reader of these portions will readily grant that the teaching of our Church on this point is sound and Scriptural, and in accordance with the views of affiliated branches of the Church of Christ. But I think he will, in candor, have to go farther, and grant that our Church, in its forms and catechism, keeps more prominently in view these great truths than, perhaps, any other branch of the Church of Christ. And the history of our Church shows that where our catechisms and forms do their full work on the heart and conscience, and influence most fully pastors and people, there the relations of the children of Christian parents to Christ and His Church is felt to be a birthright, which gives great privileges and calls for corresponding fidelity in instruction, and for faith in the covenant which God makes with every believer on the behalf of himself and his children. Many, many of our pastors, the dead have been, the living are models of fidelity to Christ and his Church in the soundness of their views and their care in instructing parents and children as to their duties. Among the dead the Rev. Dr. Andrew Yates, of our Church, who died in 1844, was remarkable. When I was his colleague, in the years

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1831 and 1832, he preached, on the first Sabbath of every month, on the relations of the children of Christian parents to Christ and the Church, on the corresponding duties of parents and the Church to these children, and of the children themselves to Christ. Now such faithfulness, I hold, was and is the legitimate outgrowth of our forms and catechism, and this faithfulness, with all its attendant and subsequent blessings, may be ours—the fixed condition of our Church.

And now, in closing, permit me to set before you clearly the duty of our Church in respect to the catechism and catechising as a means of grace. And let me earnestly beg our Christian people to adopt and carry out this or some other wiser, better plan, and to do so with those three definite ends in view, for which, as I have already stated, the catechisms of the Reformation, and ours especially, were written:

1. At family worship every morning, immediately after the reading of Scripture, let a single question of the catechism be read with or without brief explanatory remarks, as may seem best on the occasion. Then let the father in his prayer make thankful confession of the truth taught in the question, beg the Holy Spirit to write it effectually on every heart, and especially to lead the children into the belief of it, thus making it to old and young a lasting source of good.

2. Let all the family commit to memory and recite at a suitable time the Compendium of the Christian Religion; and let the recitation be made as much as possible a practical believing with the heart unto righteousness, and a confession with the mouth unto salvation.

3. Let the study and recitation of the Compendium be made a regular part of Sabbath School instruction.

4. At the weekly prayer meeting let a Lord's Day of the catechism be read and briefly explained by him who presides. Then in prayer let confession and petition be offered, as has been already directed in regard to family worship.

5. Let the pastor preach regularly on the catechism on the first Sabbath morning of every month.

6. Let the pastor hold up before the Church the importance of thankful, intelligent confession.

7. Whenever the sacrament of baptism is administered, let the pastor preach on the relations of the children of the covenant to Christ and the Church, as well as on the duties of parents and

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the Church to the children, and the duties and privileges of the children. Above all, let him not neglect to hold up to view, as a stimulus to his own faithfulness and to that of the whole Church, that *the birthright of the children of the covenant* is *heirship* of the *kingdom* of *heaven upon the faith* and *faithfulness* of parents and *the Church.*

Let, then, this rule of the Church be faithfully, conscientiously obeyed; and, as God is true, we shall not have to complain of our barrenness and deadness, of children erring from the faith, and of the old given up to formalism, but Zion shall be comely in the beauties of holiness, and God shall bless us with a constant refreshing.

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THE

INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

IN PROMOTING

SOUNDNESS OF FAITH.

BY

TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, D. D.,

One of the Pastors of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York.

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THE

INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

IN PROMOTING SOUNDNESS OF FAITH.

For the time will come when they will not endure [the] sound doctrine.—II TIMOTHY, iv: 3.

THE text furnishes the motive for the charge in the preceding verse. This charge enjoins upon Timothy the greatest diligence and care in his ministerial work. He is to preach or proclaim the Word; to be ready to do this at all times, seasonable or unseasonable; to vary its form as occasion requires, sometimes "reproving" or confuting by argument, at others "rebuking" with authority, and again, "exhorting" with earnestness; and he is to do these things in the exhibition of every degree of long suffering and of every method of teaching. Gentleness and intelligence must accompany and qualify the most fiery zeal. From all which it clearly appears that to be a faithful minister of Christ is not such a simple and easy thing as it is sometimes thought. But why was it requisite for Timothy to cultivate these various gifts and aptitudes? Because they would be needed. A time was coming when men would not put up with sound doctrine, the pure healthy principles of evangelical truth. This would be, not because they had outgrown the Gospel, but, as the Apostle is careful to inform us, because of moral defects. Their own selfish lusts would pervert their minds. Itching ears would awaken a prurient desire for novelty. And in this case the economic law of

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demand and supply holds good. Let men only call for erroneous guides and such will be sure to appear. So the Apostle predicts that these perverse men would gather around them a rabble of teachers who would give them fables instead of truth.

Now, when this state of things occurs, the remedy is not to make concessions to the spirit of the age, as it is called, nor to attempt a new adjustment of theology to other systems of truth, but, on the contrary, to adhere more firmly to that divine Word, which is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly furnished to every good work. The intelligent, discriminating, faithful and tender application of the Scripture is the one remedy against all forms of error, theoretical or practical.

The emphatic words of the text for the purposes of this discourse are "the sound doctrine," a phrase which implies that there is a system or body of truth contained in Scripture which is healthy, and as such, secures and promotes the spiritual health of those who receive it, while on the other hand any serious departure from this doctrine is diseased, and as such is sadly injurious wherever it is accepted. It is not easy exactly to define the limits of this body of doctrine. One church or one teacher might omit what another would by all means include. But that there does exist such a system is beyond question. For example, the Reformed Churches of Europe originated as many confessions or symbols as there were separate nationalities concerned in the movement. Each of these expressed in its own way the views of its framers, and had its own peculiarities of arrangement and wording; yet so consentient and harmonious were they as to all leading points, that again and again they were published together in a single volume as evidence of their substantial agreement.

The same thing is shown by what is called the historical faith of the Church—that to which may justly be applied within limits the famous maxim, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus.* This has been brought into distinct and recognized existence by the fulfilment of the prediction in the text. Often did the time come when men would not put up with sound doctrine. Misled by ambition, or by party spirit, or by a false philosophy, or by pride of intellect, or by a prurient itch for novelty, or by an imprudent zeal to win over opponents by concessions, they have swung loose from the moorings of Scripture, and brought into

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question the faith once given to the saints. And sometimes they seemed to carry all before them. But sooner or later the old truth rose up from its temporary grave and resumed its ancient ascendancy. The gates of hell have never prevailed against the faith. And the only permanent result of any occasional inroad of error has been to cause the Church to understand more clearly, and to define more accurately its views of fundamental doctrine. Ecclesiastical history records three instructive examples of this.

In the first three centuries of our era the chief subject of thought and discussion was theology proper, or the doctrine of God. That is, whether the divine being exists in three persons or in one; and if the former, how these three persons are related to each other, and how these relations are to be expressed. In this discussion the acutest minds of the age exhausted themselves and the subject. Every possible view was considered, and either accepted or rejected, and finally the Church settled down upon the statements made in the Council of Chalcedon. And there it has stood from that day to this; and any error on the subject in modern times, however variously or skilfully presented, has uniformly turned out to be simply a reproduction of an old heresy, long since detected and reprobated. The same is true in reference to what has been called *Anthropology*, or the doctrine of man's moral condition since the fall. That is, whether the race is depraved or not, and if it is, to what extent, how the depravity originated, and how far it makes men dependent upon grace for any spiritual good. Now, in the fourth and fifth centuries this topic was as thoroughly considered as it ever has been since; and the views of the great Latin father, Augustine, in opposition to every form and shade of Pelagianism, have become incorporated into the received faith of the Church, and now stand as the orthodox creed of Christendom. In like manner, centuries afterward, at the Reformation, what is called Soteriology, or the doctrine of salvation, was the central point in dispute; that is, whether man is saved by faith or by works, or by a blending of both. The question was subjected to such a sifting as it had never received before, and in the final outcome the truth was formulated so distinctly and precisely that it has come now to lie on the shelf, as immovably settled—as, in Luther's words, the article by which the Church stands or falls.

Now, these three great points, the mode of the divine being, the moral condition of man and the means of salvation, with their

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affiliated truths, constitute a body of doctrine which makes Christianity what it is, and without which it would lose its power and soon come to have a merely nominal existence. For Christianity is not merely a feeling or a life, but a form of knowledge. It implies, or rather contains a series of statements divinely communicated to men, which, being received by them, mould their hearts and their lives. The whole system is built upon this. The Bible is truth, ministers are teachers of truth, and Christians are those who believe and welcome this truth and act accordingly. Hence, in every age, from the very beginning, the Church has been extremely jealous of purity of doctrine. The views of the great Apostle on the subject are strikingly displayed in the contrasted tone of two Epistles which lie side by side in the sacred Canon. One is addressed to the Church at Corinth, where serious practical errors prevailed. Its members were split up into factions, they condoned incest, they compromised themselves with idolaters, they went to law before unbelievers, they shamefully perverted the Lord's Supper, they prostituted spiritual gifts to the purposes of childish display. All these disorders Paul rebukes with warmth and energy, yet of the Church as a body he speaks just as kindly as he was wont to do in other cases. He addresses them as sanctified in Christ Jesus, thanks God for the grace which had enriched them in all utterance and in all knowledge, and says that they were in his heart to live and die with them. But if we turn to the Epistle to the Galatians, among whom there had been a great backsliding, but of another kind, we find the whole strain to be different. From beginning to end there is not a word of praise. The people are not addressed as "the saints in Christ," or "the faithful brethren." Nor does Paul utter a single congratulation upon any of their gifts or attainments. On the contrary, immediately after the salutation, he breaks out into an expression of surprise at their sudden apostacy, and an anathema upon any one, man or angel, who should produce such a result. Then he proceeds to argue the question, every now and then interrupting his logic with a burst of indignant remonstrance. And this strain of severity is kept up even to the close. Why? Because the fault in Galatia was not irregularities in detail, violations of this or that point of Christian morals, or the lack of certain features of the Christian spirit, but error in doctrine, and that upon a fundamental point. The Corinthians, with all their sins and follies, still re-

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tained the one true foundation, and might hopefully be expected sooner or later to drop all inconsistencies with it; but the Galatians had adopted another Gospel ("which is not another," *i. e.*, no Gospel at all), and had thus subverted the faith. As long as they stood in this position Christ profitedthem nothing; all the benefit of his atoning work was gone; they were still in their sins and under the curse. Hence the intense earnestness and plain speaking of the Apostle. It is no time for smooth words or honied phrases when the foundations are assailed. Unsound doctrine strikes at the very life of God's kingdom in the world. When a creed is adopted without being understood or felt, when it is worn merely as an outward badge, it makes little difference of what articles it consists. But the case is otherwise when a faith is intelligently held, when it goes down to the roots and colors a man's thinking and feeling. Here its influence is vital and controlling; and here error cannot do the work of truth any more than poison can supply the place of food. All errors are not, indeed, equally injurious. The lack of a finial on the turret is not equal to the lack of a huge stone from the foundation. But every aberration which touches the system—which materially modifies any portion of "the sound doctrine"—is exceedingly perilous. For the catholic undoubted Christian faith is one complete whole, closely articulated together; and whenever any one article is impugned the bond which unites the entire structure is so far weakened, and no man knows whereunto the breach may grow. In the firm conviction of this truth, all those bodies who at great cost had rescued the precious truth of God from the corruptions of the Papacy, set up guards and fences to aid them in preserving the faith, so as to transmit the sacred deposit intact to those who should come after them.

No one of the sisterhood of Reformed Churches, in the British isles or on the continent, took such abundant and elaborate precautions as the Church of Holland, perhaps because it had such early experience of the insinuating and pernicious power of false doctrine. These precautions were brought over to the new world by our fathers, and incorporated in their system of government and discipline. Let me recount them as they have stood for a century, and, with one exception, still stand among the defences of the faith: (1.) All persons desiring to become ministers of the Word, instead of being left to private and unauthorized teachers, are required to pursue their studies in a theological school estab-

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lished and controlled by the Church, where the professors are bound by a very stringent obligation to teach all the articles contained in the confession and catechism of the Reformed Dutch Church, together with the explanations made of the same by the Synod of Dort in 1619, and to teach nothing against the same, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly. (2.) When the student has completed his course he is entitled to an examination for licensure by the Classis; but according to a provision recently (and in my opinion very unwisely) abolished, it was required that a deputy from another Classis, duly appointed by the Synod, should be present at the examination to see that the business was properly done. (3.) The student, if he passes his examination, must, before he is licensed, subscribe a formula binding himself to teach the doctrines of our standards, and, in case he should come to entertain doubts on any point, not to divulge the same until he has conferred with the ecclesiastical judicatory under which he stands. (4.) If he then receive a call to become a pastor, he must undergo a new examinatioa and subscribe another formula, still more express and stringent in its obligations as to his adherence to doctrinal truth. (5.) After the minister is installed, he is required, both by the terms of his call and by the constitution of the Church, regularly, on the Lord's Day, to explain from the pulpit the doctrine taught in the catechism, with such frequency as at least to complete the whole within four years; and once a year he is formally asked in the Classis whether he has fulfilled this duty, and a record is made of his answer. (6.) But the catechism is not only to be expounded from the pulpit but also taught to the young; and the catechising of the youth is expressly mentioned as a part of a minister's duty, in regard to which he is to give account every year to the Classis. (7.) The administration of the sacraments is not left to the taste or caprice of the person who officiates, but solemn offices are provided, which set forth with great precision and dignity the important truths symbolized in the ordinances; and the use of these venerable formulas is imperatively required in all cases. (8.) It is expressly laid down, as a constituent part of the office and duty of the elders, "to have regard to the doctrine and conversation of the ministers of the Word, to the end * * * * that no strange doctrine be taught." For this reason, as well as for other considerations, the elders usually occupy a seat on the immediate right of the pulpit; and it was customary, as it still is in some churches, for them and

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the deacons, after service, to offer their hands to the officiating minister—a simple ceremony, intended to express their approval of what they had heard as sound and edifying.* (9.) Once more, in the Presbyterian and many of the Congregationalist churches of this country, all that is required of an applicant for admission to sealing ordinances is a credible profession of faith in Jesus Christ. With us something more is required, viz., an assent to the points of doctrine contained in the compendium annexed to the Heidelberg Catechism.

Such then, briefly stated, is the long array of bulwarks against error erected and maintained in our branch of the Reformed Church. The inquiry is pertinent, whether they have answered their purpose. Has the result corresponded to the pains taken? The answer is triumphantly in the affirmative. For an entire century the truth has been held without the shadow of a change. Occasional instances of heretical teaching have been found, but in no one instance have ecclesiastical judicatories failed to do their duty in the premises, so that the evil has never spread to any extent. The Church has, indeed, been afflicted with one secession, which, so far as it extended, was calamitous enough. But this was in no respect a result of error in doctrine. On the contrary, its pretext was unfaithfulness in the body from which the seceders withdrew—a pretext wholly without foundation. Our standards remain as they were in the beginning—no proposition ever having been made, much less adopted, to alter them in the least. Nor has the interpretation of words and phrases been changed. Compare one of the sermons of Frelinghuysen, printed in 1745; a sermon of Livingston, in 1783; a sermon of Linn, in 1804; of Dr. John De Witt, in 1829, with any recent issue of our Board of Publication, and they will all be found in exact accord.

* I well remember that many years ago the late Rev. Dr. Thos. H. Skinner, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, expressed to me the pleasure he felt in supplying one of the pulpits of the Dutch Church in New York. He said that after service, instead of the immediate dispersion of all the people, leaving him alone, a number of the principal persons present came up to him and took his hand with a cordial greeting, making a gratifying contrast to his other experiences when preaching to a congregation of strangers. I related to him the origin of the custom, as stated in the text, which seemed to give him still more pleasure. Nor is the matter an empty form. It is within living memory that once, when a stranger casually supplied the pulpit of the Middle Dutch Church in this city, a venerable elder, eminent alike for soundness of faith and of life, withheld his hand from the minister, declaring that he considered the doctrine of the discourse at variance with the standards of the truth.

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Modes of expression and illustration vary, but, substantially, the views held are one and the same.

Nor has this been merely the fruit of the national steadfastness and conservatism inherited from our fathers over the sea, or of a disposition to hold fast the old merely because it is old. It is not uncommon to hear the charge made that we are the victims of an unreasoning, superstitious, hide-bound and lifeless orthodoxy. It is often said that men idolize ancient formularies out of prejudice or custom, or historical associations, and not out of any real appreciation of what they contain; that one generation takes up and repeats, parrot like, the sayings of those who have gone before; and that thus there is produced a body of traditional opinions, very much like the implicit and ignorant faith of many in the Romish, Greek and Oriental communions. But this is far from being the case in our Church. Its provisions, as they have been recited, contemplate not merely the formal adoption but the actual and habitual use of the formularies of sound doctrine. They are explained, vindicated and taught alike to the old and the young. And they are held because they formulate in the most appropriate way, and in the most genial spirit, the great truths which lie at the foundation of the Christian system, as it is contained in Holy Writ. Hence, so far from being a dead letter, an empty shell from which the kernel has long since been extracted, they are a living power, instinct with the very mind of the Spirit, and are constantly used for all the purposes for which the Christian Church exists—to edify its own members in faith and holiness, and to increase its numbers by the conviction and conversion of the impenitent. And the type of piety thus produced has been in consonance with its origin—simple, meditative and permanent—not fanciful nor erratic, nor, as we must admit, always or even generally so aggressive as it might have been, yet thoughtful and deep seated. Our Church neither holds nor practices any patent methods of manufacturing Christians. Its theory, and, I believe, its well nigh uniform course, is that of the Apostle (II Corinthians, iv, 2), "Not walking in craftiness nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." And "the sound doctrine" is held, guarded and applied, not merely because it is sound, but because being such it is the means—the only means—of awakening new life in the spiritually dead, and of stimulating and preserving that life where it has once been kindled

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Having thus seen how the Church has guarded her own soundness in the faith, it is time to turn to consider her influence in promoting the same habit in the general body of evangelical Christians. In this respect not a great deal has been done by the press. Although our ministry has been in the main exceptionally well educated, in consequence of the provisions for theological instruction already mentioned, yet their contributions to the literature of theology have been not numerous. The internal conflicts in the last century, the exhaustion consequent upon the revolutionary war, and the labors necessary to employ and maintain a number of feeble and scattered churches, seem to have stood in the way of much literary effort. What has been accomplished has for the most part been given to the world in the shape of occasional volumes, sermons and pamphlets, and these usually of limited circulation. Yet there are two other ways in which the Church has exerted no small power for good, which may best be considered by reciting the occasions which called them forth. From our point of view the last hundred years have witnessed four prominent invasions of doctrinal soundness. One of these was the great Unitarian defection at the east. For a series of years a sort of dry rot pervaded a portion of the churches in Massachusetts, which at last broke out in an open denial of the supreme deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the other tenets depending upon that fundamental truth. Although the heresy was local in its origin and in its chief seat, yet it shot forth influences in every direction which needed a vigorous resistance. (2.) About the same time arose the plausible error of Universalism, which denies the Scripture doctrine of eternal retribution, and so weakens the force and consistency of all the main features of the redemptive economy. The father of the sect began his labors only about a century ago, but his followers have been greatly multiplied and their insidious influence has often been sorely felt. (3.) A third movement, far less serious than those which have been mentioned, yet one which impugned the doctrines of grace and opened the door for far greater errors, was what, from its founder, was called Hopkinsianism. Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I., uttered views of the nature of holiness and of sin, of man's inability and accountableness, of God's connection with the existence of sin, and of the necessity that a man should be willing to be eternally lost for the glory of God, which excited considerable alarm among many Christians, and led to frequent heated dis-

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cussions, but now have disappeared along with many other so-called improvements in theology. (4.) Another form of error arose quite within the memory of many who now hear me. This is the New Divinity, or Taylorism, as it was called from its most eminent advocate; a system which maintained peculiar views as to the spring of moral action, man's agency in regeneration, the power of God to prevent moral evil, and the nature of the atonement. These views, spreading in the Presbyterian Church, at last led to the melancholy disruption in 1837, which, however painful in itself, and sad in many of its influences, yet was considered by not a few wise and good men as indispensable to the conservation of the truth. The healing of that division, the reunion of two parties long estranged from each other, although suggested and encouraged by the spirit which sprang up after the close of our civil war, was mainly due to a return to the old views of faith and order on the part of those who had once given them up or held them in abeyance.

Now the influence of our Church in withstanding the inroads of these various errors was exerted, as has been said, in two ways—one direct, the other indirect. The former was by the pulpit. I think that, owing to the facts already mentioned, the proportion of thoroughly educated ministers was greater with us than with any sister Church. We did not multiply laborers so rapidly as they, but those whom we did recruit were, in the general, carefully instructed and trained, so as to be able to reason as well to exhort, to teach as well as to entreat, and to confute error as well as to state truth. The watchmen upon our portion of Zion's walls, therefore, were able to discern heresy when it approached, to sound an alarm distinctly, and to give reasons why innovations should be stoutly resisted. I do not think that their preaching was mainly polemical or controversial; but it was so clear, so calm, so pertinaciously Scriptural, and so pervaded with "the sound doctrine," that the wolf was kept from the fold, and the standards of Heidelberg and of Dort still held undiminished sway over the faith and affections of the people. Our ministers had no belief in the saying of John Robinson to the pilgrims of the Mayflower, in the sense in which that saying is often understood, "The Lord has yet more truth to break out of His Holy Word." Undoubtedly the Scriptures are yet unexhausted, as they are like to be until the end of time. The thoughts of God are not to be mastered by any one generation of believers, how-

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ever favored. Many particular portions of the Bible, as well as the great subjects of the Church and the last things, will doubtless be increasingly understood in successive ages. But that the cardinal truths as to God and man and the way of salvation are to be understood differently from the way in which they are presented in the historical faith of the Church, is utterly unreasonable. It cannot be that God has left his Church walking in darkness for eighteen centuries. If he has, then surely the promises of the Spirit's guidance have largely failed, and the divine faithfulness is sorely impugned. But this cannot be. No, the light of the world has not become darkness. The substantial truths incorporated in the ancient creeds, and expanded in the confessions of the Reformed, wrought out with so much pains and travail, attested by so many different ages and places, baptized with the tears and blood of so many martyrs, and inwrought into the vital experience of so many of the excellent of the earth, are not and cannot be superseded. So the ministry of the Dutch Church believed, and so they preached, habitually indoctrinating their people, and thus enabling them to give a reason for the faith that was in them, and to resist the insidious encroachments of error.

In consequence of this steadfast and well nigh unanimous stand of our fathers, the Church was held by God's grace firm to her ancient moorings.

This fact exerted the indirect influence adverted to, in conserving doctrinal soundness generally. It was the influence of example. It is true that our body is and always has been small, both absolutely and comparatively, and its territory has for the most part been very limited; yet it has always had a weight greatly disproportioned to its size, just as from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth little Holland weighed more in the councils of Europe than the Holy Roman Empire, with its vast extent and hoary traditions. The history, and character, and position of our Church gave to its utterances an exceptional importance. No Protestant Church went through such a long and bloody strife for conscience's sake as did the believers of the Low Countries. The Marian persecution in England, with its three or four hundred victims, was hardly more than a pin scratch compared to the protracted struggles of the Holland "Church under the Cross" against a remorseless bigot, who controlled the resources of half the old world

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and of nearly all the new. Hear the language of the graphic and trustworthy MOTLEY:

"The tens of thousands who fell victims to the gallows, the sword, the stake, the living grave, or to living banishment, have never been counted. Men, women and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, hospital patients, lunatics, all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake. Men were tortured, beheaded, hanged by the neck and by the legs, burned before slow fires, pinched to death with red hot tongs, broken upon the wheel, starved and flayed alive. Their skins stripped from the living body were stretched upon drums, to be beaten in the march of their brethren to the gallows. The additional barbarities committed amid the sack and ruin of blazing and starving cities are almost beyond belief; unborn infants were torn from the living bodies of their mothers; women and children were violated by thousands; and whole populations burned and hacked to pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty in its wanton ingenuity could devise." (Dutch Republic, II, 503, 4.)

But the mother Church was renowned not only for its sufferings but also for its learning. Its great divines, professors, theologians, critics and scholars were famed through Europe, and live to this day in their printed works. And it was in Dort, one of their cities, that the great and only Œcumenical Council of the Reformed was held—a council unsurpassed in learning, piety, wisdom and representative character by any that was held before or since. Now our denomination was the lineal representative of this martyr church on American soil, holding its symbols, its canons, its liturgy, its rules of government. As such it stood apart as a distinct and independent member of the sisterhood of evangelical churches. This fact was aided by its position as central, its members residing on the banks of five several rivers, the Mohawk, Hudson, Passaic, Hackensack and Raritan, whose waters reached the sea at the bay of New York, a harbor fit to receive the commerce of the world. The Church was small but it was not hid in a corner. The constant growth of the metropolis incessantly called attention to the substantial yeomen by whom it had originally been settled, and from whom it received a type of character which only now is beginning to yield under the vast influx of population from other races. In this way the Dutch Church wielded an influence far larger than that of our German brethren,

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who, although numerically superior and in other respects equal, yet were scattered through an inland region, without much facility of inter-communication, and so failed to fix the popular eye or get the attention they so richly deserved. But situated as we were, with our history behind us, with our venerable standards in our hands, with our intelligent and unyielding attachment to the old form of sound words, our Church performed no mean part in maintaining the faith. Her sympathy was given to every sufferer for the truth and her cordial approval to every champion of orthodoxy. More than once, when disputed questions arose among those nominally of the same fold, her voice was called for, not of course as decisive or authoritative, but as that of an old and respected witness, whose testimony was worthy of profound consideration. And it had the more weight because not given till called for. Our Church preserved its ancestral character of holding its own views tenaciously without attacking other people for theirs. It, therefore, would not run without being sent, would not meddle in strife not belonging to it, and for this very reason was the more regarded when, on fitting occasions, it spoke in the name of Heidelberg and Dort.

For this reason, if for no other, it is eminently worthy of being perpetuated, in its distinct and independent form, through another century of the national life. We know not in detail what is before us, but some things in the future are quite certain. The prophecy in the text is not yet exhausted. Itching ears will again become impatient of sound doctrine, and call forth heretical teachers. Let us be ready with our historic name, our time honored symbols, our proven armor, to stand for the truth. Small comparatively as we are, and are likely to be, yet with a learned and godly ministry, with a well indoctrinated people and a steady persistence in missionary work at home and abroad, our compact and well disciplined band will make its influence felt all over the field.

I have time for only two practical reflections: 1. *Humility for believers.* Many think that such a discourse as this feeds pride and leads to boasting. On the contrary, it suggests abasement and shame. Have we such an honored ecclesiastical lineage? Then what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness? Our fathers were men of whom the world was not worthy. Are we worthy of them?

2. *Warning to the impenitent.* Having the pure doctrine, maintained at such cost, transmitted with such fidelity, and illustrated

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with such heroic constancy, what an aggravation of sin and condemnation will it be if any turn away and reject such testimonies from heaven and earth. To live and die unbelieving, under such privileges, what is it but to fall from the very gate of glory down into the depths of the pit?

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OUR CHURCH:

ITS

IMMOVABLE ATTACHMENT

TO

ITS OWN HEIRLOOMS OF FAITH AND ORDER.

BY

JOHN BODINE THOMPSON, D. D.,

Minister of the Gospel at Catskill, N. Y.

1869

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ANALYSIS.

Introduction.—The Subject Assigned.

Nexus.—The Influence of Custom.

I. The Inflexible Determination of Character Manifested.

(*a*). *In resistance to the innovations of*

1. The Ocean.
2. The Roman Empire.
3. Christianity.
4. Charlemagne.
5. The Roman Church.
6. The Spanish Dominion.

(*b*). *In Struggles for*

1. Independence of the Netherlands.
2. Settlement of the New Netherlands.
3. Establishment of Christianity here.
4. Independence of the United States of America.
5. Ecclesiastical Independence.
6. Disuse of the Foreign Language.
7. Dropping of the Foreign Title.

(*c*). *In adherence to standards and customs, notwithstanding*

1. Ecclesiastical Isolation.
2. External Temptation.
3. Internal Influence.
4. Illustration.

II. Our Church Life Finds Expression in our

1. Liturgy.
2. Confession.
3. Catechism.
4. Canons.
5. Psalms and Hymns.
6. Increase—"some a hundred fold."

III. The Superior Excellence of our Heirlooms of Faith and Order.

1. Christianity is primarily a life.
2. Of the various Scripture forms of Christian Doctrine most stress is laid upon *union with Christ*, and it is capable of practical increase.
3. Saving faith is faith in the Divine *Person* of our Lord Jesus Christ.
4. Assurance and perseverance are concomitants of faith.
5. Special providences surely follow.
6. The result is holiness and happiness forever.

Conclusion:

1. Recapitulation.
2. These views belong to *our system alone.*
3. Shall we teach them?
4. Shall we live them?

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THE

IMMOVABLE ATTACHMENT

OF THE

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

TO

ITS OWN HEIRLOOMS OF FAITH AND ORDER.

"Thus saith the Lord: Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way; and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."—JEREMIAH, vi: 16.

ITS immovable attachment to its own heirlooms of faith and order has been abundantly shown by the Reformed Dutch Church in all the stages of its history.

It is natural to man to love the relatives, the friends, the places, the institutions, the doctrines, the customs and usages, amid which he has grown up, which have so largely made him what he is.

I.

What is thus true of men generally is especially true of the inhabitants of the Low Countries and their descendants, and with good reason.[1]

[1] "The phlegm of the Dutch character is in a great measure attributable to their climate." The Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D., in his "American Universal Geography," seventh edition, vol. ii, p. 213. The following extracts are from vol. i (pp. 388, 389):

"The Dutch were the first settlers of New York. * * * The counties inhabited by the Dutch * * * still retain many modes, particularly in their religion, which are peculiar to the Hollanders. They are industrious, neat and economical in the management of their farms and their families. Whatever business they pursue, they generally follow the old track of their forefathers, and seldom invent any new improvements."

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"Three great rivers—the Rhine, the Meuse and the Skeldt—had deposited their slime for ages among the dunes and sand banks heaved up by the ocean around their mouths. A delta was thus formed, habitable at last by man. Here, within a half submerged territory, a wretched race of fishermen dwelt upon mounds which they had raised above the almost fluid soil.

"Here, at a later day, the same race chained the tyrant ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, forcing them to bind by watery highways with the furthest ends of the world even the inmost recesses of a country disinherited by nature of its rights. A race engaged for centuries in stubborn conflict with the elements was thus unconsciously educating itself for its great struggle with the still more savage despotism of man.

"Julius Cæsar has saved from oblivion the memory of the heroic savages who fought against his legions in defence of their dismal homes with ferocious but unfortunate patriotism; and the great poet of England, learning from the conqueror's commentaries the name of the boldest tribe, has kept the Nervii, after almost twenty centuries, still fresh and familiar in our ears."[2]

It was his immovable attachment to his own home, his own government, his own religion, and his own inherited customs, that made the Netherlander the bitterest foe and the most insubordinate subject of the all-conquering Roman. It was this same attachment that so long withstood the influence of Christianity, and caused King Radbod to turn back from the very threshold of the font, preferring the society and usages of his dead ancestors in Woden's halls to those of these new Christians, even in their happier Heaven.[3]

[2] Slightly altered from John Lothrop Motley, in the historical introduction to his "Rise of the Dutch Republic." Vol. 1, p. 1.

"The great poet of England" is Shakespeare, who represents Marc Antony as saying, in his speech over the dead body of Cæsar—

> "You all do know this mantle. I remember
> The first time ever Cæsar put it on;
> 'Twas on a summer's evening in his tent;
> That day he overcame the Nervii."
>
> JULIUS CÆSAR, Act III. Sc. 2.

Other tribes were the Menapii, the Tungri, the Morini, the Batavi, the Frisii, the Belgae, etc.

[3] "The pagan Radbod had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font when a thought struck him. 'Where are my dead forefathers at present?' he said, turning suddenly upon Bishop Wolfran. 'In hell, with all other unbelievers,' was the imprudent answer. 'Mighty well,' replied Radbod, removing his leg, 'then

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It was this same attachment that so long resisted Charlemagne, and yielded at last only to the assurance that none of the native usages should be disturbed, and with the stipulation, still on record, that "the Frisians shall be free as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands."[4]

The same disposition that made Saul the fiercest persecutor of the Church made Paul the most devoted missionary of the cross. The same disposition that made the Netherlanders the most rebellious of slaves and the most stubborn of pagans, has made them and their descendants, from that day to this, the stanchest defenders of civil and religious liberty, and the most uncompromising adherents of the principles, doctrines, customs and usages inherited from their fathers.

As early as 752 the attempt to introduce images into the church at Ghent caused a riot, in which the Abbot Fulbert lost his life. In 1135 men were burnt at Utrecht for denying transubstantiation.[5] In the same century the Scriptures were translated, and from that time "a succession of sects waged perpetual but unequal warfare with the power and depravity of the Church of Rome, fertilizing with their blood the future field of the Reformation. Heresy increased in the face of oppression."[6]

Heresy was the Hollander's immemorial inheritance, as heresy

will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in Heaven.' Entreaties and threats were unavailing. The Frisian declined positively a rite which was to cause an eternal separation from his buried kindred, and he died as he had lived a heathen."—*Motley, as before*, page 20.

[4] Motley, page 22, where he adds: "They agreed, however, to obey the chiefs whom the Frank monarch should appoint to govern them, according to their own laws. Those laws were collected and are still extant. The vernacular version of their Asega book contains their ancient customs, together with the Frank additions. The general statutes of Charlemagne were, of course, in vogue also; but that great legislator knew too well the importance attached by all mankind to local customs, to allow his imperial capitulars to interfere unnecessarily with the Frisian laws."

See also "The Dictionary of Mr. Peter Bayle," article "Emmius," and references there; also article "Abgillus." And this characteristic has continued. "The law of 1290 contained provisions identical with those of the Habeas Corpus Act in England, maintaining the inviolability of the citizen's dwelling, and acknowledging the right of every man to be judged by his peers, and to have a voice in the imposition of taxes."—*Encyclopedia Britannica, ninth edition, article "Antwerp,"* vol. ii, 144.

[5] "Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation, and other Ecclesiastical matters in and about the Low Countries." Four vols. folio. London, 1720–1723. Vol. i, pp. 5–11, 14.

[6] Motley, vol. i, p. 68.

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was defined at Rome. Three times in as many centuries did the Bishops of Utrecht excommunicate the bishop of Rome, as freely as he them. The "Reformers before the Reformation"[7] could develop nowhere so freely as among such a people. Voltaire tells us that they strove to implant in every breast the idea that all men are created equal. Bossuet says that they held the Bible to be the sole infallible authority in religion. Moreover, they declared that "no man should be coerced to believe, but should be won by preaching." In 1450 John of Wesel denounced the traffic in indulgences, and declared that "only divine grace, and not the merit of works, saves the sinner." Thomas à Kempis, Wessel Gansevort, Cornelius Schryver, John Van Goch and others preached gospel truth in opposition to Roman error, and on the first day of July, 1523, Henry Voes and John Esch—let their names be held in everlasting remembrance—the first martyrs of the Reformation in the Netherlands, were burned at Brussels rather than submit to anti-Christian error. They died repeating the *Apostles' Creed* and singing the *Te Deum*, proclaiming that they suffered simply for their attachment to Christian truth. The next year Cornelius Van Hone, the eminent Dutch jurist, sent to Zwingle an exposition of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which that reformer recognized as identical with his own; the sight of which he took for a sign that the times were ripe for him to proclaim the whole truth as against Rome. In 1525 John Van Becker was strangled and burnt at Amsterdam for holding these doctrines, which now began to be called "Reformed;" and during that century a hundred thousand martyrs to the truth maintained the Dutch character, and their blood became the seed of the Reformed Dutch Church.[8]

[7] This is the title of the well known treatise of Daniel Ullman, most of whose book is taken up with sketches of Netherlanders. The statements of fact which immediately follow are from his work, *passim*. See especially pages 307, 309, 338 of the English translation in Clark's Foreign Theological Library. *See also Brandt*, vol. i, pp. 19, 32, 33, 42, 45, 52, etc.

[8] "After the butchery of no less than one hundred thousand men to make triall if this fire were to be quenched with blood, such vast multitudes made insurrection all over the Netherlands, that sometimes the publike executions, especially if upon any eminent criminal, or with exemplary torments, were hindered and impeded by seditions."—Hugo Grotius: De Rebus Belgicis; or the Annals and History of the Low Countrey Warrs Faithfully rendered into English by D. M., p. 20. London: 1665.

One of the proclamations against the Reformed prohibits "all conventicles and unlawful assemblies, both public and private, on pain of hanging to the preachers and

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It was on the 26th of July, 1581, that the assembly of "The States General" adopted that declaration of independence which two centuries later became the model of our own, and entitled Holland to the designation of the "Mother of Free States."[9] And it was that same Dutch persistency that, at such fearful cost, carried such resolution into good effect.

The characteristics thus manifested, and the lessons thus learned, prepared the way for the settlement of the New Netherlands, and the development under new conditions of a Church and people worthy to be the sons of such sires. "The Dutch settlers of New Netherlands were grave, temperate, firm, persevering men, who brought with them the industry, the economy, the simplicity, the integrity and the bravery of their sires; and with those virtues they imported the lights of the Roman civil law and the purity of the Protestant faith." Such is the testimony of Chancellor Kent, than whom there is no more competent witness.[10]

The descendants of those who had founded and made famous the Dutch Republic were among the most devoted friends of liberty in the struggle for American independence. It could not

teachers, and the forfeiture of their estates to those who should apprehend them. In case they have no estates, then the person who caused them to be taken should receive a reward of six hundred pounds Flemish money. In the same manner were to be treated those who furnished places for such preaching and teaching. Those who harbored or concealed the preachers were to be punished with death. Nevertheless, on the 14th of June, 1566, Herman Stryker preached to 7,000 in the open air, just out of Ghent; and repeated the offence on the 23d and 24th of July, whence he went from place to place through West Flanders with his associates, holding what we should now call "Camp Meetings."

What the Reformed Monk was thus doing in Flanders, John Arentson, a pious basket maker, was doing in North Holland.

His first public service was held near Horn, on the 14th of July, 1566. Before the end of this year he and Peter Gabriel and Nicholas Scheltius were collegiate pastors of the Reformed Church of Amsterdam.—*See Brandt, passim.*

[9] "History and Characteristics of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America," by the Rev. David Demarest, D. D., Professor of Pastoral Theology and Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church of America, at New Brunswick, N. J. This little volume is now out of print. Who will reap the ripe harvest into which Professor Demarest was the first to thrust his sharp sickle?

[10] In his address before the New York Historical Society, as quoted in "The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church for 1828–1829," vol. iii, p. 370. Few know how much the progress of our civilization has been retarded by the retrograde movement which, at the surrender in 1664, substituted for this Roman law the common law of England, with barons, serfs and feudal laws.

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be otherwise, for their fathers' blood was in their veins and their fathers' obstinate love of freedom in their hearts.[11]

How they showed their attachment to their own heirlooms of faith and order on these shores is well known. How they built a church and a schoolhouse at every settlement;[12] how they sat for hours without fire other than that in their veins, listening to the exposition of the word and celebrating the communion according to the familiar liturgy, is matter of household history. How careful they were that their children should be taught the catechism in the schools, and be trained in the ways of their fathers, there is no need to tell.

What bitter controversies, and with what devastating results, have arisen at times from the *Coetus* and *Conferentie* difficulties,[13]

[11] "The very temper which afterward spoke in the public documents issued from Philadelphia had been uttered in Holland two centuries earlier; and they who came hither from that land of dykes, storks and windmills, had brought it as a part of their endowment. * * * Amid whatever straitness of poverty, amid whatever simplicity of manners, however unconscious of it themselves, they brought the immanent moral life which had made the morasses at the mouth of the Rhine the centre of a traffic more wide and lucrative, the scene of a history more majestic than Europe before had ever seen, and the seat of the first enlightened Republic on all the circuit of its maritime coast."

"The early American Spirit and the Genesis of it." * * By Richard S. Storrs, D.D., in his address before the N. Y. Historical Society, April 15th, 1875. Pp. 49 and 50.

"The inhabitants of New York City, who were favorable to the patriotic side, withdrew to different parts of the surrounding country when the British entered New York. To this class belonged almost the whole of the Dutch congregations."

Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D., in his sermon "at the Centennial Anniversary of the Dedication of the North Dutch Church, May 25, 1869," p. 20.

"It is worthy of notice that the only two regiments of infantry from this State, in the line of the army of the United States, at the close of the American war, were commanded by Dutchmen—Col. Van Cortlandt and Col. Van Schaick."—*Rev. Dr. Wm. C. Brownlee, in the Magazine of the Reformed Church for March*, 1829, vol. iii, p. 373.

[12] "Education came with them. The free schools, in which Holland had led the van of the world, being early transplanted to these shores—a Latin school being established here in 1659, to which scholars were sent from distant settlements. An energetic Christian faith came with them, with its bibles, its ministers, its interpreting books."—*Dr. Storrs, as in preceding note*, page 47.

[13] Of these words the former is Latin and the latter Dutch. The Latin title designates those who wished to educate ministers and do other church work in this country without constant dependence upon the Netherlands. The Dutch term appropriately designates the party which adhered to the past usage and insisted on constant dependence upon the mother country. They did not believe it practicable to educate a ministry in this land. The difficulty was happily solved at last, under advice from the Classis of Amsterdam, by the institution of the college at New Brunswick, N. J.

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from the disuse of the Dutch language,[14] from the dropping of the Dutch name,[15] is known but too well. A little company, surrounded by large numbers of the adherents of other confessions, again and again has the attachment of our Church to her own heirlooms of faith and order been put to the severest test.

From an early day many of her ablest clergy have been men with little or no attachment to her distinctive symbols. It could not be otherwise than that this fact should, unconsciously, perhaps, affect their teaching. Hence it came to pass that young men, born, and reared, and nurtured in our own institutions even, often received no information respecting the distinctive peculiarities of our faith and order, and could have, of course, no proper appreciation of the standards in which these find expression. And, if this were true of the ministry, it would be likely to prove true also of the people under their instruction.[16]

Nevertheless, against just this the liturgy and catechism have stood constantly as a quiet but firm protest. The wisdom of the fathers was seen in making the constant use of these symbols obligatory upon the conscience of every minister, that they might be just such an ever-present guard against such dangers. The statements of life and doctrine which pervade these standards take hold of the Christian consciousness of God's plain people with a power that nothing can unloose. They may not be able to give satisfactory reasons for their attachment, but they feel within them reasons satisfactory to themselves. And so they stand to-day, as firmly as they stood against the Roman, as firmly

[14] "In New York the controversy excited by this question was most violent and bitter. The Church there lost immensely by it. In the first place, she lost those who desired the introduction of English preaching and were impatient of delay. In the second place, she lost the lovers of peace, who were driven by the controversy into other communions. And in the third place, as soon as English preaching was introduced, she lost those who were determined never to hear the English language in the Church of their fathers."—*Demarest's History and Characteristics*, page 80.

[15] It is too soon, yet, to describe this controversy. Suffice it to say that it was very like the others in its nature and in its effects. But it is believed that all are now rallying, as their fathers did after the other controversies, to the work of the Church all love.

[16] Hence it is not strange that attempts have been made to substitute for these standards other systems in which men have been trained, and to which they are, therefore, attached. If the *system* of theology taught in our catechism were taught also in our theological seminaries, there would be no difficulty about teaching it from our pulpits. Most ministers, consciously or unconsciously, follow in their preaching the system they have learned in the theological seminary.

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as they stood against the Spaniard[17], in defence of their institutions, their home, their faith, their Church.

It was the country so small that a Turkish emperor talked of sending a few men to shovel it into the sea, that resisted effectually the power of the mightiest nation of her day, and planted her colonies round the world.[18] And it is the Church, smaller still in comparison with those round about her, that came from this small country, that, to this day at least, has not been sunk beneath the sea of sentiment, lashed into frothiness with such intent. As in the case of the "very obstinate man" who subdued the rebellion and saved his country, so *our own character* is the most *obvious* reason for our attachment to our own Church and standards.[19]

[17] When they had been starving for two months in Leyden, they answered the summons to surrender with renewed defiance. "Ye call us rat eaters and dog eaters," they cried, "and it is true. So long, then, as ye hear dog bark or cat mew within the walls ye may know that the city holds out. And when all has perished but ourselves, be sure that we will devour our left arms, retaining our right to defend our women, our liberty and our religion against the foreign tyrant."—*Motley*, vol. ii, p. 571.

[18] "The success of that petty province of Holland, of which the Grand Seignor proudly said, if they should trouble him as they did the Spaniard, he would send his men with shovels and pickaxes and throw it into the sea, I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath disposed them to such a thriving genius; and to the will of His providence, that disposeth her favor to each country in their preordinate season." Sir Thomas Brown, in his "Religio Medici." The seventh edition. London, 1672. Part 1, sec. 17. See, also, the same saying of the Turkish emperor, quoted from another source by Peter Bayle in his dictionary, Art. Lewis XI. Remark "R."

The Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field writes in the *N. Y. Evangelist*, August, 1876:

"And there is little Holland, away off in a corner of Europe, with hardly territory enough to make a respectable farm in California, which it has girded round with dykes like a fortress to keep out the invading sea; yet Holland is the second colonial power on the globe. It rules the whole of the Malayan Archipelago—Java, Sumatra and Borneo—a territory nearly as large as Europe. Thus it is not the great country that makes the great people, nor the little country that can confine or keep down a people that are great and mighty in themselves."

[19] When General Grant was fighting his way through Virginia, and had sent to President Lincoln the memorable despatch: "I intend to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer," some one is said to have asked Mrs. Grant whether she thought he would succeed, to which she replied: "Mr. Grant is *a very obstinate man!*"

Sewell's Dutch and English Dictionary, published at Amsterdam in 1776, quotes the proverb, "Hy is so koppig dat niemand in staat is hem van beduit te doen veranderen," *he is so headstrong that nobody can change him.* And a century later some one has said, "There is one thing that a Dutchman can always do; he can object!" But this trait of character is not without its uses, especially when conjoined with Christian zeal, as we shall see.

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II.

But a still better reason is that *these standards are the outgrowth of our own life.* The author loves his own writings; the Creator loves His own creation; the parent loves his own children; the living love that which is the product, the sublimation of their own life; and so the Church cannot otherwise than love the doctrines and usages, the faith and order, which are simply the development, the efflorescence, the expression of her own life.

I need not stop to show, what the subject assigned me assumes, that we *are* a Church; that we have not merely a name to live, but that we do live; that we have a Church life.

It is true that we are no longer Hollandish; it is true that we are Americans, not Hollanders; but it is also true that the constraining power of our Church life has assimilated to itself those who have come to us of whatever name or nation.

French, English, German, Scotch, Irish elements have all combined with the Dutch to make us what we are. Our very individual names show how the blood of these various nationalities mingles in our veins. And we are the better for it. But we are a Church, with our distinctive standards, doctrines, customs, usages, with a specific, easily recognized and often spoken of, characteristic, ecclesiastical life.

Of the dawnings of this life I have already spoken. The writings of Thomas of Kempen are still among the best of the uninspired devotional literature of the Church. In the days of the persecution thousands of Netherlanders fled to England that this life of God in the soul might find free expression; and *there* were developed, without state direction, under the most favorable circumstances for such development, the first and the chief of the standards of our Church.[20]

[20] The Dutch Church still exists in London by virtue of the royal patent dated July 24, 1550. The patent runs in these terms: "Edward, etc., we being specially induced, by great and weighty considerations, * * * * do first of all take care that pure and uncorrupted religion be diffused, * * * * and that a Church, instituted in truly Christian and apostolical doctrines and rites, be preserved, etc., with this intent and purpose, that there may be an uncorrupted interpretation of the Holy Gospel, and administration of the Sacraments, according to the Word of God, and apostolical observance, by the ministers of the Church of the Dutch, etc. We command and strictly charge the mayor, etc., that they permit the said superintendent and ministers freely and quietly to enjoy, use, and exercise their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do not agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom," etc.

This charter was granted chiefly at the solicitation of John Alasco, who had been

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Our liturgy is still essentially that prepared by John Alasco, of which the original is in the archives of the Dutch church in London.[21]

It was at once used by the churches of the Netherlands "under the cross," and as soon as possible publicly adopted by successive Synods, and finally by the great Synod of Dort, from which it comes to us.[22]

invited to England by Cranmer and the young king to aid in the reformation of the English Church. Five years later he wrote: "When I was called by that king, and when certain laws of the country stood in the way, so that the public rites of divine worship used under Popery could not immediately be purged out, which the king himself desired, and when I was earnest for the foreign churches, it was at length his pleasure that public rites of the English churches should be reformed by degrees, as far as could be done by the laws of the country; but that strangers, who were not strictly bound to these laws in this matter, should have churches granted unto them, in which they should freely regulate all things *wholly according to apostolical doctrine and practice*, without any regard to the rites of the country; *that by this means the English churches also might be excited to embrace the apostolical purity* by the unanimous consent of all the estates of the kingdom. Of this project the king himself, from his great piety, was both the chief author and the defender. For, although it was almost universally acceptable to the king's council, and the Archbishop of Canterbury promoted it with all his might, there were not wanting some who took it ill, and would have opposed it, had not his majesty checked them by his authority and the reasons which he adduced for the design."

"The care of our Church was committed to us chiefly with this view, that in the ministration thereof we should follow the rule of the divine word and apostolic observance, rather than any rites of other churches. In fine, we were admonished, both by the king himself and his chief nobility, to use this great liberty granted to us in our ministry rightly and faithfully, not to please men but for the glory of God, by promoting the reformation of his worship."—*Quoted in the Life of John Knox, by Thomas McCrie, D. D.; note "S," American edition*, pp. 410–414; *where see also other valuable information respecting this Church.*

[21] A description of this library may be found in "Timb's Curiosities of London," page 519, published by Longmans. The library contains John Alasco's "Brevis et Dilucida de Sacramentis Eccl. Chr. Tractatio." 12mo. Londini, 1552. Also his "Forma ac Ratio Tota Ecclesiastica Ministerii in Ecclesia, Londini." 8vo. Francofurti, 1555, etc., etc.

The Rev. David Knibbe, in the preface to his "Exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism," dated at Leyden, April 12, 1696, writes that a copy of these London formulas, which he then had before him, contained "the same liturgy of prayers and other formulas, *almost word for word, as we now have them after our psalm books*," *i. e.*, as they had been adopted by the Synod of Dort. (See next note.)

[22] "The formulas, etc., were received and used first by all the Netherland churches 'under the Cross,' and elders assembled at Antwerp in the year 1553."—*Knibbe, as above.*

The first of the Articles of Union adopted by "The Reverend Meeting of Ministers and Elders of the Reformed Dutch Churches in the Provinces of New York and New

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The history of the organization of the Dutch Church in London, and of the pains through which our sacramental formulas came into existence, are graphically detailed in the manuscript records preserved so carefully by that Church.[23]

Jersey, convened at the friendly solicitation of the Reverend Consistory of New York at New York, to devise means for the peace and unity of the churches, on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th October, 1771," is this: "We abide in all things by the Constitution of the Netherland Reformed Church, as established by the ecclesiastical regulations of the Synod of Dordrecht, annis 1618, 1619."—*See Minutes of Synod*, vol. i, p. 9.

It may be worth while to add here (from his Christian Dogmatics, vol. i, p. 20) the following statement of J. J. Van Oosterzee, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht, respecting the nature of the regard the Church has for these standards:

"According to the Dutch confession of faith itself they can in no way be placed on an equality with Holy Scripture, but must be tested by it. Even in 1565 the Synod under the Cross at Antwerp resolved that at the opening of every Synod the confession of faith should be read, 'as much to profess our union as to consider if there be anything to change or modify.' It does not express what every one *must* believe in order to be saved, but what *is* believed and confessed by the Church itself in distinction from other churches. As such, the symbolical writings define also the physiognomy of the Church, and mark out the point of departure for the future line of its historic development; but they were never intended to confine within bonds the spirit of investigation, still less to fill the hated part of 'a paper pope.' Holy Scripture alone is the *norma normans*, the confession, the *norma normata* of the belief of Church."

And no theologian before the Dutch Cocceius had insisted so strongly as he that there ought to be constant progress in theology (as is suggested to me by the Rev. Dr. David Inglis, of Brooklyn), though this was not a new thought in the Netherlands, for it was during his stay here that John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, learned to say, as he did in that last sermon before leaving Holland: "Brethren, I am fully persuaded, I am very confident that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His holy word."

[23] These include a "History of the Dutch nation in England, and particularly in London, collected by Simeon Ruytinck, Minister of the Dutch Church." Folio. 1601–1621. Also a "Continuation of the same to 1625, by C. Calandrinus; with a further Continuation by Emilius Van Cuylenborg." Folio. "Continuation, with a few Notes, by C. Calandrinus." Quarto.

I desire to avail myself of this opportunity to express my appreciation of the continued and thoughtful kindness of Mr. Overall, Librarian of Guildhall, London, where this library is now kept.

The Rev. Dr. Henry Ghele (whose nephew, Rev. Maurice G. Hansen, of Coxsackie, N. Y., was my fellow student in theology) has recently retired from his long pastorate of this church, and has been succeeded by the Rev. Artemus Van Schultema, the son of the well known Holland clergyman of the same name.

The church granted to the Dutch in 1550 was that of the Augustinian Friars, who were dispossessed by the Reformation. It was renamed "The Temple of Jesus;" an

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The waters of the channel had not in the least quenched the ardent determination of every one of these Dutch Christians to have his own way; for he was sure that his own way was right. The exiles in England were as steadfast for truth as their kindred martyrs in the Netherlands.[24] And there was reason for earnest-

apt, though unconscious illustration of the evangelical piety of the new owners. But popular usage insisted on the old name, and the church and vicinity are now as well known in London as Trinity Church and Trinity Building in New York, and always as "Austin Friars."

The property has become very valuable, and the church is surrounded by buildings which yield a large rental. The church was refitted a few years ago, at considerable expense, to adapt it to the needs of the small congregation now worshipping in it, and to preserve it as a monument of the past.

The intelligent elder, Gerard Wynen, 34 Great Tower street, thoroughly appreciates the historical and ecclesiastical importance of this church, and would be glad to make it, what it ought to be, a place to which all the children of the Reformed Dutch Churches throughout the world would be glad to come home. She is, indeed, "the mother of us all," as Dutch churches. Will not the young minister and the Consistory give us complete, in print, the valuable history, and in connection therewith the still more valuable letters of the Reformers, which they have so long guarded so carefully?

An account of the restoration of the Austin Friars Church, by Edward J. Anson, architect, may be found in the papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects, session of 1865, 1866 (sold by Parkers, 377 Strand), pp. 73–81.

[24] The doctrine of the Sacraments held and taught in the formulas of the Church is precisely that of Calvin. These had been put into form by Calvin himself for the Church of Geneva; but that being connected with the Government, he could not make the liturgy quite what he wished. (See his letters. No. 361.) This liturgy was first printed in 1543. In 1545 Calvin prepared a liturgy for the Church of Strasburg, to which he ministered for two years during his temporary exile from Geneva. This he was able to make as he wished. A modification of it was issued in 1549 by Wolrand Pullen [Valerandus Pollanus], a Netherlander, who had succeeded Calvin at Strasburg. Afterwards he fled with his congregation to England, where they were allowed the use of the cathedral at Glastonbury. Subsequently he became one of the ministers of the Dutch Church in London; and it is the liturgy which he had previously used to which, more nearly than to any other, was conformed that prepared by John Alasco for the Dutch Church in London. Indeed, the one is almost a reproduction of the other. Thus it is seen that our liturgy originates primarily with Calvin, with whom Alasco was on terms of intimate friendship and correspondence.

And the Dutch Church, like Edward VI and Cranmer, appealed to Calvin for help in their troubles. His letter to them was first printed in English in "Gleanings of a few Scattered Ears During the Period of the Reformation in England. * * * By the late George Cornelius Gorham," page 283. It begins as follows:

"*Very Dear and Honored Brethren:*

"As I desire your repose, in order that, being in peace, you may have a better opportunity of serving God, and that you may do so with better courage, I am sorry

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ness; for on the apparently insignificant question whether or not the minister shall say, at the Lord's Supper, "That we may be now fed with the true heavenly bread, Christ Jesus, let us not cleave with our hearts unto the external bread and wine, but lift them up on high in Heaven, where Christ Jesus is our advocate, at the right hand of his heavenly Father, whither all the articles of our faith lead us; not doubting but we shall as certainly be fed and refreshed in our souls through the working of the Holy Ghost, with his body and blood, as we receive the holy bread and wine in remembrance of Him," turns the question whether the Church is a new one or the old one reformed; whether the Saviour is to be worshipped in the elements or not; and whether in the Supper there is any actual communication of Christ to his people or not.[25]

to hear of the trouble which has been occasioned you by some inconsiderate people. I am doubly vexed that they have molested you under the cover of my name and of this Church. Now, as they have done us wrong in that respect, so also I think you ought to manifest a reasonable and kind conduct towards us by not allowing us to be mixed up and enveloped in their follies. If those who have stirred up these strifes among you have taken occasion to do so *through the diversity of your ceremonies*, as M. Alasco writes me word, they have ill understood in what the unity of Christians consists, and how every member ought to conform himself to the body of the church in which he lives. True it is that, if one wishes for some different form which one esteems better, it would be very lawful to do so, first having conferred with the pastor and having freely opened one's thoughts, provided one accommodates oneself to the usage of the place in which one is, without calling it a novelty, but peaceably observing every order which is not repugnant to the word of God."

[25] This sentence is a condensation of Calvin's expansion of the "*Sursum corda*" of the early liturgies. In all these it was prescribed that, immediately before the communing, the deacon should call out, "Sursum corda!" *Lift up your hearts!* to which the people responded, "We do lift them up unto the Lord;" as Augustine testifies in his treatise, 'De Vera Religione,' c. 3 (in my copy, folio ccxx): * * * "Ut quotidie per universum orbem humanum genus una pene voce respondeat sursum corda se habere ad Dominum."

The Rev. Dr. John Mason Neale, in his "History of the Holy Eastern Church," vol. i, p. 464, says that "this is one of the most ancient, as it is one of the most universal rites of the Church," and quotes Chrysostom: "What art thou doing, O man? Hast thou not promised the priest who said, *Lift up your minds and hearts*, and thou did'st answer, *We lift them up to the Lord.*"

Both Calvin and Luther had no disposition to break connection with the early Church. They simply lopped off superstitious excresences which had grown up upon the Church services, and restored the primitive usages with such didactic explanations as seemed feasible. (See preface to Luther's "First Formula for Baptism," referred to below in note 45, and compare Calvin's "liturgy," in his works.)

In these days of short services, as well as of books and abundant preaching, per-

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Such questions afforded occasion for severe contentions, and struggles that threatened to strangle the enterprise at its very birth.[26] And so it was through much vigorous manifestation of life that the Reformed Dutch Church struggled into existence, and developed its own expressions for its own peculiarities of

haps it might be well to shorten our formulas by giving them a *less didactic* and *more devotional* form.

Ebrard is quoted in Hagenbach's "History of Doctrines" (vol. ii, p. 535) as saying of the "Palatinate liturgy:" "The idea of the elevation of the soul to heaven is from Alasco." This can mean only that it was derived from Alasco into the "Palatinate Cultus," for it occurs everywhere in Calvin; and it was the special argument even of Berengarius that "Christ does not descend *from* Heaven, but the hearts of the faithful ascend devotionally *to* him *in* Heaven." (See Neander's "General History of the Christian Religion and Church." First American edition. Boston, 1851. Vol. iii, p. 523.)

The *sursum corda* stands in the ancient liturgies as an ever-present protest against the innovation of the real presence of the body of Christ in the elements. And it is for this reason omitted in all the ritualistic formulas of modern origin. It has thus become the Ithuriel spear which instantly reveals the modern ritualist in his true character—whether he call himself Apostolical, Anglican, or of that still more modern school to which Mercersberg has given a local habitation and a name.

[26] January 10, 1551, Peter Martyr wrote: "In the midst of these evils our strangers' churches find leisure for trifling! A great contention has sprung up among them respecting the church which was granted them by the king. Their minds are so implacable, and inflamed to such an extent, that the king's council must settle their dispute. I pray God that the affair may not have, as they deserve, a disastrous issue." And two years before, January 15, 1549, he had written to John Uytenhoven, the first elder of the Dutch Church in London, who was then staying, with other Reformers, at the episcopal residence of Archbishop Cranmer at Canterbury, "I rejoice greatly that your congregations and your preachings are within walls, and that you have sometimes meetings of pious men. May God give us at length to see a just increase of those blessings. I have no doubt that the devil looks with envy on these beginnings; but, since you are now a veteran in this kind of warfare, you will endeavor faithfully and anxiously to bring it about that the wolf shall not triumph as a victor over the sheep. I see that there is nothing more difficult in the world than to found a Church. The stones are generally rough and very unpolished; hence, unless they are rendered plane and smooth by the Spirit, the word, and examples of holy life, they cannot easily be made to fit each other. May the Lord grant that, among us, there may be rightly planted a vine which in due time may produce fruit delicious both to men and God!" (See Gorham, pp. 230, 74.)

The answer to this prayer must be great beyond the highest imagination of the pious exile. The fruit of the "Vine" which Peter Martyr Vermilye thus aided in planting includes the churches of the Netherlands and of the Dutch colonies round the world. And in the list of ministers of one of these appear the names of two of his own blood kin, viz., the Rev. Drs. Thomas E. Vermilye and Ashbel G. Vermilye, his son. "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth"—Ps. xlv: 16.

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faith and order.[27] The doctrines and usages to which expression was thus given have been perpetuated to this day; and no one of their descendants, familiar enough with them to appreciate their excellencies, would be willing to give them up.

Among the earliest exiles was Guy de Bray, who earned his living by portrait painting, and served as a pious and devoted layman in the work and worship of the Church in London. But with the spirit of a true reformer he returned as soon as possible to his native land to do there the work of an evangelist. Persecuted in one city he fled to another, and another, and another, until martyrdom overtook him in 1569.[28] He lived and died in the faith, his own confession of which, years before, he had written out with his own hand.[29] That confession, written for his own use, had at-

[27] It ought to be stated before leaving this subject that the first ministers of the Austin Friars' Dutch Church were Walter Delaeny, previously the Librarian of the deceased king, and Martin Little, called Micronius, to whom was added Wolrand Pullen, as before stated. (Note 24, and see Gorham, pp. 226, 99.)

The French and Italian churches had also places of worship assigned them, and over all of them John Alasco was made superintendent. Alasco held such an office to be of divine appointment, and that this was Peter's rank among the apostles; but he explains that the superintendent is "greater only in respect of his greater trouble and care, not having more authority than the other elders, either as to the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, or as to the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, to which he is subject equally with the rest." (McCrie's Life of Knox, Note "S.")

Alasco himself is thus apparently to be reckoned as one of the "four" ministers sometimes attributed to the Austin Friars' Church in the days of Edward VI. It is probably from conceiving of him as a sort of diocesan bishop that "A History of the Reformation, by Charles Hardwick, M. A.," comes to say that the Dutch in London "assembled under the ministry of John Utenhovius, a nobleman of Ghent." Uytenhoven was an elder; but I cannot discover that he was ever a minister, in the official sense of the term.

The Italian Church was afterward absorbed into the Dutch, which was often called "The Strangers' Church." The French Church stood in Threadneedle street; but it was taken down a few years since, and handsomely rebuilt in Aldersgate street.

[28] It is remarkable that information respecting this pious evangelist and martyr is not more accessible. If the Rev. A. P. Van Gieson, D. D., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., would give us a sketch of his life, with the touching prison letters appended, from the materials in his library, he would be doing a favor to the Church of his nativity.

See the short but valuable sketch in the "Manual of the Reformed Church in America," by the Rev. Edward Tanjore Corwin, D. D., p. 41. This revised and enlarged edition of this scholarly work is also entirely out of print. The historical spirit developed by this Centennial year of the Republic would seem to warrant a third edition.

[29] To one who expressed surprise that in such a filthy dungeon, covered with such heavy fetters, he could eat, and drink, and sleep, he answered: "My good conscience

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tracted attention, and, after due consideration and modification, had been adopted by his brethren as the expression of *their* faith also.[30] The practical character of this confession, everywhere re-

and my good cause make me to eat, and drink, and sleep better than those that do me wrong. These shackles are more honorable to me than golden rings and chains. They are more useful to me; and as I hear their clank, methinks I hear the music of sweet voices and the tinkling of lutes."—*Motley.* Vol. ii, pp. 79, 80.

[30] This list of names of persons to whom it was submitted will be intelligible without translation:

"Die Belijdenis niet is gemaakt nog uytgegeeven dan na voorgaande communicatie en approbatie van de getrouwe Dienaaren Jesu Christi, die doe in de Nederlandse Kerken overaal waren: soo *Inlandse*, als Georgius Wibotius, of anders genoemed Sylvanus, Christoffel Fabritius, en andere; als ook *Uytlandse*, Cornelis Kolthumnius, eertijds Pastoor tot Alkmaar, Nicolaus Careneus tot Embden, en Casparus Heydanus tot Frankendal, Valerandus Pollanus tot Frankfort; Johannes Tassijn en Petrus Colonius tot Mets; Nicolaus Galaesius, Petrus Cognatus, Petrus Alexander, eertijds Biegt-vader en Hof-prediker Van Vrouw Maria, Koningin Van Hungarien en regente deser Nederlanden, Petrus Dalenus tot London. Dese is ook gecommuniceert aan Andreas Gerardi, Professor tot Marburg, en met den Geleerden Johannes Crispinus: en voor al seekerlijk met den Grooten Johannes Calvinus tot Geneve.

Dese is ook in 't jaar 1565, in de Synode, of Kerkelijke byeenkomst, te Antwerpen onder het kruys Gehouden (alwaar ook de Heer Philips Van Marnix, Heer van Aldegonde tegenwoordig was) oversien geworden, door den geleerden Heer, Franciscus Junius, namaals seer geroemd professor in de H. Theologie eerst tot Nieustad daar na Heydelberg, en laatstelijk tot Leyden; welke soo in stijl en wijse van spreeken wat ordentelijker en klaarder gesteld sijnde, is wederom gesonden na Geneve, om, na ingenoomen advijs van Theodorus Beza, en sijn mede-arbeyders aldaar. gedrukt te worden; 't welk (gelijk ook de voorgaande copye) door Johannes Crispinus, in 't Frans, in 't jaar 1566, is geschied. Dese Belijdenis is ook aangenoomen, en hebben sig daar by gevoegd de eerste Grond-leggers van de Nederlandse Vryheyd, Lodewijk Grave Van Nassau, de Grave Van Kuylenburg, de Markgraaf Van Bergen, den Baanderheer Hendrik Van Brederoode, en andere Edele meer.

Dese Confessie hebben de Nederlandse Kerken in den jaare 1566, aan den Koning Van Spangie Philippus de tweede, en aan de Overheden der Nederlanden, overgesonden. * * * * De Confessie is daar na ook van de voornaamste Edele, onder de naam der geener die begeeren van gansser herten te gelooven en te loeven na het Euangelium des Soons Gods, den 1 April des jaars 1566, door eenige haarer Gedeputeerden aan den Keyser Maximilianus op den Rijksdags te Augsburg, behandigt, nevens een smeekschrift, en deftige Oratie (welk in den Rijksdag ook openlijk is geleesen) strekkende tot een Reformatie der Kerke.

Eyndelijk is dese confessie voor een publijk schrift der Gereformeerden Kerken in Nederland aangenomen, 't welk alle de Kerken-dienaaren, Ouderlingen, Diakonen, ook de professoren en docktoren der H. Theologie, tot betuyging van eenigheyd en orderlinge verbintenis, moeten onderschryven: "gelijk dit eerst is beslooten in het Synode tot Embdem gehouden in 't jaar 1571."

So David Knibbe, in Lis "Handelende van de opkomst, voortgank en de vyanden

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cognized as its crowning excellency, is due to its origin. In 1566 it was presented to Philip II and to the Emperor Maximilian as a true statement of the doctrines of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, and has been known from that day to this as "The Belgic Confession."[31]

When Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate, was a young man, seeking that rest of soul which he could not find in Romanism, he was wisely guided by Albert Hardenberg and John Alasco, both Netherlanders—the one by birth and education, and the other one from choice.[32]

van de Formulieren van Eenigheyd, de Geloofs-belijdenissen en Heydelbergsen Katechismus," prefixed to his commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism.

[Dr. Knibbe took an active interest in the affairs of the churches of the New Netherlands, and did what he could toward supplying them with ministers, as appears from letters of Rev. Cornelius Van Santvoord, of Staten Island, to the church of North and South Hampton, Pennsylvania, still in the possession of that church.]

Hagenbach says of this confession: "It was at first a private document of De Bres; revised by Saravia, Modetus and Wingen; published in 1563; abbreviated by the Synod of Antwerp in 1566. The longer form was adopted by the Synod of Wesel in 1568, and of Embden in 1571. The Middleburg Synod, 1581, ordered the shorter form to be abridged and translated into Belgic. The edition of Festus Hommius, 1618, was published for the use of the Synod of Dort; but the formula, as adopted at Dort, differs materially from that given by Hommius."—*History of Doctrines.* Vol. ii, p. 168.

[31] I have this day (September 5, 1876) received from the Rev. Dr. Cohen Stuart, now of Utrecht, a copy of the oldest Confession of Faith of the Dutch Church, prepared by John Alasco in 1551, and used by the churches before the adoption of the Belgic Confession (compare note 22). It was supposed to be entirely lost; but a copy was found not long since in the university library at Utrecht. It is less scholastic and more devotional even than that to which it gave place. A translation is in progress.

[32] "In order to satisfy his mind on the subject, he had, while yet at Liege and the Court of Charles V, sought counsel from the eminent evangelical preacher, Albert Hardenbergh, and the celebrated reformer of the Netherlands, John de Lasky, from whom he received, as it would seem, his first religious impressions. (Rev. B. S. Shneck, D. D., in the "Tercentenary Monument," in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism, Chambersburg, Pa., 1863, page 181. See correspondence between Hardenbergh and Alasco in "Gorham," as above; where also it is said, page 120: "Albert Hardenbergh was brought up at Louvaine. He commenced his labors at a monastery in Groningen."

In this book of Gorham's the inhabitants of the Low Countries who had fled to England are usually called "Germans;" but what this means is apparent when we read, at bottom of page 148, in a letter from Martin Bucer to Albert Hardenberg, dated August 14, 1549: "There are from six to eight hundred Germans, all good men, and most anxious for the word of God. They requested me and my friend Fagius to provide for them some faithful preacher in *the language of Brabant, to which country most of them belong.*"

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John Alasco's liturgy was the first Reformed liturgy used in the Palatinate, and so shaped the church life out of which grew the Heidelberg catechism.[33] Indeed, when that catechism was prepared, under the direction of the pious Elector, its authors were aided by Alasco, as well as by Peter Dathe, the Dutch tutor to the young princes, and a member of the ecclesiastical council, and Casper Vanderheyden, pastor of the Dutch refugees at Frankenthal, near Heidelberg, and other learned and pious Netherlanders.

Thus is the Heidelberg catechism, also, the outgrowth of the same religious life as the other standards; thus, to all these standards, as well as "to the Belgic" and other preceding confessions, does "the Heidelberg catechism sustain a relation such as ripe fruit bears to the life of the tree on which it grows."[34] Often it gives the substance, sometimes it cites the very words of these preceding standards.

Thus it could not be otherwise than that this catechism, translated into Dutch by her own Dathe, should be immediately introduced into the Netherlands, and find there instant and general appreciation and use, though no Synod could be held for its formal adoption until 1568.[35]

This catechism is too deeply pervaded by the spirit of humble piety to be pleasing to unconverted men, who have great faith in the native excellence of the human heart. Hence, it has been attacked from the first. This disposition culminated in the Remonstrants, who objected to it on various and contradictory grounds. Finally they urged that it was at least defective and needed revision, the more especially as it had been introduced

[33] "During the reign of Frederick III (1559–1576) the Heidelberg reformers of that time, Ursinus, Olevianus and Tremellius, stood in coöperation with De Lasky, who had prepared a liturgy for the Netherland congregation in London, 1550." (Dr. Henry Harbaugh, in the "Tercentenary Monument," p. 236). This liturgy was used in the Palatinate before the adoption of the first Palatine liturgy in 1563; and the liturgy then adopted "is at bottom only a remodeling of the Netherland liturgy," as Ebrard asserts. (See "Harbaugh," as above. See also "the Heidelberg Catechism, in the Reformed Church of Holland and America, by Rev. Thomas De Witt, D. D." in the "Tercentenary Monument," p. 417.)

[34] *Prof. G. V. Gerhardt, D. D., in the "Tercentenary Monument,"* p. 403.

[35] "Peter Gabriel was resident at the time in the City of Amsterdam, where, in a very private manner, and in constant peril of his life, he expounded the Heidelberg Catechism every Lord's Day to those who had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation." (See "The Ref. Dutch Church Magazine," vol. i, p. 289. See also Rev. Dr. De Witt's article, referred to in note 33.)

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into the Netherlands without any formal public trial of its merits. Accordingly, the great Synod of Dort was convened, in which it was unanimously declared that the doctrine was conformable at all points to the word of God; that there was nothing in it that needed in this view to be changed or corrected.

And to guard against the rise in future of such errors as had thus disturbed the peace of the Church, certain other more precise statements of certain important truths were made, constituting what are known as "The Canons of the Synod of Dort."

Thus does it come to pass that even these definitive statements of doctrine are the exponent of the growth, the development and expression of the life of the Church.

The life of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, and of her descendants in Asia, Africa and America, and the islands of the sea, is thus a distinctive life, distinct but not separate. She is in the true line of succession from the apostles and prophets of the first ages, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.

And this she expresses in the most noticeable way when, refusing to be known by the names of men, however great, or of countries, however strong her attachments, she calls herself, as a protest against the errors of Romanism, simply "The Reformed Church."

And so she gladly makes the Apostles' Creed the central idea of her catechism as the expression of the Christian faith and life in which she shares with her brethren of every name.

It was this Reformed Church, with these standards, thus developed, which our fathers brought with them to the New Netherlands. They brought with them also the same sturdy disposition and the same all-pervading, confident faith, the same Christian life through which these had come into being. And the after training here was just what was needed. It was not only training by hardship—with that they were familiar—but it was training under conditions novel and unaccustomed. Instead of being in a little land crowded with enlightened people, they were on the edge of a forest wider than the ocean they had crossed, sparsely inhabited by idolatrous savages. Should they be able to hold their own against such fearful odds? *They* must ere long die. Would it be possible meanwhile to train up their children in such a way as to preserve the true faith among them? Or, would it come to pass in the second or third generation, that these children, cut off from the associations of Europe, and full of the pro-

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pensities of the human heart to sin, should imitate the declension of the ancient Israelites? Might they not, would they not ultimately, under the influence of the hordes of adventurers flocking hither, degenerate into worldliness and infidelity, if not into paganism and barbarism?

But they did their Master's work with true *Dutch Christian* perseverance. The older churches show the names of Indian converts on their registers.[36] One of them, at least, states that the object of keeping the record was to show "in what manner and with what true Christian affection these first Christian inhabitants, in this heathenism, and with and among the heathen, did live as true Christians, according to the true Reformed religion."[37]

This was the spirit they brought with them. They could not otherwise than bring it, unless they had dropped their identity on the way. And being here, they could not otherwise than develop it. Example spake louder than precept; but precept was not wanting also. Their churches and schools taught the truths they loved. When Sunday schools were unknown, and International Lessons undreamed of, their children and youth recited the catechism and listened to the exposition of it; so that men and women grew up not mere babes to be fed with milk, but strong men and women, able to digest strong meat, and to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

[36] In 1649 the Commonalty of New Netherlands petitioned the States-General for help, closing their petition with the prayer and hope that "the conversion of the heathen, which ought to be hastened," would move them to grant the petition.

In 1691 a flourishing mission work was going on at Schenectady.

The Church at Albany records the names of fifty-six Indians baptized before 1700.

Some of the most faithful servants of Christ for many generations past, in these as well as in other churches of our communion, are said to show marked traces of Indian ancestry to this day.

[37] "The Christian Church of the manor of Phillipsburgh," as it is styled in its own records, is now "The First Reformed Church of Tarrytown," but better known as "The Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow." On the inside of the cover of these old records is written the motto of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in their early struggle for civil and religious liberty, which Dr. Storrs has quoted in its classic form in his admirable address, before cited in these notes: "Concordia, res parvae crescunt; discordia, maximae dilabuntur." In the old record it is written in the church vernacular, in which form we are familiar with the first part of the couplet,

"Eendragt maakt magt;
Maar twist verquist."

To our ears, at least, the Dutch has an onomatopoëtic sound, which the Latin or the English has no charm to equal.

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And so they kept the faith. And so they transmitted it to their children as a precious legacy, to be held in trust for the Church of God in the days to come. Time would fail to speak of the successive books of Psalms and Hymns, first in Dutch and then in English, in which the devotion of the Church has, from time to time, found expression. The most cursory review of them cannot fail to reveal a steady advance in the devotion and piety of the Church in the very line of development first fixed by her precious heirlooms of faith and order. Enough now to recall the fact that at the surrender of the Dutch dominion in 1664 one half of the Dutch in New Amsterdam returned to Holland, and those that remained in all the country were less than one in ten, scarcely one in twenty of the European population.[38] There were but *five* Dutch churches, and the oldest had been existence but thirty years.[39]

Nevertheless we live. Nevertheless the five churches have become five hundred! And for what?

Pending the answer to this inquiry, let us turn to the last and best reason for our attachment to our own heirlooms of faith and order, viz., *their superior excellence.*

[38] "By a flagrant act of injustice and tyrannical usurpation was overthrown the Dutch dominion in North America. If their manners corresponded with those of their countrymen in the parent State, they were probably superior to those of their conquerors. Of the colonists who had latterly resorted to the province, some had enjoyed affluence and respectability in Holland, and had imported with them, and displayed in their houses costly services of family plate and well selected productions of the Dutch school of painting. No account has been preserved of the total population of the province and its dependencies; but the metropolis at this time is said to have contained about three thousand persons, of whom one half returned to Holland. Their habitations, however, were soon occupied by emigrants, partly from Britain, but chiefly from New England."—*The History of New Jersey, by Thomas F. Gordon*, p. 22.

"It is supposed that, at the time Nicolls took possession of the province, the Dutch inhabitants were about six thousand in number."—*Barber's N. Y. Historical Collections*, p. 19.

If one half of those in the city returned to Holland, it is safe to estimate that one sixth of those in the country followed their example. "Harper's History of the Great Rebellion," vol. i, p. 11, informs us that "in 1647 the population of Virginia and Maryland was twenty thousand; that of New England as many more; while in New Netherlands, including the Swedes on the Delaware, there were only between two and three thousand; and of these so large a proportion were Englishmen that some years before it had been found necessary to appoint an English secretary to the Dutch governor, and to promulgate ordinances in English. To New England, Virginia and Maryland were afterward added the English colonies of Pennsylvania, the Carolinas and Georgia."

[39] New York, Albany, Flatbush, Flatland and Esopus, Brooklyn.

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III.

The superior excellence of these consists

First, in the fact that they represent Christianity *primarily* as a life.[40]

When the exiles for Christ's sake were gathered together in London, their first desire would be for the breaking of bread, that they might receive the grace and strength which Christ gives chiefly in and through the Supper. Thus, providentially, it came to pass that their first testimony was to the fact of the Divine life in Christ for those who come to Him for it, and their first standard the formula for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, testifying that the object of Christ's coming into the world is that we might have life and have it more abundantly.

This formula clearly teaches that what is received in the Supper is received only through faith, and differs in degree, but not in kind, from what is received through faith at other times and in other places. Nevertheless, it asserts positively the actual communication to the believing recipient of Christ Himself as the life.[41] All is of faith, and the blessing received is *determined* by the faith of the receiver. Every step of advancement in the Christian life, like the first, is made through faith alone. And this faith, since the promises of God are so, receives, according to

[40] So Witsius: "Those things which regard the obtaining of salvation in Christ may summarily be reduced to these three heads:

1. By sin thou art estranged from the life of God, etc.

2. Thou shouldst know Christ the Lord, full of grace and truth, in the knowledge of whom consists *eternal life*.

3. If thou wouldst obtain salvation in Christ, it is necessary that thou be *united to Christ* by the Spirit and by faith, and give thyself up to Him, not only to be justified, but also to be sanctified and governed by His will and pleasure."

Again, "By the same work sin is expelled and virtue or holiness introduced; just as one, at the same time, by his motion and progress, leaves the place from which he set out and draws near to that whither he intended to go. *The vivification of the new man is first in the order of nature; for all virtue and efficacy against sin proceed from a principle of a new and a spiritual life. Death is removed only by life*, etc.

"The Economy of the Covenants, by Herman Witsius, D. D., late Professor of Divinity in the Universities of Franequer, Utrecht and Leyden; and also Regent of the Divinity College of the States of Holland and West Friesland."—*A new translation from the original Latin.* New York, 1804. Vol. ii, pp. 79, 80 and 238.

[41] "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life."—1 *John*, v. 11, 12.

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our needs, of the "fulness" of the Divine life in Christ for us,[42] making us partakers of the Divine nature as it exists in Him for us, and enabling us thus to escape the corruption that is in the world through lust.[43] "Christianity, the life of the soul and its deliverance," might be taken as a text for the sermon which constitutes this first and chief of all our standards. In it Christ is represented as saying, "I as certainly feed and nourish your hungry and thirsty soul with My crucified body and shed blood to everlasting life as this bread is broken before your eyes, and this cup is given you, and you eat and drink the same with your mouth in remembrance of Me."[44]

And from this formula, itself the outgrowth of felt need, have been developed by the same sense of need, by the same life struggling into expression, one after another, all the other formulas we love.

The next in order would, of course, be the formula for baptism; and equally, of course, does it make the efficacy of the sacrament to depend entirely upon faith in God, and inculcate the assurance of faith for our children as well as for ourselves. It founds all upon God's promise, "I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee;" recognizes the covenant as established between the Almighty God and each generation of His people, and proclaims

[42] "For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And ye are complete in Him. And of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace."—*Col.*, ii: 9, 10; *John*, i: 16.

[43] "According as His divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him that hath called us to glory and virtue; whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust."—2 Pet., i: 4, 5. "The reference is not only to a moral resemblance, to an ideal communion, but to a veritable communion of being, which begins here below in our regeneration (1 John, i: 3), but will be consummated hereafter (Cf. Rom., viii: 29; John, xvii: 21). This involves the glorification of the body (Phil., iii: 21), seeing God and sharing his glory (1 Cor., xiii: 12), and increasing resemblance to Him (1 John, iii: 2). 'When He shall appear we shall *resemble* Him.' This does not mean that the partakers of the divine nature shall be exactly like (*i. e.*, equal to) God. God reserves to Himself His *person*, although He shares with us His *nature*."—*G. F. Fronmüller, in Lange's Commentary on 2 Pet.*, i: 5.

[44] These views were Calvin's, and they pervade the whole of the standards. January 7, 1551, Alasco wrote to Bullinger from London, "Heartily do I congratulate your churches on that consent (Consensus Tigurinus) of doctrine between you and Master Calvin, on the Sacramentarian matter which has been established. * * * *We here follow the same doctrine;* although we sometimes express it in different words."—*See in Gorham*, page 286.

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the promise as a promise of grace and salvation to those sealed unto Him with faith in His promise. Believing parents are taught to expect the salvation of their children consecrated unto God with such assured, individualizing faith, and to train them accordingly. They are directed to claim with undoubting confidence the fulfilment of the promise, and then immediately, with the joyousness of the faith that takes God at His word, to say, "We thank and praise Thee that thou *hast* forgiven us and our children all our sins, through the blood of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ."[45]

Without faith there is no good derived from either sacrament. With faith we may expect through either, through both, the impartation of spiritual life in fulfilment of the promise sealed thereby, and He who delights to call Himself a covenant keeping God will not disappoint such trust.[46]

[45] This formula comes to us from Luther (as that for the Supper comes from Calvin). It was prepared by him in the same way, viz., by lopping off the superstitious observances of Popery and explaining the essential parts of the ceremony. In the preface to the first edition of it, Luther says that he has prepared it because he sees that people "do not have any intelligent perception of what is said and done;" a remark which has force still.

Luther's formula was first published by him in German in 1523, and a new edition in 1524; the Latin copy in 1526. In 1533 this formula was incorporated into the Nuremberg liturgy, and a fuller explication of the doctrine prefixed. After another interval of ten years, in 1543, there was inserted in the liturgical work issued by Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, a formula of baptism based on that of Luther and that in the Nuremberg liturgy; Bucer is believed to have done most of the work in preparing Hermann's liturgy; but Alasco, as well as others, were also engaged in it. All three of these formulas for baptism were in the hands of Alasco when he prepared our formula. Of course he made it to express his own views and that of the Church which used it. (See next note.) Copies of all three of the formulas here mentioned may be found appended to "The Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Effects of Baptism in the case of Infants. By William Goode, M. A." London, 1850.

[46] "The efficacy of the word is displayed in the Sacrament, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed."

"God pronounces that He adopts our infants as His children, before they are born, when He promises that He will be a God to us and to our seed after us. *This promise includes their salvation.* Nor will any one dare to offer such an insult to God as to deny the sufficiency of His promise to insure its own accomplishment."

"The manifestation of the mercy of God here given * * * * fills pious breasts with more than common joy, by which they are excited to a more ardent return of affection to such an indulgent Father, in whom they discover such care of their posterity on their account."—*Calvin's Institutes*, iv., xiv. 7, xv. 20, and xvi. 9.

In this matter Luther and Calvin were at one, however those who call themselves by their names differ from them and from one another.

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So the Confession of Faith asserts that "True faith wrought in man by the hearing of the word and the operation of the Holy Ghost doth regenerate and make him a new man, causing him to lead a new life."

So our catechism differs from most others, in containing not merely abstract doctrine, but chiefly the expression of life. "The Church, by the mouth of one of her members, is telling the secret of her life and power. 'The life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God.' It is this peculiarity that has made this catechism so dear to the Church."[47]

So the canons teach that "God, by the efficacy of the regenerating Spirit, pervades the inmost recesses of man, and infuses new qualities into the will, which, though heretofore dead, He makes alive."[48]

Christianity being thus conceived of primarily as life is conceived of, *secondarily*, as doctrine. The divine life in man does not so pervade him, in this world, as to make him infallible. It is a thing of degrees. And so there must be a constant appeal to the written word—"the only rule of faith and practice."

All the doctrines called "orthodox," as held by the Reformed Churches, are held and taught in these standards as clearly and definitely as in any other; indeed, more clearly and definitely; for no attempt is made to constrain the various Bible statements of the salvation brought in by Jesus Christ into one only view.[49] God's salvation, like its author, can never be fully comprehended

[47] "The Sure Foundation and How to Build on It." By Rev. John DeWitt, D. D., Professor of the Sacred Languages and Literature in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., p. 152.

[48] The true philosophy which makes the *will* the supreme among the faculties of the human mind, pervades these standards. The scholasticism which makes the will subordinate is responsible for the fatalism into which the Calvinistic system has elsewhere been distorted.

[49] So the following from the Consensus Tigurinus, adopted by the Swiss churches, August 30, 1549 (referred to by Alasco; see note 44); head IV: "Christ in His flesh is to be considered by us as a *Priest* who has expiated our sins by the one sacrifice of His death, etc. * * * * He is to be considered as the *Expiating Victim*, etc. * * * * He is to be considered as a *Brother* who makes us from being miserable sons of Adam to be blessed sons of God. He is to be considered as the *Repairer*, who, by virtue of His Spirit, reforms whatever in us is vicious, that we may cease to live to the world and to the flesh, and that God Himself may live in us. He is to be considered as a *King* who enriches us, * * * * governs and preserves us, * * * * controls and rules us," etc., etc.

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by creatures; but also, like its author, it may be *apprehended* in as many aspects as it is revealed to us; and this our standards acknowledge.

Christ is a leader, a deliverer like unto Moses, a king sitting upon the throne of his father David, ruling his willing subjects with infinite wisdom and love, that they may be blessed forever.

He is a Redeemer who, by paying a ransom price, has bought us from our bondage under sin and Satan and the law. "He hath redeemed us, both soul and body, from all our sins, not with gold and silver, but with His precious blood, and hath delivered us from the power of the devil; and hath thus made us His own property."

He is our Substitute, who, having borne the penalty of our sins and obeyed every precept of the law in our stead, appears before the throne of God the Judge, to show that, by virtue of what He has suffered and done for us, the law has no claim upon us, but that, by the very terms of that law, we are clear from all condemnation not only, but must, and therefore do have adjudged to us also a title to the divine favor both here and hereafter.

Again, in accordance with the eternal covenant of grace, Christ and we are one; so that His suffering has become our suffering; His death, our death; His resurrection, our resurrection; His righteousness, our righteousness; His holiness, our holiness; His life, our life.[50]

[50] "In nothing else does this 'only comfort in life and death' find its foundation, than in the fact that the Christian is by faith so spiritually one with Christ that he may regard the Saviour's death for sin as *his own* death."—*Van Oosterzee's Dogmatics, p.* 605.

August 8, 1555, Calvin wrote to Peter Martyr: "On that communion which flows from His (Christ's) heavenly influence, and breathes life into us and makes us to coalesce into one body with Himself, I affirm that as soon as we receive Christ by faith, as He offers Himself to us in the Gospel, we are truly made His members, and His life flows to us from Him as from our head; for He reconciles to God by the sacrifice of his death, in no other way than as He is ours and we are one with Him. Thus I interpret that place in St. Paul, 1 Cor., i: 9, where, in my judgment, He designates that sacred unity by which the Son of God engrafts us into His body, so that He communicates to us all that is in Him. We so draw life from His flesh and blood that they are, not improperly, called our food. *How* that is done I confess far deeper than the measure of my understanding; and, therefore, I rather receive this mystery than labor to comprehend it, except that I acknowledge that life is transfused from Heaven upon earth by the divine influence of the Spirit. For, neither could the flesh of Christ be life-giving by itself nor could its efficacy reach as far as us, except through the

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While holding and teaching all these and other views as taught in the Bible, our standards do not insist upon any one of them as essential to salvation, or as the only "orthodox" view. Yet, as necessarily in all doctrinal standards, there is one view which, more than any other, pervades them all, and that the last mentioned.[51]

immense operation of the Spirit. Hence it is the Spirit that makes Christ to dwell in us, to sustain us, to quicken us, and to fulfil all the offices of the head. In the meantime, I shut up every approach to gross notions of any mixture of substance; for it is sufficient for me, while the body of Christ dwells in celestial glory, that life flows from Him to us in the same manner as the root transmits sap to the branches.

"I come now to a second communion which, as I think, is the fruit and effect of the former. For after that Christ, by the interior influence of His Spirit, has bound us to Himself and united us to His body; He exerts a second influence of His spirit, enriching us by His gifts. Hence, that we are strong in hope and patience, that we soberly and temperately keep ourselves from worldly snares, that we strenuously bestir ourselves to the subjugation of carnal affections, that the love of righteousness and piety flourishes in us, that we are earnest in prayer, that meditation on the life to come draws us upward—this, I maintain, flows from that second communion, by which Christ, dwelling in us not *idly* (*otiosus*), brings forth the influence of His spirit in His manifest gifts.

"Nor is it absurd that Christ, when we coalesce into His body, communicates to us His Spirit, by whose secret operation He was first made ours, since Scripture often assigns both offices to Him; for although the faithful come into this communion on the very first day of their calling, nevertheless, inasmuch as the life of Christ increases in them, He daily offers himself to be enjoyed by them.

"This is the communion which they receive in the sacred Supper."—*In Gorham*, p. 351.

[51] Mr. Matthew Arnold attacks Mr. Dwight L. Moody for proclaiming one view of the work of Christ to which Mr. Arnold specially objects, as follows:

"Mr. Moody's account of that salvation was exactly the old story, to which I have often adverted, of the contract in the Council of the Trinity. Justice puts in her claim, said Mr. Moody, for the punishment of guilty mankind; God admits it. Jesus intercedes, undertakes to bear their punishment, and signs an undertaking to that effect. Thousands of years pass; Jesus is on the cross on Calvary. Justice appears, and presents to him his signed undertaking. Jesus accepts it, bows his head, and expires. *Christian salvation consists in the undoubting belief in the transaction here described, and in the hearty acceptance of the release offered by it.*"

"Never let us deny to this story," says Mr. Arnold, "power or pathos, or treat with hostility ideas which have entered so deep into the life of Christendom. But the story is not true. It never really happened. These personages never did meet together, and speak, and act in the manner related. The personages of the Christian heaven and their conversations are no more matter of fact than the personages of the Greek Olympus and their conversations."

I pass by the comparison in the last clause, though one can hardly forbear to ask whether the Matthew Arnold who, in his earlier writings, showed such an appreciation of and such aspirations after holiness, is the same Matthew Arnold who now puts

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"Union with Christ" may be taken as the key-note to all our standards,[52] just as "The decrees of God" may be taken as the key-note of standards formed by logical sequence from Calvin's theory of the decrees. This union with Christ is effected by the Holy Spirit, who, by pervading Him and us, unites us more intimately than any material substance could do. Being effected

Jehovah's revelations of himself into the same category with the beastliness of the Greek Olympus!

But, though Mr. Moody was wrong if he represented this view of salvation as the only true one (which is not asserted), still he was nearer right than Mr. Arnold, who denies its truth *entirely*. The reason for his denying ruin through Adam, and redemption through Christ, is the same—he finds himself unable to believe it! He adds:

"Sooner or later, as our experience widens, we must see that the story is not true. We must inevitably come to say to ourselves, 'It is all a legend! It never really happened, any of it!' It is no more real history than the Peruvian account of Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, the Children of the Sun. * * * For a little while, even for a generation or two, perhaps, man may, after he has begun to doubt the story's truth, still keep himself in the belief of it by 'taking holy water, rendering himself stupid' (Pascal's phrase); but the time comes when he cannot."

But if Mr. Arnold finds his moral sense, for any reason, unable to receive this form of truth, let him receive such form as may be adapted to him. He will find in the Bible *some* aspect of God's salvation which he *can* believe. But a thinker ought not to be guilty of such an argument as "*I* cannot believe it; *therefore* it is not true!" Myriads do believe it, and find in it what Mr. Arnold seeks elsewhere in vain.

It is quite possible that preachers may draw conclusions from premises which were not given for this purpose. The revelation of God to man, of the Infinite to the finite, is necessarily conditioned by the capacity of the finite; nay, it is still further conditioned by the *terms* of the finite; and great caution is necessary lest we assume, as an essential part of the revelation, the accidents of its form. So far as made to us by the God of truth, it is, of course, thoroughly truthful; but God is not responsible for the *inferences* which men insist on drawing. Logic pertains to human things, and when we apply it to Divine things—when we attempt to comprise God and His ways of working within the limits of our capacity, and to compel Him to our ways of thought and action—it is quite possible that the more accurate our logic the more erroneous may be our conclusions. We must learn, first of all, in our researches after truth, that our own ignorance is not its measure.

But the fact is that no preacher in his senses ever dreamed of regarding this statement, as here given, as anything else than a graphic mode of presenting the truth. Mr. Arnold must be the only one of all the hearers who seriously thought that it was intended to represent God and Jesus and *Justice* as *persons* who met together and talked about the matter in human language, as men meet and talk.

[52] It has before been shown that, whatever changes may have occurred afterwards, the theology of the Netherlands and of the Palatinate were, at the time these standards were adopted, essentially the same; and so we find Ursinus constantly quoted in Witsius and others, after the adoption of the Canons of Dort, as the true exponent of the meaning of the Catechism.

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thus by the ever present pervasion of a Divine Person, it is, of course, inseparable. But it takes place only when we exercise faith in Christ, who imparts to us of His Spirit; and the degree of its realization is always proportionate to our faith. Hence it is a thing of growth.

Thus the communion service teaches us that "By the quickening Spirit which dwelleth in Christ as the head, and in us as His members, we have true communion with Him, and are made partakers of all His blessings, of life eternal, righteousness and glory;" and prays that "through the operation of the Holy Spirit the commemoration of the death of our Lord Jesus may tend to the *daily increase*" not only "of our faith" but also "of our saving fellowship with Him."

So the catechism teaches that "To eat the crucified body and shed blood of Christ is not only to embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ, and thereby to obtain the pardon of sin and life eternal, but also, besides that, to become *more and more united* to his sacred body by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us. So that we, though Christ is in Heaven and we on earth, are, notwithstanding, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone; and that we live and are governed for ever by one Spirit, as members of the same body are by one soul."[63]

In "Hagenback's History of Doctrines," American edition, vol. ii, p. 173, may be found the following statement of the theology of the Palatinate, quoted from *Heppe:*

"The peculiarity of this theology consists in three points—

1. Making the central idea to be that of the Covenants, particularly as seen in the kingdom of Christ.

2. The idea of an essential union with Christ, *insitio in Christum*.

3. Deduced from these two, the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints."

The learned and critical editor, Dr. Henry B. Smith, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, adds his own statement that this theology "assumed a peculiar type, intermediate between the Swiss Calvinism and the German Lutheranism; between the strict predestinationism of the one and the sacramental theories of the other."

[63] "As in Adam all die, so *in Christ* shall all be made alive."—1 Cor., xv: 22.

"The Christian lives not merely through Christ but *in Christ*, in steadfast, spiritual fellowship with him; so that, for the most part, this phrase is to be referred, as an abbreviated expression, to the state of *being in Christ*.

"As the Christian lives in a most vivid and close fellowship with Christ, so he does everything with a reference to this fellowship, and through the strength which this fellowship confers; that is, he does everything *in* Christ, *in* the Lord." *Winer's Grammar of the N. T. Diction (Am. ed.)*, p. 408.

"When a school boy in New York, I for the first time entered this building. Dr. De Witt was in the pulpit. I have forgotten the service, the text, the sermon, all

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Thus do all our standards encourage us to expect, through faith, "to become more and more united to Him" in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the God-head bodily for our sakes. Thus do they lead us ever onward and upward. They are not prison walls that shut us in, but stairs, like those which, in his vision, Jacob saw, by which we mount to ever wider and better views, to ever increasingly practical realizations of heavenly things.

It follows from this that *saving faith is not faith in any set of doctrines, or in any doctrine merely or chiefly, but faith in a Person.*

The faith of the followers of Christ, who died during the early part of His ministry, was simple confidence in Him whom God had sent to guide them into all truth and lead them to the heavenly Canaan.

So faith in Christ, as the Redeemer, is faith *in Him*, and only consequentially in the redemption He brings.

but one expression, which has remained with me through life. The Doctor, lifting his hand towards heaven, as was his wont, said, 'As Adam stood at the head of his family so does Christ stand at the head of His family.' To me that was a revelation —it was the germ of a grand system; call it, if you please, *the Dutch theology*—the true system for all time, for all men. * * * * The first Adam bringing death, the second, life; the first transmitting a heritage of misery, the second the blessings of the everlasting covenant. The first man casting the whole family into the grave, the second Man bringing His people forth in a glorious resurrection. The first man of the earth earthy; the second Man—the Lord from heaven—the light and life of the world—Jesus Christ—*in whom* all the promises are yea and amen. And, as this was upon only one of the five thousand Sabbaths whose light has streamed through these windows, and this a single mind of an unnoticed child that was affected, who can estimate the mighty influence of this same preaching of Jesus continued here through three generations!" — *The Rev. Samuel M. Woodbridge. D. D., Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., in his Address, printed in the "Proceedings at the Centennial Anniversary of the Dedication of the North Dutch Church,"* pp. 48, 49.

"This union is the *principal foundation* of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to believers for their justification and acceptance with God."—*This sentence occurs in a full and characteristic treatise on this subject, by Rev. Wm. C. Brownlee, D. D., running through several numbers of "The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church," for* 1828–1829, vol. iii, p. 146.

According to our standards, this vital union with Christ is the *cause*, not the *consequence* of our union with Him in the covenant, and of the imputation to us of His righteousness. So we pray in our communion service that He may live "in us and we in Him, and *thus truly be made* partakers of the new and everlasting testament and covenant of grace."

The objection is sometimes made that this doctrine, when carried to its highest results, requires and necessitates the "identification of the subject and object, of the worshipper and the worshipped." This is pantheism. "But this view is the product

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So, again, faith in Him as our Substitute is faith *in Him*, not merely, nor primarily, faith in the doctrine of the atonement.

And faith in Him as made one with us, pervading us with His life, according to the terms of the eternal covenant, cannot be mere faith in "mystical union," but faith in Him *in whom* we die unto sin and live unto holiness; who lives, and works, and reigns, and rules in us; whose will prompts our wills, whose work is our work; whom we, therefore, cannot otherwise than love and serve; to whom be glory for ever!

From this, of course, *follows* faith in His teachings. But saving faith is faith in Christ alone; not faith in the Church; not faith in the doctrines; not faith in the Bible; but faith in Christ, the Divine-human Saviour, Son of God and Son of Man; God and man in one person; the God-man: neither is there salvation in any other.[54]

of a hasty and erroneous generalization, leading to injurious and fatal results. *It is the confounding of identity of nature with identity of forms, attributes and relations.* The sunbeam is not the same with the sun. The drop of water is not the same thing with the ocean. The morning zephyr is not the same thing with the wild, sweeping whirlwind. Everywhere, in all the realms of nature, we find the same essentiality of nature, combined with differences of manifestation and relations, which divide that essential oneness, that divinely central and inseparable brotherhood, into distinct and beautiful, and permanent individualisms.

Paul did not cease to be Paul because he asserted, and asserted truly, that Christ lived in him. And Christ did not cease to be Christ because he asserted, in words that shine like stars in the history of human progress, His oneness with the Father. The possession of a divine nature, which is the privilege and the duty of every one, does not make him a deity. The assertion that it does, notwithstanding the ingenious speculations of the ancient Hindoos, or of the Neo-platonic Alexandrine school, or of their more modern followers, is not only contrary to the teachings of Holy Scripture, but is also a philosophical and physical impossibility.

Let it be understood and remembered that diversity of life is as much a truth of the universe as essentiality of life; and angels and all holy beings who may reach that high stature of glory and existence will be angels still, though their wings be tipped and radiant with God's flaming fire.

"Absorption into God, as a permanent and universal result, would be the cessation and death of God himself, whose very element and essentiality of life is its tendency to outflowing and manifested communication."—*The late Prof. Thomas C. Upham, D. D., in "The Advance."*

So Marshall on Sanctification (American edition, p. 53): "It will not follow from hence that a believer is one person with Christ any more than that Christ is one person with the Father by that great mystical union. Neither will a believer be hereby made God, but only the temple of God, as Christ's body and soul is."

[54] Not until this discourse was in the hands of the printer was it my privilege to read "Van Oosterzee's Dogmatics." It is, therefore, with great gratification that I

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Faith in such a Saviour leaves no place for doubt and anxiety and distress. It apprehends him as a complete Saviour, a sure deliverer; and the effect of such apprehension of such a Saviour cannot otherwise than be "*quietness and assurance for ever.*" Hence the fact, so often noticed by those who have never looked for the reason, that our standards make "assurance, of the essence of faith," and *consequently* insist upon "the perseverance of the saints."

quote from them in these notes, especially the following passage (p. 193): "Not belief in the Scriptures, however becoming this also is, but belief in the Christ of whom the Scriptures testify, is still and always the only way of salvation."

"There is properly no faith until we bring in the element of confidence in a person. * * * Into the confidence we repose in a person there enters an element of choice and of will, which can have no place in any operation of the intellect alone in any of its forms, and without that element there can be nothing that ought to be called faith—or that can be—without introducing confusion."—*President Mark Hopkins, in his "Outline Study of Man,"* pp. 79, 80.

The Rev. Charles Hodge, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., in his "Systematic Theology" (vol. iii, pp. 90, 91), states the Protestant Doctrine of Faith (in the words of our catechism), thus:

"True faith is not only a certain knowledge, whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in His Word, but also an assured confidence, which the Holy Ghost works by the Gospel, in my heart; that not only to others, but to me also, remission of sin, everlasting righteousness and salvation, are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits." And adds, "When we are commanded to believe in Christ as the Saviour of men, we are not required merely to assent to the proposition that He does save sinners, but also to receive and rest upon Him alone for our salvation."

"Then said they unto him, what shall we do that we might work the works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them: This is the work of God, that *ye believe in him whom he hath sent.*"—John, vi: 28, 29.

"Believe *in the Lord Jesus Christ* and thou shalt be saved."—Acts, xvi: 31.

Per Contra: The Rev. John Dick, D. D., in the sixty-eighth of his "Lectures on Theology" (Cincinnati edition, pp. 367, 368), says: "I now proceed to speak of justifying faith. * * * *Its exclusive object is that part of revelation* which relates to the Saviour."

So with Thomas Aquinas: "Faith is always belief in a proposition, not trust in a personal Saviour, conformably with his idea that revelation is a new knowledge rather than a new Life.—*Encyclopedia Britannica, Art. "Aquinas,"* vol. ii, p. 233.

This theory is distinct and intelligible. It is that to be a Christian is essentially to be thoroughly satisfied of the truth of a certain doctrine, or set of doctrines, about Christ, which being thoroughly received as true, constitute, by the help of the Holy Ghost, a sufficiently strong motive or motives to live unto God.

Or, as Matthew Arnold states it, "*Christian salvation consists in the undoubting belief in the transaction described, and in the hearty acceptance of the release offered by it.*" (See note 51.)

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"*We are confidently persuaded in our hearts* that our Lord Jesus Christ bore for us the wrath of God, and fulfilled for us all obedience to the Divine law and righteousness, * * * * that we might be accepted of God and never be forsaken of Him."

The object of Christ in instituting the Supper was "*that we might firmly believe* that we belong to that covenant of grace and reconciliation which he finally confirmed with his death and shedding of his blood, when he said, 'It is finished.'"

"When we are baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, the Holy Ghost *assures* us that he will dwell in us till we shall finally be presented, without spot or wrinkle, among the assembly of the elect in life eternal."

"Those who possess Jesus Christ through faith *have complete salvation through him.*" "True faith is not only a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in his Word, but also *an assured confidence* which the Holy Ghost works by the gospel in my heart, that not only to others, but *to me* also, remission of sin, everlasting righteousness and salvation are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits."

"All in whose hearts God works in this marvellous manner are certainly, *infallibly* and effectually regenerated, and do actually believe," and "God powerfully preserves them therein even to the end."

"True believers for themselves may and do obtain assurance according to the measure of their faith, whereby they arrive at the certain persuasion that they will ever continue true and living members of the Church, and that they experience forgiveness of sins, and will at last inherit eternal life."[55]

[55] The length of this discourse compels me thus cursorily to pass by one of the most important of the distinctive peculiarities of our system. But I cannot refrain from here again quoting Van Oosterzee (p. 640):

"The 'not only to others, but to me also,' of the twenty-first answer of the Heidelberg Catechism, is the watchword and glory of faith, and unlimited confidence is the strength of its inner life. It is a faith not only *on* Christ, which confesses His existence and accepts His word as truth, but a faith *in* Christ, by which we accept Him for ourselves as the sole and all sufficient Saviour. Thus there is not the slightest reason to place, as is often done, faith and assurance of faith markedly in contrast one to the other. Faith without even the least assurance could not be called true faith."

No other standards teach so clearly and definitely that saving faith is faith in the divine *person* of our Lord Jesus Christ. No other standards assert assurance as of the essence of faith and perseverance as the sure consequence of such faith in such

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Akin to, or rather a part of this doctrine of our standards, is what they teach respecting confidence in God for *the blessings of this life:* "When we are baptized in the name of the Father, God the Father witnesseth and sealeth to us that he doth make an eternal covenant of grace with us, and adopts us for his children and heirs, and, therefore, will avert all evil, or turn it to our profit."

The confession teaches that "Our most gracious and heavenly Father watches over us with a paternal care, keeping all creatures so under His power that not a hair of our head, nor a sparrow can fall to the ground without His will;" and these very words are cited in the Heidelberg catechism, which teaches every Christian to exult that "My faithful Saviour Jesus Christ hath fully satisfied for all my sins and delivered me from all the power of the devil" not only, but also "so preserves me that without the will of my heavenly Father not a hair can fall from my head." "On whom I rely so entirely that I have no doubt but He will provide me with all things necessary for soul and body; and, further, that He will make whatever evils He sends upon me in this vale of tears turn out to my advantage, for He is able to do it, being Almighty God, and willing, being a faithful Father." This is the Christianity that is full of care for nothing, but believes that, seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness all needed temporal blessings will be added to it. This is the Christianity which is sure that godliness has promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come; and which goes forward fearlessly wherever the Master clearly calls, without doubt of supplies. This is the Christianity which gave us Hermann Franke and the orphan house at Halle; and from that, George Müller and the institutions at Bristol, England; and from those, Dr. Cullis and the Consumptives' Home at Boston, Mass., and others similar throughout Christendom, and is giving us men and women throughout our country and the world who walk by faith and not by sight, in greater degree and in larger numbers than ever before,

a person. Accordingly, no other Church, no other religious society has been willing to issue the strong treatises on this subject which have been issued by our Publication Board, and which have given so much comfort to believers of every name and of every nation. The tracts of the late Dr. Cesar Malan, and others of like character, have gone from our Synod's rooms into every land and every clime, bringing glory to Christ and comfort to his people, educating the *whole Evangelical Church* up towards that more cheerful and confident Christianity to which it has attained during the last quarter of a century.

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God testifying with them that He is a God at hand and not afar off; that He is the God of nature as well as of grace; and that, though the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing, nevertheless they that put their trust in Him shall never be confounded.

The life which through faith has such results in external things will, of course, exhibit equally great effects within the man. It is an interior life, "The life of God in the soul of man,"[56] and so our standards teach us to put forth the life, the power, the grace, the strength we *have* by virtue of our union with Christ, in willing and doing the things which please God. They teach us that when we thus work it is really God that worketh in us both to will and to do, in order that we may both will and do the things that please him. This is "the Gospel mystery of sanctification"[57] still hidden from the eyes of the world, and, alas! from so many in the Church also. How many are there who, though clearly and consciously justified by faith, are seeking, consciously or unconsciously, to be sanctified by works; or, at best, by motives painfully forced in upon the heart, in the vain hope to make it respond with the feelings, and affections, and purposes proper to the Christian life.

Now, in consonance with their other peculiarities, our standards teach also the blessed truth in this respect more accurately and clearly than any other. We are taught that in the communion service we may expect to be "fed and comforted with Him, true God and man, that we may no longer live in our sins, but He in us and we in Him," so as to be able to "take upon us our cross cheerfully, deny ourselves, confess our Saviour, and in all our tribulations, with uplifted heads, expect our Lord Jesus Christ from Heaven."

The confession asserts that "True faith, wrought in man by the operation of the Holy Ghost, doth regenerate and make him a

[56] This is the title of the admirable treatise of the Rev. Henry Scougal, first published by the Rev. Dr. Burnett in 1677, and often since. It is a manual of devotion in the best form, and ought to be more generally known and read.

[57] This is the title of the valuable book of the Rev. Walter Marshall "On Sanctification," first issued in 1690. The style is theological; but the book is still, as it was when first issued, the clearest and most accurate statement of Bible truth on this subject that has yet been published. The same theory underlies "Romaine on Faith," but finds its most beautiful expression in his personal experience, as detailed in the "Letters from the late William Romaine," reprinted at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1806, pp. 85–102. I believe it is now published (as are Scougal and Marshall) by the Carters, N. Y.

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new man, causing him to lead a new life, and freeing him from the bondage of sin."

The catechism teaches that "the quickening of the new man is sincere joy of heart in God, through Christ, with love and delight to live according to the will of God in all good works," and that "by His Holy Spirit He makes us sincerely willing and ready to live unto Him."

And the canons assert the same truth still more definitely: "Whom God calls * * * * to the communion of His Son, * * * * * and regenerates by the Holy Spirit, He delivers also from the dominion and slavery of sin in this life."

That is, to the extent to which we trust in Christ to save us from our sins, He *will;* to the extent to which we depend upon Him to put right desires into our hearts, and incite and enable us to carry those desires into good effect, He *will.* If we be one with Him, if His life be in us, if when He died we all died in Him, and when He rose we all rose in Him, that we might henceforth walk in newness of life, we may reckon ourselves to be dead, indeed, unto sin, and alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and reckoning ourselves so we shall find ourselves so. "According to your faith be it unto you," is the principle on which God supplies our need. Let us take faith's reckoning, not feeling's; and to the extent to which we do this shall we find our "fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."

Sanctification by faith, and proportionate to faith, in "Christ which strengtheneth me," is the only sanctification possible for the Christian. All his springs are in God. This is the highest Christian life. There is no higher. There is no other. Christianity is the "absolute religion."[58] The Christian life *is* the Divine life brought down into human relations in Jesus, and imparted to us according to our faith, so that, as our confession teaches, "we are beholden to God for the good works we do, since it is He that worketh in us both to will and to do." Let the teachings of our standards in this respect be generally taught, and our pious people will be encouraged to trust in Christ as not only the way and the truth, but also as the life. And when they do this they will find the living Christ a ceaseless spring of joy, and peace, and power alike over indwelling sin and its external manifestations.[59]

[58] If the careful statements of our standards on this subject had been more generally known, many earnest seekers after God might have been saved from the vagaries of modern "perfectionism."

[59] The wisest and best of every creed are fast grafting these truths upon their own

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And now, are the reasons for our attachment to our own heirlooms of faith and order sufficient?

Apart from our inherited disposition, and apart from the fact that we and they are the outcome of the same life, are they worth preserving?

Is it worth while to insist that Christianity is primarily a life, and only secondarily a doctrine?

Is it worth while to assert that any one view of God's salvation is not the only correct one, essential to salvation, but that all views given us in Scripture are true and important?

standards, discovering them anew in God's word and in their own most blessed experience. (See the writings of the late Rev. William James, of Albany, and Olshausen's and Alford's Commentaries, *passim*.)

The following extract is from "Sermons on the Sonship and Brotherhood of Believers," by the late Rev. Dr. Candlish, the well known minister of the Free Church of Scotland, published by James Nisbet & Co., Berners street, London:

"Let me look upon my justification as not merely, on my part, an acquiescence, an approval of and reliance in a legal or judicial transaction between the Father and the Son for my pardon and peace. Let me look upon it as a real and personal union between myself and Christ. It is not my dealing with a work, a ministry, a service of doing or suffering, which may be called the righteousness of Christ, but my dealing with Christ himself. I am moved to embrace Christ. I am shut up to Christ. I abide in Christ. I am one with Christ. So thoroughly am I one with Him that I humbly challenge an interest and joint proprietorship in all that is His; and first and primarily in His justifying righteousness, page 41.

"For the only virtue of faith is that it shuts me up into Christ, and that by it, or in it, I embrace Christ. Through this oneness—or, rather, in this oneness—all saving benefits reach me. *There is no such thing as any one of them* FROM *Christ. I have them all only* IN *Christ;* in union and communion with Him. I do not receive a justifying righteousness, wrought out for me by Christ, and handed over to me for acceptance. In Christ *I am righteous, being one with the righteous one. I am not sanctified by a holy power or influence imparted unto me for Christ's sake, and through Christ's mediation.* Such a method of sanctification would scarcely now content me. I am glad to learn that, being one with Christ, I partake with Him in His own holiness. Yes! For it implies, not only my being born of the Spirit with Him, but my being crucified with Him, that I may live with Him, pp. 55, 56.

"If the principle holds true that our partaking of the benefits of Christ's redemption depends itself upon our having union and communion with Christ in them all, then it is *not so much the benefits that we are to be concerned about receiving, but rather Christ Himself.* It is with Christ personally that we have to do. He is set before us—the Lord our righteousness; the Lord our strength; the Holy One of God—the Son. He is given us freely, to be ours; ours if we will but have Him to be ours.

"This is our Gospel to you sinners! We preach Christ; we hold Him forth to you. We press Him as God's gift on your instant acceptance. We do not ask you to receive the benefits of His redemption; we ask you to receive Himself. Nay; it is he Himself who asks you. He asks you to be His, and let Him be yours. He invites you,

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Is it worth while to present the fact that the Son of God became a partaker of human nature in order that we might be made partakers of the divine nature, most prominently, as the most profound and effective view of the atonement which has yet broken forth from God's word upon the minds of men?

Is it worth while to teach that saving faith is faith in the divine person of the incarnate Saviour, and that such faith includes assurance in its nature, and perseverance in its consequence? Ought men to be taught that our Father will supply all the temporal needs of those who trust in Him for such supply? Is it important

not to take good things out of his Hands, purchased by Him for you, but to take Himself, to be one with Himself. 'Come unto Me.' 'Abide in Me.' 'Learn of Me.' Let Me into your heart. Feed upon Me. Let us be one; by mutual consent, one; unreservedly, inseparably, thoroughly one. Then all things are yours. 'Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's' (1 Cor., iii: 22, 23). GET CHRIST, AND YOU GET ALL," pp. 61–65.

There are many who will never forget the scene at Goshen, N. Y., in August, 1875, when people were praying, and the minister exhorting them to persevere in efforts to "Get the blessing!" Suddenly rang through the encampment the stentorian tones of the master spirit of the occasion, Rev. J. S. Inskip, D. D., beginning with a sneer so intense, and ending with a pathos so intense, that only those who heard them can conceive the force of the one or the other: "*Get the blessing! Humph!!* GET THE BLESSER!!!"

The following is from the address of the French pastor, Theodore Monod, at the Conference for the Promotion of Spiritual Life, held in London in March, 1876:

"God has given us His Son, something more than a title, His life. True, it is 'everlasting' life, but surely that does not detract anything from it. It adds greatly to it. It is an endless life, and its power is the power of an endless life. But *it is the very life of God given to us now*, that we may be the children of God in Christ, loving children, oftentimes suffering children, but, at all times, children who have for their own all that Christ has and is.

"You cannot separate any one gift of Christ's, neither His righteousness, nor His strength, nor His joy, nor anything else, from Himself, from His person. He that hath the Son hath life. Yet there are Christians who tell us that all their confidence is in Christ, while it is apparent that they do not receive Christ for their soul's daily and hourly life. How can this be?

"It is true that at certain times, say when the communion season comes round, we do seek Christ and ask Him to put away from us whatever is an offence in His sight. We do endeavor, at least, to feed upon Him then as the bread of life, the broken lamb, but we do not expect it to last. We do not expect that we are going to have Christ with us at the dinner table as well as at the communion table. We do not expect to take Christ into the parlor, the kitchen, the workshop, the street, everywhere. Let us understand, then, the nature of the gift. *Let us take Him as a person, a living person,* IN WHOM *God has given us all things at all times.*"

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to proclaim sanctification through faith as the only possible sanctification, and the Christ-life as the only Christian life?

No other standards teach these truths as essential parts of their system. No other Church makes them so prominent. No other Church holds them *all* as truth. And yet these, if I am right, are the only forms of truth with which the philosophical skepticism of the day can be met and overcome. Christianity is everything or it is nothing.

Never was there a time when God's people were so earnestly longing for a deeper devotion and a more Christly life as they are to-day. The precise forms of truth which can satisfy this craving of holy souls have been entrusted to us. And it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful. Shall not our distinctive doctrines, customs and usages be studied and taught, clearly, confidently, truthfully, in our Church papers, by an appropriate literature, by missionaries at home and abroad, in our theological seminaries, in our pulpits, in our Sunday schools, in our families, that this blessed hunger of souls after God may be satisfied? Shall we give of our money while we live for this purpose? Shall we so dispose of it that after we are dead it shall forever teach these same blessed truths? *Shall we be true to our standards?* On every one is emblazoned above every other name the name of Jesus; and above every other sentiment that profound utterance of the disciple nearest the heart of Jesus, "Of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." *Have* we? *Do* we? In such a life is peace, and joy, and fruitfulness forever. Shall we live it, for others' sake as well as for our own? "Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way; and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

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THE

CATHOLIC SPIRIT

OF THE

REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH

TOWARD ALL OTHER CHRISTIANS.

BY

REV. PAUL D. VAN CLEEF, D. D.

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THE CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH

TOWARD ALL OTHER CHRISTIANS.

"There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."—EPHESIANS, iv: 4–6.

As it is written in the Book of Proverbs of the virtuous woman, in whom Wordsworth finds a prophetic figure of the Church of Christ, so it may be said of our Mother Church to-day, "Her children arise up and call her blessed." Many are the kind and truthful words that have been, and shall be spoken of her by those who recount the history of her struggles and triumphs in the fatherland, her advent to this continent, her early efforts to spread the gospel among the aborigines, her influence in moulding the institutions of our country, and the honorable position she has always held as the most ancient of all the Protestant denominations in the United States. It is my privilege to speak of the catholic spirit of our branch of the Church of Christ. A little of that partiality which springs from filial affection may be expected and pardoned in one who attempts to delineate the character of a mother. Happily my judgment and my heart are in perfect accord when I speak in praise of my Mother Church. It is impos

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sible to trace her history, either in this country or in Europe, without admiring her enduring and abounding charity, and this always coupled with a firm adherence to sound doctrine.

There may be some who look upon the Reformed Dutch Church as narrow in her theology and illiberal in her spirit. Knowing her in this country only, and as a comparatively small Calvinistic body, zealous for old truths, and intolerant of errors either old or new, having no sympathy with "Broad Church views," or so-called "Liberal Christianity," they may esteem her bigoted; as men of stern inflexible honesty are sometimes suspected of lacking the amiable qualities of the heart. But we often meet with noble characters in whom the gentle and the rugged features of human nature are happily blended, and we do not hesitate to present the Reformed Church of Holland and America as a beautiful example of such a combination, the union of orthodoxy with charity, an immovable attachment to her own heirlooms of faith and order, with the most catholic spirit toward all other Christians.

Our subject relates to the spirit or disposition of the Church as one of a sisterhood. The dispositions of children in a family are modified by the circumstances of their training and their associations, and are to be estimated not by their exhibition on rare occasions, but by the general tenor of conversation and conduct in the various relations of every-day life.

Applying this familiar principle we shall endeavor to draw from her past history, and her past and present relations with sister denominations, some illustrations of the spirit of our Reformed Church, and hope to show that it has always been liberal, tolerant and catholic, in the old world and in the new.

I.—In the Netherlands.

The Reformed Church was the established church of Holland. The representative men of the nation—statesmen, princes and sovereigns—were in her communion. The Church and the State reflected each the spirit of the other. We know that a State church is apt to be intolerant and exclusive; but the Dutch Church was like the Dutch government, and both fairly represented the people of Holland, who were renowned for their liberal, tolerant spirit. They loved freedom, fought for it, gained the prize for themselves, and were willing to share its blessings with others. The flag of the Netherlands floated over every sea, but

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never led hostile navies on voyages of conquest for the sake of empire. While other nations were engaged in bloody strife for empty glory, her brave sons were fighting back the waves of the ocean, defending their shores and rescuing their lands for peaceful cultivation. Instead of seizing the territory of others they cared well for their own, constructed dykes, drained marshes and inland seas, built cities, improved their farms and made their country rich, and sent their ships on voyages of discovery, or for purposes of trade, to every accessible part of the globe.

"The revival of civil liberty," says a writer, "must be traced to the Netherlands. The burghers of Ghent, and Bruges, and Antwerp rocked the cradle of freedom." While no people suffered more from the hand of oppression during their struggles for existence, none were more tolerant when in power. Holland was the asylum of fugitive Protestants from almost every land. The victims of Romish superstition in surrounding countries found there a safe exile until they received permission to return to their native land, or chose to brave the perils of unknown seas, and seek in the wilds of a savage wilderness the rights of conscience of which they were deprived at home.

"This universal sentiment of toleration among the Dutch," says Brodhead, "was neither a political expedient nor the result of any State necessity. It was the instinct, and habit, and traditional law of right in the heart of the nation, the observance of which they could boast with honest pride for ages." In Holland the Jews, hated and despised by all other nations, were permitted to enjoy the peaceable exercise of their worship, and even the Roman Catholics obtained early toleration, notwithstanding the sufferings which the Netherlands had endured from Papal persecution. Thus the Reformed Dutch Church came honestly by her catholic spirit. It was the natural disposition of the Dutch people. It did not spring from a sluggish nature, but it was a noble characteristic of the nation. Our Church can never fail to manifest this spirit except by doing violence to all her instincts and traditions.

As an evidence of the liberality of the Church of Holland, it is recorded that when the Covenanters of Scotland, in their destitution and distress, applied for a minister, the Classis of Groningen ordained Mr. James Renwick, although he refused to subscribe to the constitution and catechism of the Reformed Church. This was regarded and publicly recognized as an act of remarkable

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generosity by the Scottish churches whose necessities had called it forth.

II.—In the New Netherlands.

Having secured their own independence, and established a republic at home, on the basis of religious toleration, the Dutch who emigrated to this country brought with them the liberal principles of the Fatherland. They invited strangers of all races to share their new home, and not many years elapsed before it is said that eighteen different languages were spoken in New Amsterdam. Its religious tolerance made it the refuge of the persecuted of every sect and clime, while its commercial advantages attracted enterprising adventurers from all parts of the world, and it thus became a cosmopolitan city. "All this tended to produce greater breadth of view and liberality of sentiment than were to be found in other colonies where but one sect was tolerated, and which were made up almost exclusively of a single nation."

As an illustration of Dutch catholicity, it is recorded in the early history of this country that on more than one occasion Jesuit missionaries were rescued from the hands of the savages through the kind offices of Dom. Megapolensis. This pioneer of the Dutch Church, the first Protestant missionary to the Indians, who preached to the Mohawks several years before John Elliot began his labors, was instrumental in saving the lives of at least two Jesuit priests, Fathers Jogues and Bressani, who were ransomed with a large sum of money and placed under the protection of the authorities at New Amsterdam. They were afterwards sent to France under safe conduct from Gov. Kieft, who thus wrote: "Christian charity requires that they be treated humanely by those into whose hands they may fall." We do not claim undue merit for these acts, but may we not ask, in the light of past history, would the same generous hospitality have been shown to these captives if they had been Protestant missionaries and the New Netherlands had been a Spanish colony?

The old church of the Netherlands lost nothing by being transplanted on the shores of the new world. The tree was taken up with so much of its native earth adhering that its roots remained unbroken, nor did its leaves and blossoms wither. It found here a congenial soil, and soon showed itself the same fruit bearing tree, the same friendly refuge, with sheltering branches for all;

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and under its shadow New Amsterdam became, like old Amsterdam, an asylum for the oppressed. Religious toleration and catholicity found their truest and best illustration on this continent in the Reformed Dutch Church. For half a century she was really the established church of the New Netherlands, but no effort was made to coerce others into conformity to her doctrines or usages. The most friendly relations existed with all Christians of every denomination.

In 1664, when the English took possession of New Amsterdam, they of course introduced the Episcopal Church. The articles of capitulation expressly declared that all the public buildings should continue in their previous uses. It might have been expected that an aggrieved community would naturally leave their unwelcome visitors to provide churches for themselves; but such was not the manner of Dutch hospitality. Our people immediately offered the English the use of their church within the fort, which was accepted, and the building was used by both the Dutch and English congregations. This cordiality must have continued for many years, for in 1696 Dom. Selyns writes: "For the two English churches in this city, which have been formed since our new church was built, one of our churches being in the fort and the other in the city, there are two Episcopal clergymen, who by arrangement preach in our church after my morning and evening service, and live with us in all friendship." This generosity was never forgotten. When, nearly a century later, during the Revolutionary war, the British took possession of the Dutch churches for hospitals, the vestry of Trinity parish kindly offered their houseless brethren the use of St. George's Chapel, which was accepted and occupied for six months. The correspondence between the two churches on this occasion is a model of Christian courtesy. Other opportunities occurred for the exercise of the same fraternal spirit. In 1697, when Mr. Vesey, the first rector of Trinity, was inducted into his office, the service was held in the Dutch Church, and two of our clergymen, one of them residing in the city and the other at Kingston, were present, and subscribed the testimonials of the fact.

I have spoken thus far of the catholic spirit of our Church, chiefly as a characteristic feature of the Dutch people who composed the great body of her ministers and members. There are other aspects of the subject to which your intention is next invited.

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III.—The Catholic Spirit of the Reformed Church, as shown in the Symbols of her Faith, and in her Polity.

The confessions and catechisms of the Reformed churches were adopted at a period when Christians were united together for mutual support under common trials and sufferings. It might be expected that, under such circumstances, the largest charity would be combined with the greatest zeal for the truth. Articles of faith adopted for the purpose of making a united protest against error, could not breathe a spirit of intolerance against any who held the truth. "Love the brotherhood" was an essential element in the faith of the "Churches under the Cross."

The articles of the Synod of Dort were not the creed of an exclusive sect. They were framed and adopted by representatives, not of the Belgic churches alone, but of all the foreign Reformed churches of Great Britain and the Continent, except those of France, who, although invited, were not permitted to attend the Synod. The catholic spirit of the Church of Holland was recognized and nobly responded to by her sister churches at that remarkable Œcumenical Council of which Bishop Hall declared, as he took his leave, "that there was no place upon earth so like heaven as the Synod of Dort, and where he should be more willing to dwell." The words of the good bishop were but the reflection of the catholic and loving spirit which controlled that grand assembly.*

Strict as the Reformed Church has always been in her doctrine and discipline, there is not one unchurching dogma in her symbols or her ritual. She claims no apostolical succession limiting the true ministry to her own bounds. She maintains no exclusive

* Much abuse has been heaped upon the Synod of Dort and the Reformed Church on account of the severe discipline inflicted upon the Remonstrants, whose teachings the Synod condemned. Admitting that the treatment of these disturbers of the peace of the Church was harsh, it would be sufficient to say, in extenuation, that it formed the only historical exception to the characteristic liberality which distinguished the Hollanders. But the facts and circumstances do not demand even this concession. Had the Remonstrants been a dissenting body they would have enjoyed the same toleration with other sects. But they were members, ministers, and professors in the Established Church, claiming to be its true representatives, while raising "discord, sect and mutiny" within its pale. The treatment they received was, therefore, only that lawful ecclesiastical discipline which every Church should exercise upon those under its jurisdiction who reject its doctrines. Whatever might be said of such a controversy at the present day, we may safely affirm that "up to this period, and long after, no dominant religion ever treated a schismatic minority with equal clemency."

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mode of baptism, placing barriers between the members of her own communion and all the rest of Christ's disciples. The General Synod of 1875 refused to alter our form of baptism by striking out the words "dipping in," which would have been equivalent to a declaration that sprinkling is the only proper mode, on the ground that such a position would be "contrary to the traditional liberality of our Reformed Church, and tending to an exclusiveness which is a breach of Christian charity." "Not in these last days," the Synod adds, "can our Mother Church afford to take a position concerning this sacrament which would logically drive her to unchurch all who have not been baptized by sprinkling."

The Church of Holland, while maintaining purity of doctrine and worship, has always placed charity above rubrics. No branch of the Reformed Church has been in more intimate correspondence and sympathy with other denominations. Her bosom was the refuge and the resting place of the persecuted Huguenots, Waldenses and Covenanters. The German Reformed churches of the United States, during the early period of their history, received most of their ministers through the Classis of Amsterdam and the churches of New York. There was scarcely a Church in Europe whose descendants in this country do not owe a debt of gratitude to our Mother Church for the shelter and kindness she afforded their ancestors in the day of their calamity. The motto of our Church has always been, "Live and let live." She has never been a proselyting denomination. She is not sectarian enough, either in her doctrines or her polity, to warrant success in a proselyting crusade. She has never attempted to profit by the losses of others. She has confidence in her sister churches, believing that they can do the Lord's work as well in their sphere as she can in hers; and therefore she has always lived in peace with her neighbors, not coveting their possessions, but ever ready to defend her own. She has rarely needed or sought assistance from others, but has often lent a helping hand to weak and struggling enterprises outside of her own communion.

IV.—CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN HER RELATIONS WITH OTHER DENOMINATIONS DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

The American Revolution brought about great changes in ecclesiastical as well as political affairs in these American

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colonies. All union of Church and State was at an end. The religious bodies of the country were all placed on an equal footing of separation from and independence of the civil government. Our Church had also ceased to be dependent upon the Mother Church of Holland, and was prepared to enter upon her new career with the republic which she had largely aided in establishing by the blood of her patriotic and liberty loving sons. But what is to be her character now and henceforth? What position shall she take among the various divisions of the sacramental host? The oldest Protestant Church on the Continent, proverbially tenacious of her Holland language and her ancestral customs, it might have been suspected that the Reformed Dutch Church would appear selfish and exclusive. But such was not the fact. On the contrary, she retained her ancient characteristics of friendliness and liberality. The attractive power of her catholic spirit drew all classes into her communion, and she received accessions from the various denominations and nationalities represented in the country.

The character of a nation in its formative and transition periods receives the indelible impress of the spirit of its recognized leaders. Who has not adored the wonderful providence of God which raised up Washington not only to command our armies and to preside over our young nation, but to impress upon that nation's life for ages to come his own lofty personal character? The blood of its noble founders runs in the veins of the republic. To be true to her lineage is to obey the instructions and revere the memory of the "Father of his country." The same principle holds good of a religious denomination. While its symbols remain unchanged, its spirit, its disposition, the attitude it assumes towards others is greatly influenced by the character of its teachers and leaders of thought. And here we recognize the same remarkable providence which interposed at a critical period in the history of our Church, the transition period from Dutch to English preaching, and raised up wise and good men, eminently qualified to conduct her affairs. Among the fathers of the Church it will be sufficient for our purpose to mention the name of him who, by his preëminent services, endeared himself to the denomination, and became "first in her councils, first in her honors, first in her affections." John H. Livingston had a heart that glowed with Christian charity. "He detested," says his biographer, "the spirit that regards any ecclesiastical line of demarcation as the boundary

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beyond which the operations of saving grace must necessarily cease, or that blind zeal which debars from a participation in the benefits of salvation all who are without the pale of a particular church." Born in this country, graduated at Yale College, trained in theology, and prepared for the ministry at the University of Utrecht, in Holland, and ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam, he was qualified to become the guide and counsellor of the future ministers of the Reformed Church in this country, who, as students of theology, came under his instruction during a period of forty years—the most important in the history of the American churches. This great and good man breathed his catholic spirit into the ministry and eldership of the Church. As in the Revolution there appeared to be no man but Washington capable of leading the colonies through their struggles for independence, so, in that bitter controversy between the Coetus and the Conferentie parties, Dr. Livingston seems to have been the only man who could conduct the Dutch Church through the long and perilous conflict, and secure that union which made her a strong and prosperous body. A beautiful incident occurred during Dr. Livingston's residence at Utrecht, which exerted a powerful influence upon his mind, and, perhaps, gave the keynote to his Christian life. A number of pious persons, who had at about the same time experienced a change of heart, assembled by invitation in that city to compare their religious views. He was one of the company. After prayer and song a person from Asia gave a minute account of his conversion. Then one from Africa told how he was made willing to accept salvation as a free gift. Mr. Livingston followed next, as the representative of America, with a brief statement of what the Lord had done for his soul, and after him a noble lady of Europe detailed her religious exercises. "The sum of the whole," said Mr. Livingston, "exhibited the same teachings, the same views and exercises, the same faith, and hope, and love. It was a delightful occasion." This touching scene was a type and prophecy of that millennial union of the Church of Christ which it was the aim of Dr. Livingston during his lifetime to promote. Although he was, more than any other single individual, instrumental in securing the separate and independent organization of the Reformed Dutch Church as a denomination, yet no man was more earnest in his efforts to bring all the religious bodies of the country into closer relations. In 1785 our General Synod made the first successful attempt to establish a correspondence between

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the Presbyterian, the Associate Reformed, and the Reformed Dutch Churches. Dr. Livingston was a prominent member of the Synod's Committee, and read a paper at the conference which breathed throughout a spirit of warmest Christian love. It was an inestimable blessing to our Church, in the beginning of her new career, to have, as her chosen leader and representative, a man of such a liberal catholic spirit, and whose exemplary Christian character and wonderful personal influence enabled him to infuse that spirit into the ministry of the Reformed Church. We can, therefore, without fear of contradiction, assert that the relations of our Church with other denominations have always been singularly free from sectarian jealousy. We have carefully refrained from attempts to gain a foothold for rival enterprises in communities where our growth would have to depend upon the decay of others. Instead of standing aloof and waiting for the organization of churches of their own denomination, our members readily and cordially unite with existing churches of kindred doctrine and order, and become active co-laborers in the Lord's vineyard where their lot is cast. We can refer to examples in which the catholic spirit of our people have led them to foster, and in a large measure sustain feeble churches of other denominations, aiding in the erection of their houses of worship and in the support of their pastors. As a natural consequence this spirit has been reciprocated. A large number of our ministers and members have come to us from other denominations, and we have churches which have been organized with members of several different denominations, who have chosen to be connected with our body, because its doctrines, discipline and spirit are so truly catholic that no prejudices need be offended, while no truth is sacrificed, and no cherished principles are compromised. We are Presbyterian—more so, it has been declared by high authority, even than our brethren of *the* Presbyterian church—while there is nothing in our name to indicate that Presbyterianism is our peculiar feature. We are liturgical without being Episcopal, and claim the right to use the book of Common Prayer without being bound by the rubrics. We have found no difficulty in attracting to our pulpits the most eloquent preachers from other bodies, who have been cordially welcomed; and while heartily with us, and loyal to our institutions, they are not expected to feel less friendship for their former associates in ecclesiastical relations and labors. No minister or laymen, in joining our ranks, need sever the links of

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affection that united him to his former brethren. He has no sectarian shibboleth to learn, or if he has one that he has been accustomed to pronounce, he will soon drop it from his vocabulary. Almost every denomination is represented in our Church, and all acquire a home feeling with us, and when our ministers join other ranks, and are sent, as it often happens, as corresponding delegates to our General Synod, they are not treated as deserters, but received as brethren related to us by a double tie.

Our Church has always been ready to unite with others in worship and in work. Let me refer to the Fulton Street Prayer Meeting as a beautiful illustration of this catholic spirit. We can give the credit of starting this world-renowned daily noonday service to no single denomination. We would not suggest a sectarian thought in connection with that holy place, where the disciples of Christ are known only as Christians. But no one can read the history of that blessed meeting without being impressed by the liberal, unselfish spirit of the Dutch Church. She has maintained the service at a heavy cost without expecting to reap from it any sectarian advantage. While she has cultivated the vine, she has left the clusters in that corner of the vineyard for the whole world to gather. Every shade of opinion, and every variety of religious experience has there found utterance. It is doubtful whether any other denomination would or could have maintained that meeting for twenty years on its original basis. God gave the Reformed Dutch Church in New York the means, and she had the heart to open her hospitable doors to all who should choose to turn in and enjoy a noontide rest beneath the shadow of one "Common Mercy Seat." If there ever was a spot of common ground where all Christians could meet, and mingle their prayers and songs together, it was the old North Dutch Church, on one of those glorious anniversaries, when representatives of the various churches in this country and Europe crowded the spacious edifice, when ministers of every denomination filled the pulpit and platform, fragrant with flowers of every hue, while in the midst, presiding over the solemn assembly, sat the venerable form of our beloved Thomas De Witt, a type of the Church he represented, an embodiment of Christian catholicity, sufficiently Dutch to grace a Holland pulpit, liberal enough to command the respect and confidence of all the union societies, over several of which he presided, and whose purity and simplicity of character, and guileless honesty, would have qualified him to become the trusted arbiter between the denominations. 363

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In the work of *home evangelization, City Missions and tract distribution* through unsectarian societies, the Reformed Church has always taken a prominent part, and her contributions to these societies are large in proportion to her numbers. She has expended her resources freely in efforts which could not be expected to result in denominational aggrandizement. The churches of our name planted early in the century in Canada, on the shores of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, were pure missions, and their remnants have been gathered into the Presbyterian body. We have labored and contributed more for the Church universal than for our own denomination. Our people have, perhaps, carried this liberal, unsectarian spirit too far, even to the neglect of their own missionary enterprises, which may account in part for there not being more self-sustaining churches of our name at the West. It may be a question whether we ought to lift up our denominational standard where there are other evangelical churches for our members to attend, but when in its effort to strengthen our Western Missions the Board takes possession of strategic points, it is but right that our people resident at those points should identify themselves with the enterprise in its feebleness, and thus rally to the support of their Mother Church, and not look on coldly and see the heroic struggles of a Spartan band end in defeat. We can be catholic and at the same time loyal; liberal to others and just to ourselves.

In the work of *Foreign Missions* we have from the first acted in coöperation with other Christians until within a very few years. Our Church was early in union with the "New York Missionary Society," and afterward for may years was connected with the American Board. It was not a sectarian feeling that prompted the separation from that body, but a deep conviction that our churches, as well as our missions, would be benefited by our assuming the responsibility of conducting the foreign work through our own Board. We have never sought denominational extension on heathen ground. In Amoy we have no distinct ecclesiastical organization of our own, but our churches, together with others gathered by the labors of foreign Presbyterian missionaries, form a body for church government and discipline, called by a name combining the Presbytery and the Classis.

In our conference with the Southern Presbyterian Assembly on the subject of union, the following sentiment was approved by both parties: "We express the idea that it will probably most

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promote the glory of God that there should not be denominational interests permanently established where our missions are, or may be planted within reach of each other; but the establishment of one united Church should be encouraged." The Reformed Church is prepared to stand by this grand principle in her relations with all her sister denominations. We "believe in the holy catholic Church."

There is yet one point to which I briefly allude, viz., the position of our Church in reference to the great question of union Why, it may be asked, if the Reformed Church is so liberal and catholic in spirit, is she unwilling to accept the offer of *organic union* with other Presbyterian bodies? We have shown that our Church has always favored relations of friendship and correspondence with other branches of the Church of Christ; but we cannot see that the spirit we have claimed for her is at all inconsistent with the attitude she has taken in reference to organic union. It is too much to ask that an organization that has existed and flourished ever since the settlement of the country should now be willing to lose her personal identity from a mere impulse of liberality. She loves real catholicity, but not enough to die for an ideal unity. She is more grandly catholic in her individuality than she could be as a component part of another organization. Within the proper limits of the law of self-preservation our Church has recently taken a leading part in bringing the various branches of the Evangelical Church into closer relations. Our Synod was the first to send a representative with fraternal greetings to the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church. When in response to that friendly advance the delegate from the South appeared, and spoke so touchingly of the effect which our action had produced, and of the desire felt that the bonds of sympathy should become still stronger, the Synod immediately appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee, if appointed by the Southern Assembly, on the feasibility of establishing closer relations. That action, as we know, has already resulted in a practical coöperative union in the work of religious publication and of missions among the Freedmen.

Our Synod was also the first to welcome the Reformed Episcopal body into the sisterhood of churches, and we now exchange fraternal greetings, either by delegates or letters, with churches throughout the United States, in Canada, and in Europe. If

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there has ever been any lack of a catholic spirit among the different branches of the Church of Christ, we are persuaded that it has not been on the part of the Reformed Church in Holland or in America.

What we have spoken has not been in a spirit of boasting, or of unfriendly comparison with others. We would not weaken our claim to liberality by the slightest intimation that we do not accord to other evangelical Churches what we demand for ourselves. There are religious bodies which profess the largest charity, while they hold no particular creed. They ridicule creeds and confessions of faith. They have no doctrinal truth to defend, and, therefore, they can afford to be liberal, as men are wont to be generous with that which does not belong to them, or with that which costs them nothing. They do not know with what "a great sum" the Reformed Churches obtained their glorious freedom in the doctrines of the Cross, and they can talk flippantly of the despotism of creeds and the beauties of Christian charity. Our aim has been to show that orthodoxy and charity can exist and flourish together—indeed, that they cannot be separated, but are like the wood of the goodly cedar and its fragrance. There is more of a catholic spirit in the Church than she has credit for in the estimation of the world. We have no patience with the familiar, sneering cant about the want of charity among the denominations. Christians do love each other, and while it may be true that in view of the vast field whitening to the harvest the zeal of the Churches increases, and each endeavors to reap as many sheaves as possible for the Master, it is true, also, that sectarian jealousy diminishes as the various branches of the Church join in work and worship, of which we have a noble example in the generous support which the whole evangelical Church has extended to the efforts of a lay evangelist, whose labors God has so signally owned with his blessing. The successful Church of the future must be a loving Church, with generous plans, and warm impulses, and large hearted liberality; a peaceful Church, sound in the faith, and pervaded with the spirit of charity. Such a Church will be a desirable haven of rest for all who, in these troublous times, are in search of a quiet spiritual home and a fruitful field of labor. Let every denomination in its own sphere endeavor to realize this character. A loving, catholic spirit pervading all the divisions of the universal Church, the army of the Lord, as they move along to duty or to

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conflict with the hosts of error, furnishes the real Scriptural idea of unity.

A hundred years of political experience has confirmed the faith of the Republic in those doctrines of national sovereignty and State rights on which it was founded. The sacrifice of the autonomy of the States would lead to centralized despotism; the loss of national sovereignty would result in anarchy and dissolution. "E pluribus unum" is as good a legend for the Church as for the nation. The prayer of the Mediator for the ultimate oneness of his Church, whatever that prayer implies, will surely be answered. Let no denomination stand in the way of its accomplishment. I think we can say that our branch of the Reformed Church has nothing in her history or her polity which belongs so exclusively to her that she cannot give it up for Christ. She has parted with what was dear to thousands of her members—the name that linked her to the fatherland. It was the plea of catholicity that prevailed. Now, let any sacrifice be required by the head of the Church and it will be made, for the sake of the unity of the body of Christ, that there be no schism. But we must not mistake the erroneous opinions of men for the commands of Christ. Until his requirement shall be imperative, and made clear beyond a doubt, we shall cling with a grateful pride to those heirlooms of faith and order which are dear to us because they remind us of other days, and of ancestors passed into the skies. Fidelity to ourselves, as a legitimate branch of the Church universal, is the best proof we can give of our charity to others. A true, heartfelt loyalty to our own Church is the surest pledge we can offer of a friendly, catholic spirit toward Christians of every name.

Then let all the sons and daughters of our dear old Mother Church bring her the tribute of a loving heart, and a devoted, consistent life, and say:

"For her my tears shall fall,
For her my prayers ascend,
To her my toils and cares be given
Till toils and cares shall end."

"So shall her holy bounds increase,
With walls of praise and gates of peace;
So shall the vine, which martyr tears
And blood sustained in other years,
With fresher life be clothed upon;
And to the world in beauty show
Like the rose plant of Jericho,
And glorious as Lebanon."

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THE

LITURGICAL SPIRIT AND FEATURES

OF THE

REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH

IN AMERICA.

BY

PROF. D. D. DEMAREST,

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

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THE

LITURGICAL SPIRIT AND FEATURES

OF THE

REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH

IN AMERICA.

"Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His name. Bring an offering, and come into His courts. O, worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness. Fear, before him, all the earth."—PSALM, xcvi: 8, 9.

MAN'S obligation to render unto God intelligent and voluntary worship will not be disputed by any one who believes that "He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."* Moreover, worship, in order to be acceptable, must be spiritual; for "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."† Therefore no form nor amount of bodily exercise can, of itself, profit. Yet we are far from claiming that such exercise, embracing vocal utterance, posture and gesture, has no connection whatever with worship. On the contrary, the union of body and soul is so close and complete that, just as other sentiments, emotions and feelings are expressed or revealed by the bodily organs, so are religious sentiments, emotions and feelings. Thus the body is the agent for the expression of the worship that has its seat in the soul.

If worship belongs essentially to the spirit, then it is, in a cer-

* Heb., xi: 6. † John, iv: 24.

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tain sense, true that all worship is private, or at least individual; for though a congregation be composed of thousands of people, lifting up their voices with one accord in prayer and praise, yet there is just so much worship among them, and no more, as there is communion of individual souls with God. While man is confined to the outward appearance, God looketh upon the heart, and it may be that men often see much worship where God sees little or none at all.

And yet there is such a thing as common or public worship, and no question pertaining to it is to be passed by as unworthy of consideration. On the contrary, it well becomes us to consider how that which is outward and which pertains to the body should be regulated and conducted when two or three, or when multitudes are assembled, so as best to awaken and express the inward and spiritual. Public worship is a necessity of our nature as social beings. We have wants and blessings in common; we are associated in our sins and sorrows, and we share the instinct to come together and acknowledge a higher power in adoration, confession, praise and petition.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find rites of public worship among all nations and in all religions. The want was met under the Old Dispensation, first by the simple rites of the patriarchal family, and afterwards by the imposing ceremonial of the Tabernacle, to which, in the time of David, the service of song was added; and further by the instructive and popular services of the synagogue, which sprang out of the necessities of the people when in captivity, and which were endorsed by Christ's participation in them as a devout Israelite. Christianity has recognized the same, and acted on it from the beginning, carrying out the apostolic injunction, "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together."* Moreover, who could, without unutterable distress and horror, contemplate the prospect of abandoned and silent churches, of the hushing forever of the morning and evening prayer and song in the family, and of the restriction of worship to the individual in the closet, with its carefully closed door?

Now, when individuals come together for the purpose of uniting in acts of worship, many questions arise, and must be settled, that do not occur when the worship of the closet is under consideration. In the latter case the individual is alone with God, who looks upon his heart. He has, so far as others are concerned,

* Heb., x: 25.

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perfect liberty to express his devotional feelings in such manner as may seem best to himself, or to have no care at all about the manner. He may express himself in sighs and groans; he may stand or kneel, or lie prostrate, or walk the floor; he may use articulate language or not, and if he use it, what though it may be ungrammatical or even incoherent, God is not offended by any of these things, and the worshipper is not called upon to be concerned lest he offend the tastes of other men or shock their sense of propriety.

But in common or public worship the opinions and sentiments not only, but the sense of propriety and the cultivated tastes of those uniting in the worship, must be consulted. There must be, to some extent, agreement as to matter, method, form, expression. This calls for some restriction of the liberty of the individual who conducts the worship, and his subjection to rule in all things pertaining to expression, extending to questions about style, grammar, elocution, gesture. While we would by no means exalt that which belongs to the outward in public worship above that which belongs to the spiritual, we yet contend that the former is of immense importance, and is most worthy of profound consideration.

Just here the question arises, How shall public worship be conducted so as best to answer its important ends of awakening and expressing simple, intelligent, devout feeling? If we go to the New Testament, we will not find—the Reformed Churches have not found—a prescribed ritual with rubrical directions, and which is to us as was the pattern showed to Moses in the Mount for the construction of the Tabernacle. Nor do we there find authority given to rulers in the Church to frame such ritual according to their pleasure, and then bind it on the consciences of men, as if it had come directly from God. On the contrary, we find general principles and directions touching the chief parts of worship, while details are left to be cared for by the churches themselves, and to be modified according to the demands of time and circumstance under the general laws. "Let all things be done to edifying." "Let all things be done decently and in order."*

We, therefore, as might have been expected, find a great variety of views among good Christian people as to liturgy, or the mode of conducting church services. The word liturgy, from the Greek λειτουργία, has respect to the whole service of any Church. The

* I Cor., xiv: 26, 40.

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practical question is not whether we shall have a liturgical element or not; for that would be equivalent to the question, Shall we have public worship at all? it being difficult to conceive of assemblies worshipping without an understanding and agreement about methods. The question, then, is one of degree, and of the comparative merits of various methods. The public worship of Quakerism, which professes to repudiate all forms, is as distinctive as that of any other system. But between it and the celebration of the mass in the Papal Church, in which every act and word are prescribed, there is an immense variety of degrees as to liberty and restriction. Thus, one says, "You must have a qualified minister appointed and ordained by proper authority to represent the congregation, or at least to preside during the worship." Others say, "No, but let the Holy Ghost indicate at the time who shall be his mouthpiece to speak, or pray, or sing, as he shall give him utterance." One says, "Give to the minister full liberty to conduct the worship as it may please him." "No," says another, "he must conform to the law of the Church." But, it is asked, of what Church? Is it the particular congregation to which he ministers, or have associated churches by their constitutions the right in their representative assemblies to legislate on the subject for all the churches represented? Then come up the questions, How far shall authoritative prescription extend? Shall all parts of the worship be rigidly according to a prescribed order, and shall the minister be confined to prescribed words in the prayers or other offices? Or shall he have freedom to compose his own prayers? Or shall the prayers be partly prescribed and partly free? These and many other questions present themselves, and are to be answered according to the general principles of God's Word and the laws of edification and order. They have been differently answered by men equally honest, enlightened and sincere. Let one not judge another. The Reformed Church holds this place of charity, as her history from the beginning will show.

It may not be amiss to remark here that the claims of worship, as distinguished from the preaching of the Word, are not always sufficiently regarded. It is true that there is an element of worship in instruction from the Word of God, for we are presumed reverently to give, and devoutly to receive such instruction. Also, the most devotional prayer or hymn has indirectly a teaching function, truth being their substantial and pervasive element. Yet worship and preaching differ in this, that the former is

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addressed directly to God by the people, while the latter is addressed to the people by the minister speaking in the name of God. In what are popularly called non-liturgical churches there is a tendency to exalt the preaching above the worship. The sermon is everything. The minister is nothing if he be not an attractive and eloquent preacher. This tendency is also seen in the forms of our notices, for we publish that a certain minister will preach instead of officiate. And when we refer to the prayers, singing, and reading of the Scriptures as introductory or preliminary exercises, do we not subordinate them to the sermon? The Ritualist, on the other hand, considers the ceremonies to be vastly more important than the ministration of the Word. And he conducts many a service in which the latter does not appear at all. Romanism, which aims at the production of spiritual results mainly through sacramental acts of the priesthood, depreciates the preaching of the Word, and has no censure for the priest who omits the sermon in his ordinary ministrations. Priests may be found who have never preached a sermon.

Our branch of the Reformed Church has never brought her office of worship into comparison with that of preaching, to the disadvantage of the former, whatever may have been the tendency of individual minds. The master spirits of the Reformation gave to each its due place. They were mighty preachers of the Word. We cannot speak in extravagant terms of the work they did in bringing the Word of God out of the grave in which for ages it had been buried, in translating it, proclaiming it to the people in their own tongues, and defending its truths by numerous writings against all gainsayers. But at the same time let us not forget the work they did for the ordering of the churches and for the promotion of worship. They not only preached to the people but they put prayers and songs into their mouths. Luther may have accomplished as much by his hymns as by his sermons. Coleridge says that "Luther did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible. In Germany the hymns are known by heart by every peasant; they advise, they argue from the hymns, and every soul in the church praises God like a Christian with words which are natural and yet sacred to his mind."*

The metrical versions of the psalms and the sacred hymns were received with enthusiasm by the people and at once attained a

* Coleridge's Table Talk, page 328.

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place in the liturgies of the churches. Also, forms of confession of sin, thanksgiving and intercessory prayer were composed, as well as forms for the administration of the sacraments and for other occasions. No historical fact can be more satisfactorily established than the prominence of the liturgical element in the work of the reformers. It is seen in the earliest periods of the history of the Reformed churches in the various countries of Europe — France, Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, England.* The church of the Netherlands was no exception, as its history from the very beginning will show, to which history we will now briefly refer.

The doctrines of the Reformation were received very early, and by very many people, in the various provinces of the Netherlands, for the soil had been exceptionally well prepared for the good seed by the labors of Gerard Groote, Gansevoort, Agricola, Erasmus and others. But the cruel persecutions under Charles V and Philip II prevented those who received the new doctrines from holding public worship separately, and their organization into a body opposed to Rome, was, for a long time, an impossibility. Many remained in the Romish church. Many came together in private houses, and prayed, and sang, and studied the scriptures. Very simple in form this worship must necessarily have been. But the enjoyment of even this became difficult by reason of the increased violence of the persecution and the vigilance of the inquisitors. Thousands left possessions, home and country to obtain liberty to worship God according to their consciences. Various places of refuge were opened to them on the continent, as Wesel, on the Rhine; Embden, in East Friesland; Strasburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Frankenthal in the Palatinate. Of course, no settled form of public worship could be established in the Netherlands so long as this state of things continued. The churches formed in secret were, as they represented themselves, "sitting under the cross in and outside of the Netherlands."†

Many refugees also found protection in England, to which country they had been invited, and where they were received with open arms by Archbishop Cranmer and the youthful pious King Edward VI. The church of St. Austin Friars, in London, which had been an Augustinian monastery, was granted them by

* McCrie's Life of Knox, page 430. Baird's Eutaxia, introduction. Shield's Liturgia Expurgata, page 63. Eutaxia gives specimens of various Presbyterian liturgies.

† Ypey & Dermout's Geschiedeo de Nederlandsche Hervormde kerk.

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royal charter, dated July 24, 1549, and in that church worship has been maintained in the Holland language from that time until the present, with the exception of the short interruption caused by the reign of Queen Mary.* Of these refugees some were Walloons, or French speaking Netherlanders from the southern provinces, and the others were Flemings, who used the Low Dutch language.† These Walloons had before this been at Strasburg, where they used the liturgy which Calvin had prepared for the congregation to which he ministered in that city, and which differed very slightly from his liturgy of Geneva, and this they brought with them to England. Valerandus Polanus, their pastor in London, prepared a Latin translation of it, which was published in 1551. Thus the French congregation came furnished with a liturgy while the Dutch had none.

This want was supplied by John Alasco, a Polish baron, who had in his youth embraced the reformed doctrines in his own country, had been intimate with Erasmus, was a disciple of Zuinglius, and had done a great work in organizing the reformed in East Friesland.‡ He had come to London, in the first place, by invitation of Cranmer, to aid him in carrying out the principles of the Reformation in the Church of England, and was afterwards appointed by the king general superintendent of the churches of the foreigners, and under him were four pastors.§ He made this liturgy of Calvin, translated by Polanus, the basis of a far more extended work, embracing the principles of church government as well as forms of worship.‖ As this work was too extensive for ordinary use, an abridgment of it was made by Martin Micron, one of the ministers. Alasco's work and Micron's abridgment were both written in Latin. We are not to conclude from this that the Latin language was there used in public worship. The reasons for the employment of this language in the composition of

* A copy of this chartor may be found in the appendix to Burnet's History of the English Reformation.

† Utenhovii (Jo.) Simplex et fidelis narratio de instituta ac demum, dissipata Belgarum, aliorumque Peregrinorum in Anglia, Ecclesia, 1560.

‡ Lasco J. a. Opera tam edita quam inedita, Recens. vitam auctoris enarr. A. Kuyper, Amsterdam.

§ See Cranmer's letter to Alasco, in "Remains and Letters of Cranmer," one of the Parker Society's publications, page 420.

‖ The title of Alasco's work is "Forma ac Ratio tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii in peregrinorum, potissimum vero Germanorum Ecclesia, instituta Londini in Anglia per Pientissimum Principem Angliæ," etc. Regem Eduardum ejus nominis sextu. 1550.

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these works are to be found in the peculiar circumstances of these people.* They were strangers and foreigners, who had fled to England for protection. They were bound, first of all, to prove themselves worthy of such protection, for though they had the confidence of Cranmer and the king, yet they were surrounded by enemies and regarded with suspicion by very many. They might easily be confounded with turbulent Anabaptists, or taken for pestilent and seditious men, who could not be tolerated in their own country. That the authorities and people of England, yea, the whole Christian world, might know what were their aims and purposes, it was necessary that they should make a clear declaration of them. For this the Latin, which was the common language of educated men of all countries, was better adapted than the French or Dutch. Besides, these works were not needed so much for use by the Congregations as by the ministers. Alasco's work was for a long time in an unfinished state, being subjected to a constant, careful review by the Consistory, who compared every word with scripture, and were making changes continually. It, as well as Micron's abridgment, remained in manuscript down to the dispersion of the congregation on the accession of Queen Mary, when they were printed on the continent.† Meanwhile, for the use of the Dutch congregation, a translation of Micron's abridgment was made into their language by Jan Uytenhove, one of the elders of the church, a nobleman of Ghent, who had left his worldly all and cast in his lot with these afflicted people of God. This little book was afterwards published at Embden, where these distressed people had been cordially received after their expulsion from England. It was used there, and in various parts of the Netherlands, down to the time of the introduction of the liturgy of Dathenus. Thus it appears that the claim that London was the "cradle of our liturgy" is not without foundation.

Meanwhile the beginnings of a liturgy were made in Southern Flanders independently of Micron's ordinances. They had a form of confession of sin, prayers for a right understanding of God's word, for those in authority, for peace and order in the land; and they probably had a form of intercessory prayer after sermon. These were doubtless taken from the Genevan liturgy for the

* Mensinga's Verhandeling over de Liturgische Schriften der Nederlandsche Hervormde kerk, page 19.

† Le Long, page 40.

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Reformed in this province; were not only Calvinistic in doctrine, but their language, the French, was that of Calvin.*

Of all the places of refuge to which the persecuted Netherlanders resorted, Frankenthal, in the Palatinate, was the most renowned. Thousands were gathered there, and received most generous treatment from the Elector Frederick III. Petrus Dathenus, a man of rare gifts, of fiery zeal, determined will, unconquerable perseverance, and withal an eloquent preacher, was pastor of these refugees. The influence that this man exerted in moulding the Church of the Netherlands during its formative period has never been fully appreciated. The Heidelberg Catechism, which appeared in 1563, he immediately translated into Low Dutch. He then prepared that metrical translation of the Psalms which was used for so long a time in the Netherlands, was brought by our fathers to this country, and which here held its place in public worship until the Dutch language ceased to be used. In the year 1566 he published, in connection with his versions of the Psalms and of the Catechism, the forms for public worship which he had prepared for the Church at Frankenthal, and this book became in a very short time the universally accepted and authorized liturgy of the Churches of the Netherlands.†

Dathenus, in compiling his liturgy, made use of that of the Palatinate, the basis of which was the "Forma ac Ratio" of Alasco. He also made use of Calvin's liturgy and that of Zurich.‡ He did not adopt Alasco's work as a whole, for it was too extensive for ordinary use. Besides, the Church of London may have been regarded by the community at Frankenthal as an independent, individual, but not representative Church. May it not also have been, as some have suggested, that in this retreat various types of doctrine, as Zuinglian, Melancthonian, Calvinistic had their representatives driven together by stress of persecution directed against all alike? Perhaps a full and hearty agreement in a liturgy could be secured

* Mensinga, page 231. † Ypey en Dermout.

‡ Mensinga, page 33. Owing to the relation in which Alasco stood to the Reformers of the Palatinate. Dr. Ebrard thinks that from 1560 forward his liturgy may have exerted an influence on the Cultus of the Palatinate, which at that time does not seem to have had a liturgy of its own, and states that reference was had to it, and use made of it, in the formation of the Palatinate Liturgy, and adds that the Palatinate Liturgy "is at bottom only a *remodeling* of the Netherland Liturgy."—*Dr. Harbaugh's "Creed and Cultus," in Tercentenary Monument.*

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only by a new compilation. Jealousies might have arisen, and the peace been disturbed, if one already in existence, and originating with some one party or church, had been selected.* At any rate Dathenus, as minister of an independent Church community, made the best provision for its worship by judicious selection and collection, and the result was Alasco's liturgy substantially, but modified in form. That the work of Dathenus was received with enthusiasm through the Netherlands and speedily supplanted all others is well known. This was owing partly to its merits, partly to the favorable state of the time, for the era of freedom in worship was rapidly approaching, and partly to the personal popularity of Dathenus. He had travelled through the whole country, and thousands had been moved by his eloquence. In what esteem he was held is shown by the fact that he was chosen president of the first Synod which was held at Wesel, in 1568, and that ten years afterward he was chosen president of another Synod. Besides this, the fact that his liturgy was published in the same volume with the Catechism and the Psalmody made its universal reception sure.

But this work of Dathenus was not complete—that is, it did not contain all the forms with which we are familiar. The liturgy was, as a true liturgy must be, a matter of growth. Form after form was added as it was needed. Thus, the forms for ordaining ministers, and elders, and deacons, and for the excommunication and readmission of members, came in as the churches became regularly organized and established.

Some changes were also made, the chief of which was an abridgment of the form for the administration of baptism. The work was completed by the Synod of Dort, 1618–19, when the form for adult baptism was adopted in the shape of an appendage to the doctrinal exposition with which the form for infant baptism is introduced. A form for adult baptism had previously to this been seldom required, for almost every one had been baptized in infancy; but now many who had been brought up among Mennonites and Anabaptists, and consequently had not been baptized in infancy, desired to unite with the Reformed Church. Such form was also needed to meet the case of converts in heathen lands in which missionary work was largely carried on. This Synod also added the prayer for the meetings of the Consistory and also of the deacons.†

Just about the time when the liturgy was completed in the

* Mensinga, page 39. † Mensinga, page 68.

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Netherlands the Dutch came to New Amsterdam and brought it with them. An English translation came into use when that language began to be employed in public worship in our churches. Generation after generation used this liturgy without thought of addition or amendment, and to this day very little of change has been effected. A movement for revision was made in 1853, and the question was discussed by various Synods until 1858, with the result of a single verbal change in the form for the administration of the Lord's Supper.*

A similar movement was made in 1868, the issue of which was arrived at in part by the General Synod of 1876. It declared that a new marriage form, having been approved by a majority of the Classis, is adopted; and it recommended that certain offices, viz., for installation of ministers, for laying a corner stone, for dedication of a church, for the burial of the dead, be printed in connection with our standards, "not as authoritative and imperative formulas, but as specimens embodying the sense of the Church in reference to the most edifying mode of rendering these services." The same Synod also approved of an office for "the public recognition of the reception into full communion of persons who have been baptized."†

The metrical and poetical liturgy or service of song deserves a far more extended notice than we are able in this discourse to give it. During the Middle Ages this service was performed by the priests, who chanted or sung Latin hymns in public worship. By the Reformers it was restored to the people. Metrical versions of the Psalms were soon made in various languages; were set to music and sung by the people in their assemblies. In addition to this Luther led the way in composing in the vernacular, and introducing into worship uninspired hymns, expressive of devotional feeling and Christian experience. He has been justly called the "father of modern hymnology." Calvin was not, like Luther, an enthusiast in music, but he acknowledged and appreciated its claim to a place in church services; he introduced it into the Church of Geneva, and provided for the instruction and training of the congregation in it. He has been falsely represented as an enemy to church music.‡

The earliest metrical translation of the Psalms into Low Dutch

* Acts and proceedings of the General Synod, vol. ix, page 331.

† Acts and proceedings of the General Synod, vol. xiii, page 501.

‡ Bungener's Life of Calvin, page 190.

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was made in 1539 by William Nieuwveldt, Lord of Bergambacht, etc. These Psalms were set to secular melodies, and were not well adapted to public worship, but they were popular. Many editions were published, and for years there was no rival version. There was this advantage in the secular melody, that it secured the singers against the spies and informers by whom they were closely watched.

In 1551 Jan Uytenhove, the renowned elder of the Church of the Refugees in London, had prepared for the use of that church metrical translations of twenty-five Psalms, following the Latin Psalter; and from time to time he added to these, until in 1566 translations of all the Psalms had been completed, as well as of the Songs of Mary, Zacharias and Simeon, the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer and Creed.*

In 1565 Lucas De Heere, a painter and poet of Ghent, published translations of thirty-seven of the Psalms, following the French version of Marot and Beza. But this was not extensively used for it was incomplete, and almost immediately the version of Dathenus appeared, and secured a universal reception by the churches.†

In the same year (1539) that Van Nieuwveldt published his Dutch version a French translation of thirty Psalms by Clement Marot appeared. Secular melodies were fitted to them, and they became popular in France, being sung even at the French court. Marot afterward translated twenty more at Geneva, and the remaining one hundred were translated by Beza. These were introduced into the services of the Church of Geneva, and also of the churches of the Walloons in the Netherlands, having been set to music by Claude Goudimel, Louis Bourgeois and Claude le Jeune.‡

A translation of this French version into Low Dutch was made by Petrus Dathenus in 1566, and this very soon superseded all others, and was generally adopted in public worship.§ It was ordered by the Synod of Wesel (1568) to be used in all the churches in the Netherlands for the sake of uniformity and edification. It was also used by the churches in this country until the Dutch language ceased to be used in public worship.

The Synod of Dort ordered that "the one hundred and fifty Psalms of David, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the

* Le Long, pp. 38, 39. † Van Iperen, vol. 1, p. 116. ‡ Van Iperen, vol. 1, p. 106.
§ Van Iperen's Kerkelijke Historie van het Psalmgezang. Amsterdam, 1777.

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Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith, the Songs of Mary, Zacharias and Simeon versified, only, shall be sung in public worship. The churches are left at liberty to adopt or omit that entitled 'O Thou who art our Father, God.' All others are *prohibited*. And where any have been already introduced they shall be discontinued as soon as possible."*

By the explanatory articles adopted in this country in 1792 it is said, "In the Reformed Dutch Church in America the following are approved and recommended, viz: In the Dutch language the version of Dathenus, and the new version of Psalms and Hymns compiled in the Netherlands in the year 1773. In the English language the Psalms and Hymns compiled by Prof. Livingston, and published with the express approbation and recommendation of the General Synod in the year 1789. In the French language the Psalms and Hymns compiled by Theo. De Beza and Marot; and in the German language the Psalms and Hymns published at Marburgh and Amsterdam, and now used in the Reformed Churches in Germany, the Netherlands and Pennsylvania."†

Before this period the Church in New York, on introducing worship in English, had, in 1767, published a Psalm book, in which Brady and Tate were followed very closely, changes being made where the music of the Dutch Psalm book, which was retained, required it.

Various additions were made to our Hymn book, until, in the year 1869, an entirely new book was adopted, called "Hymns of the Church," containing also music, not to supersede the old book, but to be used by such churches as might prefer it.‡

It is clear from this historical glance that our branch of the Reformed Church attaches great importance to the poetical liturgy, and appreciates the service of song; that it recognizes the right and duty of the people to take active part in it, and not to delegate it entirely to a few. This is shown by the early and long continued custom of having a single leader; by the provision of notes printed in connection with the words; and from the orders of the Synod of Wesel that the schoolmaster, who was also precentor (voorleser), should train the children in music; also, that on tablets in the churches on each Sunday it should be announced to the congregation what Psalms were to be sung.§ Moreover, the place of

* Acta, Syn. Dord., Art. 69.
† Explanatory Articles, Art. 65.
‡ Acts of Gen. Synod, vol. xi, page 635.
§ Acta Syn. Wesel, Cap. ii, Sec. 32, 33.

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honor was ever given to the inspired Psalmody, to which, for a long time, the churches were confined; and when Hymns were introduced they formed a separate division of the book, until in the last book, the "Hymns of the Church," the distinction has been removed, and Psalms and Hymns are in it intermingled. The care of the Church in regard to this part of worship is also seen in the following provision of the constitution: "No Psalms or Hymns may be publicly sung in the Reformed (Dutch) churches but such as are approved and recommended by the General Synod."*

The liturgical spirit and features of our Church can readily be gathered from the history that has passed under our review. She has never taken the position that the use of forms is necessarily antagonistic to spiritual worship, nor that the rejection of them altogether is expedient, nor that edification is best promoted by the absolute liberty of the individual minister. Nor, on the other hand, has she ever taken the position that it is best in ordinary public worship for everything to be done to the letter in accordance with prescribed forms. There was in the earliest times a union of prescription and freedom, the measure of each varying subsequently in practice in different periods of her history. At first the amount of form used was very considerable. In time the ministers fell more and more into the habit of using their liberty freely, until all the ordinary prayers were offered extemporaneously, as has always been the case in this country. In Alasco's work there is a very excellent comprehensive prayer that was to be used, but he says expressly that other petitions might be introduced, as the necessities of the Church required. The Synod of Wesel (1568) allowed the minister to pray according to the suggestion of the Holy Ghost, or following the formulas of the Church of Geneva, or others.† The Synod of Dordrecht (1574) enjoined it on all ministers to use forms of prayer provided, with liberty to add briefly and prudently such prayers as might be suggested by circumstances, such as for special persons in the magistracy, certain sick people, etc.‡

We are not in this liberty to find encouragement for fanatical views of prayer. We may not claim that the Holy Spirit will put thoughts into our minds, and words into our mouths at the moment when we offer prayer, and that we insult Him by making careful preparation by study, premeditation, and even writing,

* Constitution, Art. X, Sec. 5. † Acta Syn. Wesel. Cap. ii., sec. 27, 28.
‡ Acta Syn. Dord, Sec. 42.

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for this service. The fact that we have forms of prayer which are models implies the right and duty to use them as such by studying their matter, construction and style, and if a minister should think it proper at any time to use the forms themselves in leading the congregation, on what ground could any one object? Herein our Church differs from the Presbyterian, which in its Directory gives very full instructions on the matter and arrangement of public prayer, while our Book gives examples.* Both churches, however, agree in regard to the necessity and propriety of cultivating with all diligence the gift of prayer, and studying to perform this part of public service rightly and acceptably. And why should not a prayer be studied out, carefully arranged, and if thought best, written, as well as the sermon? And if the sermon may be read, why not the prayer as well? Why should not our Classes, when they examine candidates for licensure or ordination, inquire into their views of public worship, and their qualifications for this service? These are matters of instruction and training in our theological seminaries, and why should not our Churches and Classes think the qualifications of a candidate, as a leader of worship, worthy of inquiry?

The Church clearly recognizes the idea of some degree of uniformity in Church services and ceremonies. This, as we have seen, does not extend so far as to require that all the ministers shall use the same words on the same Lord's day, and not depart from them in the least, but it extends to a general order, which is prescribed by the Constitution, and also to the Psalms and hymns to be used, from which, however, the minister may make selections at his discretion.†

But beside the forms in regard to the use of which there is liberty, there are others which by constitutional requirement, sanctioned by generations of usage, must always be employed on the occasions for which they were prepared. They are six in number, viz., one for the administration of baptism; one for the administration of the Lord's Supper; one for the ordination of ministers; one for the ordination of elders and deacons; one for excommunication; one for readmission. We are not aware that there is the least desire in any quarter to be relieved from their use. In all the agitations concerning the amendment of the liturgy no one has, so far as we know, proposed to abolish these forms, but only to amend them by abbreviation or some changes in the phraseology.

* Directory for Worship, Chap. v. † Constitution, Article X.

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No fault has been found with the doctrine taught in them, nor dissatisfaction expressed with the principle of their use. On the contrary, we believe that our people are well nigh unanimous in the opinion that because of their appropriateness, to say nothing of their historical associations, they are too valuable to be cast aside. They present clearly and compactly the doctrines, duties and promises connected with their respective subjects. Also, questions are propounded and admonitions given. They have also devotional portions embracing prayers and thanksgivings. Thus, in the form for the administration of baptism, we have, first of all, the doctrine of baptism expounded, and then the application to the case of infants is made with appropriate questions to the parents, or to adults, if such are to be baptized. What is called the "Form for Baptism of Adults" is simply an appendage to the general doctrinal statements.

It is true that every minister of the gospel ought to be able, whenever baptism is to be administered, to expound the doctrine, frame the questions, and make the prayers; but is it not better to have a form agreed upon by the whole Church, and to be always used, so that the nature of the ordinance may on every administration of it be without fail set forth? Beyond all question our people think so. The only objection made to the form for the administration of the Lord's Supper is its length. Its comprehensiveness, sweet evangelical tone, and spiritual character and beautiful adaptedness cannot be denied. Now what can be more desirable than that when we are about to approach the holy table of our Lord we have no misgivings, but are sure that the atoning work of the Redeemer will be affectingly set forth? What can be more important in these days, when views of this ordinance so widely at variance with Scripture are entertained by so many?

In regard to the ordinations of ministers, elders and deacons, what can be more proper than that on such occasions the Scriptural authority for their offices, and the duties connected with them, should be set forth, followed by appropriate admonitions and prayers? Is it not better that these should be put into carefully composed forms than left to the discretion of any one to whom these matters may for the time be entrusted? These forms are specially valuable for the clearness with which they set forth the grounds for our Presbyterian polity, as well as the duties, privileges and responsibilities connected with the respective

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offices. Nowhere else do we find the position of the minister, as a servant of the Church for Christ's sake, and not a lord over God's heritage, more clearly defined; nowhere more appreciative views of the high office of the elder or important one of the deacon.

The spirit of our formularies is eminently *scriptural.* The Word of God alone is ever appealed to in support of any doctrinal position, and the doctrinal element everywhere stands out prominently. The heart is always aimed at, but the way to it is ever through the truth of Holy Scripture.

It is *evangelical.* The writers and compilers ever had the work of Jesus Christ as Prophet, Priest and King in view, and they regarded the exaltation of Him and of His work as never to be lost sight of in any act of worship. The liturgy is thus in perfect accord with the doctrinal standards.

It is *catholic.* It is often said that they who cannot agree in creeds, yet do in prayers. It is hard to conceive how any true Christian man could object to a single sentence found in the prayers in our liturgy. And as to the forms which are binding, and in which doctrinal statements abound, these commend themselves to the great body of the Reformed of the various denominations. The disciples of different schools, driven together by stress of persecution (if such were the case), found that their points of agreement were far more numerous than those of variance, and also that the matters of agreement were of greater importance, and embraced everything that was worthy of a place in formulas of worship.*

Our liturgical writings have not and our Church has not a trace of a *sacerdotal* spirit. We cannot find in them, any more than in Scripture, the doctrine that the minister is a sacrificing, mediating priest, clothed with awful powers. He is a servant of Christ, and of the people for Christ's sake. Nowhere do we find the idea of a special, mysterious, local presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, nowhere provision for ceremonies springing out of that idea, as elevation and adoration of the elements, genuflections and bowings before them, burning of incense, wearing of garments of various cuts and colors, not even the posture of kneeling, which was disallowed very early.† Nor is there anything authorized or encouraged that would make public worship a sensuous and spectacular show, or produce prominently the impression of singular

* Mensinga, page 35.

† The earlier Synods allowed choice between sitting and standing.

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and undefinable awe. We have no savor of ritualism, whether viewed in the aspect of doctrine or in the popular one of showy ceremony.

The Church uses its liturgy to the extent required, and values it highly, but is not disposed to worship it, or indulge in extravagant laudations of it, calling it incomparable or divine. It is a human work, and, like all liturgies, bears the marks of imperfection. It is open to criticism, and when the Church is ready to make amendments they will be made. Our Church was early surrounded by other larger Christian denominations, and has for years derived its increase largely from those brought up in other communions. Very naturally her own proper liturgical spirit and features have been more or less modified. During the considerable period in which the Episcopal Church was virtually her only neighbor in New York city, and the churches in the rural towns and settlements had the field entirely to themselves, there was unimpaired loyalty to liturgical requirements and traditionary usages. Subsequently the influence of the Puritanical spirit from New England, and of the Scottish form of Presbyterianism, produced an increasing disregard of these. Just now there seems to be a tendency among Presbyterian and Congregational, if not all so-called non-liturgical churches, to the introduction of more form in worship. In our own Church there seems with many to be a decided wish for the restoration of much that has passed out of use, as well as the introduction of some things which it is claimed would make the services more attractive and profitable. Why should we object to or discourage this tendency, if it be in the right direction, not to foster the idea of priestly prerogative, not to make stronger appeals to the senses and imagination by imposing ceremonies, not to satisfy the taste for the orderly and beautiful, making worship a mere matter of æsthetics, but to secure that which will more fully meet the wants of the assembled worshippers coming in penitence and thankfulness, and above all, give to the Christian people constituting the royal priesthood a more active part in worship? Why, if they be the worshippers, should not all be given them to do that can be consistently with order, decency and edification? What right has the leader to more than is necessary for leading?

The fathers made the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer prominent in public worship; as for public instruction, these were made prominent in the Heidelberg Catechism:

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the Commandments were read on one service of the Lord's day, the Creed on the other, and the ordinary prayers were concluded with the Lord's Prayer.* Would it not be well fully to restore this feature, as some churches have done? And why might we not go further and let the people join audibly in the recitation of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, and express their assent to every prayer by a hearty Amen?† Why might not selections from the devotional parts of Scripture, especially the Psalter, be read responsively by minister and people, as belonging to the department of worship and not of instruction? Why is it not well for the ruling elders and deacons to occupy official seats on the right and left hand of the teaching elder, so that the fully organized Church may be visibly before the congregation? Would we in all these things do more than prove our fidelity to the Protestant theory of public worship, and of the relations of ministers and people respectively to it? Would not our young people be educated into a love for worship if they were allowed to have an active part in it, instead of being compelled to sit in silence from the beginning to the end of the service? Is there not, also, an appropriateness in a change of posture from sitting to standing when we pass from the condition of learners, meekly receiving the preached Word, to that of worshippers, ourselves praying to God or singing the high praises of Jehovah?

Of the goodly heritage that we have received from our fathers not the least part is her provision for public worship; a part that we fear is not generally appreciated. A chief object of this discourse will be attained if by means of it our people are awakened to new interest in the subject, and we shall have a revival of loyalty to the "Liturgical Spirit and Features of our Church." God has given to us a distinctive position among the Christian churches of this land, as in worship moderately liturgical, while in polity Presbyterian, after the continental model. Let us be true to Him and true to ourselves. With hearty love for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ, and readiness to coöperate with every other Christian Church in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom, let us do our own work in the way in which Providence, by our history, position and other circumstances seems to indicate. Why should we despise and abandon time honored usages? Why should we take pains, especially in entering new fields, to show

* In the Church of London the Creed was read after the Sermon in the morning service.

† 1 Cor., xiv: 16.

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that our Church is in no wise different from this or that Church to which it is in many respects similar, when the opposite course would be more likely to secure favor with the people? Why should we be forever apologizing for our existence as a denomination, as if God had not called us into being and given us enough that is distinctive to justify us in living on until He shall summon us to die?

In harmony with these views is a word of admonition to our ministers to give occasional instruction, and somewhat in detail, on the nature of public worship, the relation of form to spirit, the place and value of outward rites. Should not the forms whose use is imperative be on suitable occasions analyzed and expounded? Doubtless an occasional discourse, in the form of commentary, with references to Scripture, on the baptismal, and also the communion office, would be found to be interesting and profitable. And if, at the time when elders and deacons are to be ordained, the form then used should be enlarged on, it would be no disadvantage to those office bearers nor to the congregation.

Besides this, there is obviously a solemn obligation resting on every one of our ministers to give himself conscientiously to liturgical cultivation. Being the leader of the worship of the people, he has no right to slight it, and let it take care of itself, while he lays out his strength on the preparation and delivery of the sermon. If prayer is to be offered, surely his conscience should compel him to the faithful use of all means necessary to enable him to do it to the best of his ability instead of leaving it to the impulse of the moment. If the Scriptures are to be read, how can he excuse himself for ignorance of the portions he is to read until he enters the pulpit, for neglect to study their meaning and spirit beforehand, and to cultivate a natural and impressive manner of reading? and what can be more grossly indecent than to perform this service in a heartless and slovenly manner? Should not hymns, also, be carefully selected and read with feeling, taste and expression? On ministers of churches called non-liturgical, or who are not strictly confined to forms, but where so much is left to the individual judgment and taste, there rests a most serious responsibility. They should be able to show, by the manner in which they conduct worship, that there is no foundation for the charge so often flippantly made, that freedom is usually, if not necessarily promotive of anything but edification. This can be reached only by careful study of the subject, embracing every-

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thing pertaining to expression, and not confined to the culture of the heart. "One who has acquired this true liturgical sense and feeling will render the services of the sanctuary impressive by their appropriateness, by their symmetry, and by that unity, which we have seen to be the inmost essence of beauty. Without drawing away the attention of the congregation from more important matters, as a formal and splendid ritual is apt to do, such a minister will throw a sacred and spiritual atmosphere over the entire services of the sanctuary more impressive than even the dim religious light of the Cathedral."*

We come back, in conclusion, to the thoughts with which we started, and of which we must never lose sight, that in every worshipping assembly there is just so much of worship as God sees in the hearts of the persons worshipping, and that all outward forms have value only as they express the inward feeling, or as they awaken and promote the spirit of devotion. Therefore, let us see to it that we rest not in anything formal and ritual, though it be most beautiful, grand or imposing, but that we have that service of the heart which alone God regards, and which shall prove our meetness for worship in the temple above. Let us heartily respond to the Psalmist's call:

"O WORSHIP THE LORD IN THE BEAUTY OF HOLINESS. FEAR BEFORE HIM ALL THE EARTH."

* Shedd's Homiletics, page 314.

For more full information on the subject of this discourse the reader is referred to the following works:

J. Ens. Histor. berigt van de publicke Schriften rak. de leer en dienst der Nederduytze Kerken van de Vereen. Nederlanden. Zijnde de Formulieren van Eenigheyt en de Liturgie. Utrecht. 1733.

J. Le Long. Historisch Veerhaal van den Eersten Oorsprong de Nederl. Gereform, Kerken onder 't Kruis. Amsterdam. 1751.

I. A. M. Mensinga. De Liturgische Schriften de Nederl. Hervorm. Kerken. 'S Hague. 1851.

J. Alasco. Opera. Ed. Kuyper. Amsterdam. 1866.

Ypey en Dermoot Geschiedenis d' Nederlandsch Hervorm. Kerken. Breda. 1819.

J. Van Iperen. Kerkelijke Historie van het Psalmgezang, etc. Amsterdam. 1777.

'S. Gravezande. 200 jar gedachtenis van het Eerste Synode der Neder. Herv. Kerken onder het kruis gehooden te Wesel. 1568. Middleburg. 1769.

Kerkelyk Hantboekje. 1738. This volume contains the Acts of all the Synods, from that of Wesel to the Nat. Synod of Dordrecht.

Eutaxia or Presbyterian Liturgies. New York. 1855.

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THOROUGHLY FURNISHED.

A SERMON

TO SHOW THE BEARING OF THE DOCTRINES, POLITY, AND USAGES OF THE REFORMED CHURCH UPON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER AND FITNESS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

BY

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PREPARED BY APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL SYNOD.

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THOROUGHLY FURNISHED.

A SERMON

TO SHOW THE BEARING OF THE DOCTRINES, POLITY, AND USAGES OF THE REFORMED CHURCH UPON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER AND FITNESS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

"The man of God * * * thoroughly furnished unto all good works"—2 TIMOTHY, iii: 17.

THE venerable apostle, in these words to Timothy, contemplates a Christian in his relations to society. We do not hear too much about man's relations to God, not too much about man's relations to eternity, nor too much as to what man is to believe concerning God, and how by repentance and by faith in Jesus Christ we are saved. But do we hear enough, and do Christians consider enough the relations of the man of God to society and to civil government? "These are in the world," said Jesus to his Father concerning his disciples, as he was about to leave them. Sinners are not converted for the sole purpose of being saved; else why are they not taken to heaven as soon as they are regenerated? "Ye are salt, and leaven and light," said the Saviour to the saved, intimating that his disciples are called not only to personal salvation, but to duties in society. The question at once arises, what is the best training for preparing the followers of Christ for the duties of citizenship? *How* shall the man of God be perfected, "thoroughly furnished unto every good work?" In selecting machinery the chief aim is to choose that which turns out the best work. In selecting a school the first inquiry is, which promises the best

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instruction in morals, the formation of best habits, the best discipline of the intellect—which will best fit its pupils for both heaven and earth? The Church is the Master's school. The question is, which of its many divisions will best secure the nurture the soul needs and the training necessary to the man of God, not only as a member of the Church but as a citizen—how shall he be best prepared to take part in the moral reforms which are always in progress? The fact that we exist as a separate denomination, holding some views and usages peculiar to ourselves, is our answer that we consider the doctrines, usages and polity of our branch of the Holy Catholic Church calculated to produce excellent, nay, the very best practical results, in addition to the spiritual nurture of her members relatively to God and to heaven. We make no invidious comparisons, and we heartily wish that grace, mercy and peace may be abundantly multiplied to all the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ; but we prefer our Reformed Church for reasons, and have not seen sufficient cause for merging its organization into any other. We cherish it for its peculiarities, and we venerate its history for the testimony given to God's truth and order. It is strong in intelligent convictions, strong in the respect for it by other denominations, and we think it has a mission not yet accomplished.

Our reverend Synod resolved, in June, 1875, to signalize this centennial year by a series of discourses, to set forth to our congregations the history, and various peculiarities, and excellences, and usages, and influences of our Church. The committee to whom the execution of this purpose was entrusted have put upon me the honor and burden of attempting to show "*the bearing of the doctrines, polity and usages of our Church upon character and moral reform.*"

As a man thinketh in his heart so is he. His thoughts, principles, convictions, maxims, habits make him what he is. These come out of his heart in word and act and reveal him to his neighbor. As a man is known by his company, so he may know himself and is known by his principles and habits. Mincius says a man is as his surroundings. This is only partially true, for although a Briton is like the Britons, and a Dutchman is like the Hollanders, not all Britons nor all Hollanders are alike. Not all men are always as their surroundings. Men who *think* are not apt to be creatures of circumstances. Men who are *men* are as that *mental pabulum* on which they are nurtured. What one eats

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affects his blood, and muscle, and brain. What the mind digests makes character and is developed in conduct. Hence the bearing of indoctrination upon character. Character bears upon public morals. Moral reforms are not promoted by statute unless the statute be the outcome of wholesome moral sentiment. Every man of God has a responsibility in this matter of elevating the public sentiment and of purifying public morals. He is not only a member of the "body of Christ" but also of the body politic. He is a citizen, and as such a factor in producing the total sum of the public morals. The greater and the better he is the more good he is capable of producing. Power for good consists chiefly in character. Goodness is greater than learning or wealth as a factor in moral reform. Longfellow says, beautifully,

> "It is the heart and not the brain
> That to the highest doth attain."

The chief element in character is the state of the *spirit, i. e.*, that department of the mind which is the seat of religion. The aliment of man's spirit is God and his truth. If the spirit perceives God and holds his truth with the tenacity of conviction, that man is increasingly dominated in all his being and in all his deportment by God, and is becoming more and more assimilated to God. In proportion as this assimilation advances he is becoming God-like, strong and beautiful. If all who call themselves Christians were thus nurtured, and were in the course of this assimilation, religion and reform would not be fitful and spasmodic, and the Christian's path and the course of the Church would be as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. How to come to this? We think the doctrines and polity of our Church are the outcome of the New Testament, and we believe these are the best nurture of Christian character, and will tell with marked benefit upon questions of reform and of progress toward the best condition of society.

It is not necessary, for the purposes of this discourse, to specify all the doctrines we hold. It is sufficient to mention one. We name that one for and against which the two parties contended in the famous Synod of Dort, 1618. Our brethren of other churches will understand that we do not claim that ours is the only Church which holds distinctively the doctrine of God's sovereignty in the economy of redemption and of individual conversion. But we do hold this prominent, and our standards require

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the ministers to preach it with emphasis. We remind those who accept the same, as stated in the Westminster confession of faith, that the contest was over and the doctrine promulgated twenty-five years before the Westminster Assembly met. Therefore, we are justified in saying that the doctrine of God's sovereignty is prœminently the peculiar and distinctive doctrine of the Reformed Church in Holland, of which our American Reformed Church is the ecclesiastical successor in this country. We think this doctrine is essential, and the chief thing in thoroughly furnishing the man of God for his place in society. In our system of religious training we begin with God. We hold up his absolute sovereignty, and that he does all things after the counsel of his own will and for his own glory; and that he has a people given to Christ in a covenant of redemption—that these are effectually called and regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and these constitute the body of Christ—the Church, the pillar and ground of the truth.

We insist that the claims of God upon his intelligent creatures are first in order and of first importance. We aim to convince the sinner that he has no rights, no merit, no ability, and that if saved it is entirely of the good will and by the grace of the Sovereign Lord. Suppose you put it the other way, telling the sinner he is not so gone in moral depravity that he has not the ability to turn to God, and that he can of himself repent and turn to God and believe savingly in Christ. Suppose you appeal to his fears, and ply him with hopes, and urge him by considerations of happiness. These are the two methods. Which will be likely to lead to the best results? Look at the underlying principles in these methods. In one you put to the creature's consideration God and His claims, and the majesty of law and eternal justice, and the utter helplessness of guilty man. In the other the creature is flattered by telling him he is not so gone that he cannot do something toward his recovery. You present the glittering reward of happiness as his chief objective, thus making self his chief end. Which of these methods most exalts God and most humbles man? Which will secure the greatest enlargement of mind and the best morals? Surely he is the greatest who is filled with the greatest thoughts and dominated by the purest and most unselfish desires. He will be most exalted who is most humble. He is the strongest who takes hold on Almighty strength. Character will be as the thoughts and principles. To begin with God and

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to train men in this line will assimilate them to God. To begin with appeals to the instinctive desire of happiness is to begin with self; to train men thus will *dwarf* them. Hope and fear are motives of the law; the disciple who knows no other and higher is still in bondage. Loyalty to the quickened sense of right lifts man to a higher plane. Love to God for God's own dear sake purifies the heart and attracts man from his wanderings to the orbit of obedience. It is false as to doctrine, and disparaging to God's honor, and damaging to man, to set man's happiness before the sinner or the saint as the first consideration. It is doubtless true that he most promotes his happiness who best performs his duty, but if he performs his duty for the sake of his happiness he is not making the glory of God his chief end.

Conscience—a sense of *oughtness*—is the noblest faculty of the mind. It is always on the side of what it conceives to be right, and in God's behalf is always protesting against what it believes to be wrong. Morality based on conscience quickened by the Holy Spirit and enlightened by the Word of God, and constrained by the love of Christ, stands on a rock. That morality which has no other foundation than the desire of happiness or the dread of punishment cannot be much trusted and ought not to be much honored. Such morality is like the good behavior of that child who is good, not because she loves her parents but because she fears the threatened rod, or is allured by the promise of a toy. The genuine outcome of regeneration, and the best qualification of good citizenship, is a sense of God as sovereign in his rights and gracious in the effectual working of his renewing power in the soul. This consciousness of God swallows self and frees the entire man. It sets the Lord always before it as witness, motive and reward. It says, "God for His own sake as my chief thought, chief end, chief good—as the pole of my spirit, as my exceeding joy." Now, if God is the true portion of the soul as well as its refuge; if the soul's voices are answered only in him; if his claims are prior and higher than man's happiness; if conscience is stronger and steadier than the emotional nature, is it not better to begin with the sinner by convincing him of the sovereign claims of God, and that His glory is man's true *summum bonum*, and then to train the convert in the same indoctrination? We seek to bring men back to their original constituted state. This was obedience to God from conscience, *i. e.*, a sense of right, and from love springing from the free volitions of the heart.

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All the doctrines of grace harmonize with this leading fact of the absolute sovereignty of God. Each in particular, as well as the system as a whole, humbles, and purifies, and strengthens the believer, and fits him not only for heaven, but qualifies him for his place in society.

Another distinctive thing in our Church is the requirement that her ministers shall, in the course of four years, instruct their congregations in the system of religious truth laid in the Heidelberg Catechism. This prevents the too frequent iteration of the same things, and gives connected and comprehensive views of what is to be believed. I do not know any other branch of the Church in which this is required. You see how such a course is calculated to give the mind breadth and balance, and to strengthen, establish, and settle the disciple. The educational effect, as well as saving benefit, highly commend this distinctive usage of our Church.

It is also required that the formulas of the doctrine of baptism and the Lord's Supper be read whenever these sacraments are administered. Four times a year the people hear what the Scriptures teach as to the communion, and also the meaning of baptism as often as it is administered. Viewing these usages as to systematic preaching and the sacraments upon *furnishing* the man of God for his duties in society, I think the benefit consists in his getting comprehensive, balanced and definite views of truth. Indefinite thinking and random words are not a good preparation for any position.

Our Church is also somewhat liturgical; not enough so to cramp those who prefer full freedom in prayer, and yet enough so to serve as a hint to all who conduct public prayer that due regard should be had to edifying truth and acceptable words, and all proprieties in the performance of the devotional part of public worship.

The construction of our catechism is worthy of note. So far as I know, it is exceptional. It differs from that with which we are all familiar, and which we cannot prize too highly. When it is asked, in the Westminster Catechism, What is God? What is faith? What is justification? the answer only *defines*, and all through that catechism the truths of religion are set forth *objectively*. On the other hand, our Heidelberg Catechism begins with the consciousness of your spiritual comfort, and draws out the reasons for your entire dependence upon Christ. The first answer

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is the key to the whole. It contains God's sovereignty, your gracious adoption, the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, the effectual work of the Holy Spirit, and your full assurance of eternal life. This excellent catechism contains the staple instruction of our families and churches. It is an account of religion in its subjective power and experience. It is an account of God, and salvation, and duty, from the standpoint of personal experimental knowledge. We think there is immense advantage in this, in keeping children, and youth, and adults mindful that the man of God is most thoroughly furnished unto all good works when he knows God in Christ for himself.

The polity of our Church is somewhat peculiar. We like it because it is after the Old Testament and the New Testament Church—*Presbyterian*. We like it for the wisdom of its provisions to secure the rights of individuals and the good order and harmony of the whole. If we think well of the Constitution of our nation we cannot but think well of the polity of our Church, for that is like ours in its chief features. Ours preceded that in the statement of its principles by all the interval between John Calvin and Alexander Hamilton. We do not, however, recognize the congregation as the source of authority. We go further back, or rather we go higher than that. We appeal from Jefferson to Paul, believing, as taught by inspiration, that authority in the family, in the Church and in the State is ordained of God. Those wishing to be organized into a church call certain of their number to office. With those regularly chosen the authority to govern is deposited, not because they are chosen by the people, but because it is the will of God that those regularly chosen shall rule according to the rules and principles agreed upon. By church we mean an organized company of persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ, governed by elders and deacons chosen by the congregation from among themselves. It is our peculiarity, which the great Presbyterian Church has approved by recently adopting it, that our officers lay aside the functions of office after a short period unless reëlected. This is a recognition of the popular element, giving the congregation an opportunity of changing their officers, and relieving officers of the burden of office, and distributing the honors, and also affording the opportunity, if need be, of dropping any who may prove unfit or unacceptable.

Our great Consistory is peculiar to ourselves. It consists of all who have been in office. With these the acting Consistory coun-

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sel, and can get the views of the people without the trouble of calling them together, and without the risk of collisions incident to large meetings. This provision is especially useful in large congregations.

To the Consistory is entrusted the legislative and judicial affairs of the Church, not as an advisory body but as a Court, and also the management of the secular affairs of the congregation, except in cases otherwise provided for by a charter. This is a simple and easy method of government, and has by long usage been found efficient and satisfactory. We have a series of church courts—Consistory, Particular Synod, General Synod, with the right of appeal from the lowest to the next, and to the highest. The entire Consistory can be changed in two years in a regular way, if in their policy or in person they become unacceptable.

Let us keep our point clearly before us, viz., How shall a man be thoroughly prepared to every good work? How shall those who have the rights of citizenship be best qualified for their duties and privileges? As was remarked, it is not the sole end of religion to get men converted; it is also that converted men shall be good and useful in the relations they sustain to society. The Church must train her members for this life as well as for the next. There is ever a lack of good citizens. Men that are *men* are always needed. How to produce them is a question which the Church should entertain. The endeavor of all entrusted with the formation of character should ever be to make character symmetrical. Symmetry is impossible without educating, at least to some extent, every department of the mind. That department of the mind which is the most educated will probably be dominant over the other departments. It is important, therefore, that *that* department receive the first and best attention which is capable of the greatest, and best, and most far-reaching things. The soul is capable of greater things than the body, and should have a better training; the *spirit* is capable of greater things than the *soul*, for it takes cognizance of God, and has a sense of moral right, and forecasts eternal consequences; the sphere of the spirit is duty, and self-approval or self-reproof, and the judgment of motives, and fellowship with the father of spirits. Now, as these are higher matters than those which come within the sphere of the mere intellect, therefore the *spirit* should receive the first, the best, and constant attention. It is the office of religion to give this attention to the spirit nature. The Church is a divinely instituted

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school to edify her members, to prepare them not only for the hereafter, but for to-day and to-morrow, and for every day of their residence here, for usefulness as salt, and leaven, and light. What is the best culture and training for this? How shall the best character be produced? We think the doctrines, polity, and usages of our Church are best adapted to produce the desired results. What are the elements of a good citizen? You will not question my answer to the question I have raised. I ask what constitutes a man a good citizen? I answer, three things: first, he must be *conscientiously obedient to rightful authority;* second, he must be *loyal to justice;* third, he must be *educated,* at least to some extent, in the *best things.* Character built out of these will be good character. Sound morality may be expected in the man who is obedient to law, loyal to justice, and whose religious nature is duly instructed. Now, see the adaptation of the prominent things in our Church to the formation of a good citizen. We magnify the sovereignty of God. Let a man accept this truth as central to all his thoughts, and there is in him the germ of obedience to all just authority. As a matter of conscience, and not from fear of fines or imprisonment, he will obey the laws of the land. Whoever magnifies and honors the high and mighty Ruler will respect the authority which that Ruler has ordained for the family, the Church and the State. According to our polity, the people of our congregations are reminded that in the Consistory the Head of the Church has deposited the government of the Church. Let a youth thus trained go forth as a member of the body politic and he is prepared to obey all just authority. Obedience is the first element of a good citizen, and this is learned from our prime doctrine of God's sovereignty and from the polity of our Church.

Loyalty to justice is another element of good character and thus of a good citizen. Justice is the foundation of God's throne. Nothing less than conformableness to justice can give strength to individual character or stability to civil government. "To do justly" is the divine requirement. We must all feel that we are bound to do our duty. Grandly did the New York Chamber of Commerce, at its festival in May, 1876, testify, and nobly did General Dix, the veteran soldier, scholar and statesman, respond, that the value and perpetuity of the American Union "rest upon a sure faith in the supreme obligation of duty and of character as the chief element of durable success." The great Gladstone has said nothing more eloquent and nothing more fundamental than

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the following: "I submit that duty is a power which rises with us in the morning and goes to rest with us at night. It is coextensive with the action of our intelligence. It is the shadow which cleaves to us go where we will, and which only leaves us when we leave the light of life." Would that Dix and Gladstone had a hearing from all the people of their respective countries. Yes, fidelity to right is sublime. Milton's angel, Abdiel,

"Among the faithless faithful only he,"

commands the world's profound homage. How shall this loyalty to justice be ingrained into the mind? By bringing the spirit of man to the school of God's justice. Train the young to understand that although they are saved by grace, grace could not be extended until Jesus Christ had satisfied all the demands of the law against the violators of it. If boys are brought up in this nurture there will be men with moral muscle to grapple with crime, and fraud, and vice, and the various forms of injustice; you will have men who will demand that the rights of men shall not be trampled on; there will be less of sickly sympathy for felons and pity for murderers, which forgets that widows and orphans have been wronged, and the safety of the community threatened, and the comfort and the quiet of every household endangered. Justice demands the punishment of evil doers. In the doctrines of salvation no Church gives more prominence than ours to the fact that justice has been satisfied before hope was extended to the violators of law. Whoever gets the right conception of God's justice has an essential element of a strong character and of good morals.

The other element of a good citizen is education in the things of first and most lasting importance. A nation cannot long continue free and prosperous if the mass of the people are ignorant. But as no one can know all things let every one seek to know the best things. The best things are those which most affect character and have the most lasting good effect. The best things one can know are the things concerning God and our duty to Him and to our neighbor. These things are taught in our pulpits, not as the pastors may choose to do it, but as they are *required* by our constitution to do it in a course of instruction laid down and *enjoined* upon them. Thus our Church is by her constitution a bulwark against vice, and error, and superstition. Her central doctrines and her polity and usages not only fit her members for

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heaven but build strong symmetrical character, and furnish her people for the duties of citizenship. It does not afflict us if we are by some styled *conservative*. Of course we are conservative of what God has revealed, and of things which have been proved and found good. We do not go wild over every project of reform, and do not accept all the "advanced thought," nor adopt at sight every proposed "new method" of extending Christ's kingdom. We are always up to the front with *that* advanced thought which God has revealed, and we would not advance beyond that. We are always advocating reform in the regular use of the regular means of grace. We know no better method of church work than the Head of the Church has ordained. We hold, because He has appointed it, that the ministry of the Word is to be committed to tried men, called of the Spirit and set apart by the Presbytery, according to the New Testament institutes. We read Paul's injunction to Timothy as the rule we ought to follow: "The things that thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." We believe in and pray for sound revivals of religion which make the professed subjects of them zealous for the doctrines, and order, and honor of the Church of God, which he has purchased with his blood, true to every obligation, just in every transaction, honorable as well as honest, amiable, beneficent and pure.

We might appeal to communities and to statistics in proof that the people of our Reformed Church in America have a high average of orthodoxy, morality, piety, beneficence, intelligence and public spirit, showing the practical influence of our doctrines, polity and usages. We are willing to appeal to history, and we challenge contradiction to the assertion that no branch of the Church, since the times of the Roman persecutions, has a better record than the Church of Holland. If the forms of our belief are stern (though we do not admit the truth of the allegation), it is the sternness of conviction, which, while it tolerates the erring, has no patience with error. If there is any passage of our history as a Church which has a militant air, it is because we have felt it was necessary to stand and contend for God's justice and grace in the atonement effected by His divine Son, and to fight against the devil and those who lead souls away from the cross, while they literally hold the cross before them. And where, so much as in the Fatherland, has the individual been so lifted (as Bancroft

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expresses it) "above pope, and prelate, and priest, and presbyter, above Catholic Church and National Church, above indulgence, remissions and absolutions from fellow mortals, and brought into the immediate presence of God?" And where, I ask, in all the world, in all time, have there been laid broader and firmer foundations on which to rear republican governments than the Reformed Church of Holland laid in the polity of having ruling elders in each church? which is the very germ of representative government, combining necessary authority with the security of the rights of the individual. It is the purpose and the tendency, and it is the outcome of the doctrines we keep before our congregations, to bring conscience into exercise in secular affairs and thus to elevate and to advance the standard of public morals.

Believing in civil authority as ordained of God, the constitution of our Church requires her ministers to teach the duty of obedience to magistrates as a part of religion. The test of doctrine and polity is the effect of them. We point with satisfaction to the pure, and patriotic, and heroic lives of a generation, hunted, and harassed, and butchered by the bigoted and bloody Philip. Worthy of a place in the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, that gallery of God's heroes to the faith, are thousands upon thousands of our ecclesiastical forefathers, the Hollandish martyrs. Strong conviction of God's sovereignty and providence will produce, as Froude expresses it, "an epidemic of enthusiasm." The martyrs of Holland were not blind bigots, but intelligent enthusiasts for God. See what love of liberty and what zeal for learning came of it in their Dutch Republic and their universities. Where God is the chief thought and his honor the chief end, men will love liberty and learning, and will speak the truth and do good to their neighbors. When men love liberty and learning and will speak the truth, and do these things from a sense of God, they are "furnished unto all good works." When men honor God's authority for conscience sake they are prepared to obey all rightful authority. One of the mischiefs of these times is want of respect to authority in the family, in the Church, and in civil government. This may come in part from misapprehension of those principles of liberty which our fathers fought for, and of which they have made us legatees and guardians. That liberty was not license, but the freedom which is reminded by some restraint that others have rights which our liberty must not transgress. It may be that want of respect to authority is due also in part to

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that error, though it is a popular error, of magnifying man's moral ability, though in a depraved state, thus fostering an arrogant and self-sufficient and self-asserting feeling, which is too little inclined to respect the opinions of mankind or to pay homage to them that bear rule. The apostle rebukes this want of respect to those in office, saying, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine." He also enjoins, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." * * * * We must be subject for conscience sake. It may be, in accounting for want of respect to constituted authority, that the fact must be taken into the account that the laity, long too dormant in Christian activity, now to a good degree aglow with desire to save souls, undesignedly attaches too little importance to methods ordained by the Head of the Church. This will correct itself in due time, for while the Word of God stands the Church will stand as "the pillar and ground of the truth." We deprecate the mischief of want of due deference to constituted authorities. Rejoicing in the great increase of ratio of church membership to the population in the last century—one hundred years ago it being as one to forty, now one to five—we ascribe this vastly improved condition of the country, under God, to the use of his own constituted instrumentalities.

We go around our Zion and note her towers and palaces, and rejoice in her order, and are not ashamed of her record. We believe that she is entrusted with doctrines and a polity and usages which are adapted to save souls and to edify believers, and to make the man of God perfect, "thoroughly furnished unto all good works." She stands to witness for God's sovereignty, and for salvation by grace alone. She stands to insist upon obedience to the law, divine and human, accepting as the expression of her respect to law and order the beautiful words of "Judicious" Hooker: "Of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is in the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage—the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power. Both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy." This paragraph is our profession of homage to law and order. Of course we hold that fixed rules, and obedience to them in the

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family, in the Church and in the State, are our only safety, and that in the end these carry the day over laxity of discipline and methods unwarranted by the sacred Scriptures, however plausible and promising, and temporarily successful. We believe that that civilization best deserves the name, and will longest continue, which is leavened with a sense of God. We teach in our pulpits that one is not only furnished for the next world but best qualified for his place in the Church, and the family, and society, when he knows in the consciousness of his spirit the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make him wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.'

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THE

FOREIGN MISSION WORK.

A CENTENNIAL SERMON.

BY

REV. WM. RANKIN DURYEE, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE "LAFAYETTE REFORMED CHURCH,"

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

1876

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THE FOREIGN MISSION WORK.

A CENTENNIAL SERMON.

"And when they were come, and had gathered the Church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles."—ACTS, xiv: 27.

THESE words describe a special meeting of the Church of Jesus Christ held in the great City of Antioch. The description is interesting as portraying the Apostolic age. Here we see what engaged the attention of the Christians who lived eighteen centuries ago, of Christians to whom the earthly life of our Saviour was nearer in time than the life and death of Washington are to us. Again, this is the first great foreign mission meeting of which we have any record. A few short years before this meeting the great Immanuel had parted from his disciples with the ringing words which incited to action while lifting the souls of the despondent, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, * * and lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The work to which our Lord pointed so plainly was soon begun. Even from the ranks of heathenism some were drawn and welcomed to the Church of Jesus Christ. But it was begun with timidity and hesitation. Then, as now, prejudice and pride weakened faith and limited the action of love. At last the Holy Spirit Himself drew near, and so impressed the last words of Jesus that the Church could neither forget nor neglect them. He separated two of the foremost leaders of the Christians and pointed them away to the pagan world. On their return the

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assembled Christians of Antioch first heard of the toils, trials and triumphs of their foreign missionaries. Through church after church the tidings rolled. How simply does the record tell us of the result: "and they caused great joy unto all the brethren." From that day to this the disciples of Jesus have sought to keep representatives in far-off fields, the Church rising to this duty under every special impulse of the Holy Spirit. And from that day to this, among the surest tokens of a living union with the unseen Saviour is the warming of the heart whenever the story is repeated of heathenism assailed in its strongholds and beaten back, of souls bound by Satan's strongest chains bursting, by divine grace, from ignorance, and vileness, and fear, and walking in the light, and life, and liberty which flow from faith in an ascended Redeemer.

I propose to-day to rehearse a part of the same story which was begun in the Church of Antioch. We live, in this later age, amid Christian institutions, whose foundations were laid by ancestors who loved the gospel and were not ashamed to own their Saviour. In our own portion of the Church we glory in a descent from godly fathers, who bore from Holland and France the same great doctrines which comfort and inspire us to-day. I would especially call your attention to one portion of our own labor for Jesus Christ—that work which our Reformed Church has carried on in the fields of heathenism, amid the millions of dying souls to whom the Saviour, in departing, pointed his disciples. How have we followed out the "marching orders" of the great Captain of our salvation? The record may excite no boasting. Yet it is no record of neglect and shame we bring you, while we tell this story of the hundred years.

Before our country became independent, the churches which our Holland and Huguenot ancestors founded were themselves mission fields. Yet the few overtaxed ministers, seeking the scattered colonists amid constant danger from the savages, did often reach forth their hands even to their pagan enemies, and found time to proclaim to them the blessed Gospel. The benevolent attempts of John Eliot of Massachusetts to Christianize the Indians, and to shield his converts against the hatred of his own countrymen, have rightly been eulogized. The love and zeal which could prompt to such effort at once exalted the pastor of Roxbury, and by the writings and support of such Englishmen as Robert Boyle his fame was perpetuated. Yet in 1643, three years

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before Eliot began his mission, we find the pastor of the Dutch Church of Albany seeking and gaining converts among the pagan Mohawks. A few years later and the frontier church of Schenectady joined in these toils with success, as their records show. At the beginning of the eighteenth century translations of portions of the Bible and our liturgy had been made for the use of Indians gathered into Christian folds. Unsung by the voice of fame, these primal efforts of our pioneer ministers were owned of God. Souls now rejoice in glory, who, apart from the missionary zeal of our pious ancestors, would never have known of Christ nor reached the place of heaven.

We come now to the last one hundred years, that wondeful era of advance in this western world. The scattered mission churches of the Holland colonists became united in one representative body in 1771, but it was not until 1792 that a constitution was adopted and the independent progress of the American Church really began. Starting from the later point we find attention soon paid to foreign mission work. To gain the best idea of the development of our interest in preaching the Gospel to the heathen, we may divide the intervening years into three periods :

I. THE FIRST PERIOD embraces the forty years between 1792 and 1832. Many of the mightiest movements of modern times had their beginnings in this era. The Church of Jesus Christ received a baptism which gave a zeal almost like that of Apostolic days. A new call from heaven seemed to be heard by the Christians of England and the United States, bidding them advance the lines of a Bible Christianity and seek for conquests among nations sitting in darkness. Our own Church, small in numbers but influential by its position, the character of its learned ministry and its diligent and devout laity, at once took a foremost stand. In 1796 a number of Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed pastors in the City of New York resolved to organize a Foreign Mission Society like those which had been recently formed in England. Through associated efforts these pastors hoped to arouse American Christians to their privileges and duties in regard to the heathen. At the first meeting held, the Rev. Dr. McWhorter, of Newark, one of the great Presbyterian leaders of the last century, held the attention of a large audience by a sermon on " The blessedness of the liberal." After the service the Missionary Society was organized. The thousands of Indians

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then found in nearly every State offered a special field for labor, and to these pagans the Society resolved to send the Gospel. A constitution was adopted and an address to the churches. In this Society the ministers and laymen of the Reformed Dutch Church at once took a prominent stand. The honored Presbyterian names of Dr. John Rodgers and Dr. John M. Mason stand, among the officers and directors, united with those of Dr. John H. Livingston, William Linn, Gerardus Kuypers, John N. Abeel and Peter Wilson. The father of our own beloved George W. Bethune was the Treasurer. At the first anniversary the Rev. Dr. Mason preached his magnificent sermon on "Messiah's Throne." He afterwards repeated it in England, where Robert Hall, the Great Baptist preacher, was so much moved by it that, it is said, he almost determined never to enter the pulpit again, so grandly had his ideal of true preaching been raised. At the meeting in 1799 Dr. Livingston delivered a discourse of like power to the sermon of Dr. Mason, on "Christ is all and in all." These published sermons, and the reports of the meetings, awakened a widespread interest in the foreign mission work. The Society organized a plan for united prayer, and the ministers at once gave notice of it to their people. Quaintly and sweetly does it sound across the years, this resolution, which began the monthly concerts: "*Resolved*, That the second Wednesday evening of every month, beginning at candlelight, be observed from February next (1798) by the members of this Society and all who are willing to join with them, for the purpose of offering up their prayers and supplications to the God of Grace, that he would be pleased to pour out his Spirit on his Church and send his Gospel to all nations."*

A "Northern Missionary Society" was next formed, in 1797, at Lansingburgh, N. Y., with the Rev. Dr. Dirck Romeyn, pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church of Schenectady, for its first president. Its special work was sought among the Oneidas and the Indian tribes on the southern borders of the great lakes. It maintained a close union with the New York organization, by whom the first missionary, the Rev. Joseph Bullen, of Vermont, was sent to the Chickasaws of Georgia. The two societies sustained a "missionary magazine," which soon circulated among churches of every name from Massachusetts to South Carolina. In this were published the toils and first triumphs of the English missionaries in

* N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. i, p. 50.

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Asia and the islands of the Pacific, as well as the journals of our own laborers among the Indians. From these societies went forth the call which rang like the cry of the "Man of Macedonia" in the vision of Troas. That call awoke the descendants of the New England pilgrims, and led to the formation of societies sustained by the Congregational churches. That call aroused the enthusiasm of young servants of Jesus Christ just entering the ministry, and enkindled a zeal which overleaped all national bounds. It is a glorious truth, in which we may rightly rejoice to day, that by those first organizations, in which the Presbyterian and Dutch churches stood almost alone, the fountains were struck from which one of the mightiest streams of Christian benevolence, during the present century, has flowed.

In 1816 our General Synod united with the highest representative bodies of the Presbyterian and United Presbyterian churches in organizing a "United Missionary Society," to be sustained by the three denominations. In this the former organizations were, in effect, merged. Six years before this action the expressed desires of a few students in the Andover Theological Seminary—desires which reached to nations across the seas—had led to the formation of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." In this Board it was hoped that all evangelical denominations would unite and be, in some measure, represented. Gradually this was effected. The "United Missionary Society" was one of the last to be dissolved, as the hearts of many were warmly attached to it. Yet the majority of our active churches soon became enlisted on the side of the larger organization. In 1818 a young and rising New York physician, Dr. John Scudder, an earnest member of the Franklin Street Dutch Church, went out to India as a missionary under the American Board. Instantly the prayers and contributions of many attached friends were drawn to the help of the society which sustained him. In 1826 the "United Missionary Society" was dissolved, and the contributions of our churches were sent through the American Board. Formal articles of agreement were adopted in 1832, by which the Reformed Church was allowed to conduct missions sustained by its own sons in a manner suited to our special form of government. A committee or "Board" was chosen by our General Synod to attend especially to the development of the home interest in the foreign mission work.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Reformed Church in this land

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was never a laggard in the great cause. Small in numbers compared with other parts of Christ's army, we have been from the outset, but efficiency does not depend on size. Descending from one of the smallest of the Protestant nations of Europe, which had yet been the sturdy and successful upholder of civil and religious freedom, our godly fathers, settled chiefly in two central States, were not the men to hold back in the grand attack on heathenism which began eighty years ago. The voices of our ministry, the pens of our writers, the money of our churches were all contributed. We do not pretend to say that the highest level was at once attained. But the Reformed Church did take a noble share in the first movements, and those who in faith break the hard ground and plant the seed which afterward springs up to trees of glorious fruit, should certainly be remembered as among the greatest of benefactors.

II. THE SECOND PERIOD now advances for consideration—the quarter of a century between 1832 and 1857, in which we were connected with the American Board. At the beginning of these years the Rev. David Abeel, the nephew of an honored pastor of the Collegiate Church, started for China as a chaplain of the American Seaman's Friend Society. Soon after his arrival he became a missionary under the American Board, and, by instruction from home, reported as to the condition of parts of Eastern Asia and the adjacent islands. The island of Borneo was selected in 1835 as offering inducements for missionary efforts, and in 1844 the City of Amoy, in China, was occupied as a point of vantage. To both of these stations the special attention of the Reformed Church was at once directed. The winning and effective appeals of David Abeel, through the press and pulpit, roused the highest interest—an interest which became intense when a band of nine missionaries, of our own communion, set sail in 1836 for the far distant haunts of paganism. By these faithful men and women two stations in Borneo were soon occupied, and the Word of Christ was preached to the Malay and Dyak population as well as to the Chinese, crowding, then as now, into every commercial port of the Pacific. For a short period reinforcements were sent to our pioneers till the great events occurred, in 1842, which opened China to foreign intercourse. The interest in the Borneo mission at once lessened. Two of our missionaries sailed, in 1844, from the island and began, in the great City of Amoy, the Chinese

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mission which still exists. In 1849 our last missionary in Borneo, shattered in health and disheartened by the listlessness at home, came back to plead for reinforcements. These eloquent and earnest pleas were heard by the Church with interest, but were met by an apathy too strong to be overcome. The Borneo mission was abandoned just when it should have been strengthened. The first ten or twenty years of every mission enterprise can only be used for laying foundations, and more cannot rightly be expected. The mission was abandoned, and to our shame. Like its eastern successor in Amoy it might to-day have been sending forth widening streams of blessing, had our Church risen to a higher level of duty a quarter of a century ago.

But while this station was lost God prospered the new Chinese mission in the highest degree. Churches were established and points beyond Amoy were taken. In India, also, the preaching of Dr. Scudder was blessed greatly, and in 1853 the sons of the veteran missionary established the Classis of Arcot in the great district lying near Madras. The year following the whole of our Church was moved by the tidings of the death of that earnest and faithful man, who for nearly forty years had preached Christ through Ceylon and the Carnatic. The name of Dr. John Scudder will always shine among those who "through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises," and that division of Christ's army to which he was most closely attached will always cherish his fame.

In these years, also, the honored Dr. Van Dyck, from the Dutch Church of Kinderhook, went forth (in 1839) to act as a missionary physician in Syria. His abundant labors for nearly forty years, in his chosen field, have been crowned at last by the completion of the great Arabic version of the Bible. As we look back to the time in which David Abeel, and Van Dyck, and Pohlman, and Doty, and others, living and dead, went to the far-off nations, we feel that our Church was nobly represented. Yet our advance in interest at home did not fully keep pace with the opportunities God was giving. The Reformed Church was growing rapidly. From two hundred churches in 1836, when our brethren sailed for Borneo, we had increased at home to nearly four hundred churches in 1856, and our ability to sustain all parts of the work of advancing Christ's kingdom had more than quadrupled in the same period. The amount given by our churches to the mission cause was always greater than our own representatives required,

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and the surplus could indeed work good in other fields. But that thirty-five thousand communicants should only devote thirteen thousand dollars yearly to the great cause, and this was the highest annual amount, certainly showed that no high measure of consecration had been gained. It was seen by some of our best leaders that only a sense of direct responsibility could develop the benevolence of the Church. In the General Synod of 1856 a masterly report on the subject was presented. Four great truths were pressed home: "1. If, as a Church, we are to do anything effectually in the great work of foreign missions, we need a mode of action which shall bring the responsibility directly home to the people, and this an independent operation is most likely to secure. 2. We are able to conduct this department of church work for ourselves, and should, therefore, undertake it. 3. The Church is ready for and desires a distinct and separate organization. 4. Such separate action will complete the organizations which the great interests of the Church call for." These points undoubtedly represented the prevalent feeling. In 1857 our General Synod took final action, and in the fall of that year a most amicable separation took place between the American Board and the Reformed Church, with hearty and sincere "God speeds" from each. The mission fields of Arcot and Amoy were entirely entrusted to our care. To manage the important department of Christian benevolence, which was so enlarged, our General Synod chose at once some of the most honored of our ministers and laymen. The names of Theodore Frelinghuysen, Dr Thomas De Witt and Chancellor Isaac Ferris will always be associated intimately with the direction and growth of the later interests of our Church in foreign missions.

III. And as we stand now and look over the THIRD PERIOD of the last eighteen years, we must feel that those venerated men who have already passed into the skies, and their associates still living, were right in calling the Church to assume its own burden. Faith and benevolence have been developed at home, and large and increasing blessings have been gained abroad. The Classis of Arcot which, in 1857, numbered *five* native churches, with one hundred and seventeen communicants, reported, last year, *sixteen* native churches with seven hundred and thirty-eight communicants, and nearly three thousand constant hearers. In China the success of the Amoy mission has been noted as remarkable by all

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bodies of Christians. The Presbyterians of England are represented in the same field, and their missionaries work in loving unison with our own. The Classis of Amoy embraces the fifteen native churches, gathered by united efforts, and in three of these churches there are pastors entirely supported by the Chinese converts. Over eleven hundred Christians are found in Amoy to-day, giving evidence, by consistent lives amid temptations and persecution, of a vital union with the unseen Saviour.

In addition to these fields the Reformed Church has entered upon another, presented in the Empire of Japan. In 1859 the first Protestant missionaries to those long isolated islands were sent from America, under the direction of our own Board. On reaching Japan they found themselves the pioneers of American Christianity, one missionary physician who had come from China alone preceding them. Japan had, indeed, heard of Jesus Christ long before. Jesuits of the sixteenth century had crossed the seas and established themselves as teachers. But, as in other pagan countries, these cowled enthusiasts soon revealed the earthly and political aims mingled with their religious zeal, and the keen-eyed Japanese rulers marked the danger. By quick and dreadful action, yet only after the manner of Romanist practice, the pagans stamped out Jesuit Christianity. For three centuries the islands were closed to all foreign intercourse, excepting the limited commercial privileges accorded to Dutch merchants. And then the higher, nobler Christianity of the Bible, which brings the soul in subjection to the kingly Saviour rather than to an earthly pope, was carried by our missionaries into the opened ports of Japan. For weary years our representatives were hampered by many restrictions, some of the severest resulting from the bitter memory of Jesuit intrigues. At last those rules were relaxed, and though perfect freedom is not yet gained, our missionaries to-day stand among the most respected and trusted of all the foreigners who have entered the empire. Their advice again and again has been sought and followed, when the intellectual development of the nation has been considered. Four years ago one of our missionaries organized in Yokohama the first native church, and over one hundred members were received in two years. At other stations individual conversions are constantly noted, and the schools opened by our faithful and earnest female missionaries are becoming prized by the intelligent classes. It would be no strange event to find Protestant Christianity, with the Bible for its basis

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and Jesus Christ its highest object of regard, the prevalent religion in Japan in less than half a century. And to this field our own Church was the first to turn, and in it our own missionaries labor among the foremost of Christ's toiling servants to-day. The statistics of converts and churches in all three of our foreign missions give the very highest encouragement, and yet they bring but a slight idea of the advance made. Schools have been reared where, in the course of years, hundreds and even thousands receive Christian instruction. Homes, such as heathenism never produces, have been planted by our influence. Hospitals have shown the tenderness which the disciples of Jesus feel towards the sick and suffering, and thus an ever widening circle have learned of him who brought "life and immortality to light."

We turn now to mark the interest of the Church at home during the same eighteen years. We never dreamed of what was before us when the foreign work was assumed. The country has passed through the most troubled period of its existence, and one of the worst results of those years yet remains in the special currency whose value sinks the moment it is measured by a world's standard. It is this which has brought the greatest difficulty to our Church, as it has striven to sustain representatives in the heathen world. Yet the people have nobly advanced, as the need was laid upon them, and so, we believe, they will answer in the future. For the last ten years we have fought to hold our own against fluctuating rates of exchange, which have reached, at times, a fearful height. In China we have the same number of seven missionaries and assistant missionaries as in 1865, while in India the number has gone down from fourteen to nine. The *six* representatives of our Church in Japan in 1865 have increased to *thirteen* to-day. The advance in the number of missionaries is, therefore, barely noticeable. This is not on account of any lack of consecration in our younger ministry. Again and again have our choicest sons offered themselves for mission service, and again and again have they heard the Church at home answer, "Not now."

For the first ten years of separate action the Reformed Church advanced rapidly in benevolent contributions to the foreign missions. In spite of the business troubles of those years, the average annual receipts from our churches amounted to over forty-seven thousand dollars. We include in those receipts the legacies and special gifts—one of the latter, from a single generous man,

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being the sum of fifty-six thousand dollars. The work abroad grew, however, rapidly. Not merely missionary support, but the erection of churches and schools, the partial support of the native assistants, the maintenance of the institutions already planted; all this soon required at least fifty thousand dollars yearly. Since 1868 the Reformed Church has contributed an annual sum averaging sixty-five thousand dollars in our own currency. Had this sum been in gold and silver it would have more than answered all immediate needs; but, alas! its value fluctuated year by year, and the real worth of the money did not come up to the pressing calls. The result has been a debt which has limited all advance, and lost a thousand opportunities for usefulness. The cavil of expense in home administration of affairs can never lie against the Board of Foreign Missions of our Church, for the average sum of seven and a half per cent. on its income has met all the expense required by the difficult labor of managing this portion of our Christian work. And the people who have made the noble advance in yearly benevolence, which the figures we have quoted show, have been so blessed of God that we cannot doubt their ability to move to nobler positions than any yet attained. We have doubled in number in the past twenty years. Over seventy thousand communicants are called of God to-day to do something for the great heathen world. If a single dollar yearly from each one were given to this holy cause, the work abroad would instantly receive a new impulse. The Christian women of our Church are already heeding that call. Banded together, we find the societies under our Women's Board of Foreign Missions already doing much for the Christian elevation of the women and children on heathen shores. And the moment the whole Church reaches the average we have named, that moment the work abroad will take on a new aspect. It is not a question of sentiment but of duty. God has led us to the noble position we hold, and bids us to-day to advance the lines. Let our gifts show that our hands and hearts are in accord as we answer back, "By thy grace we will."

We close this record with satisfaction. In spite of our hesitancy and inconstancy in some stages of its progress, the advance made from period to period may gratify every Christian heart. The Reformed Church in America has been appointed to foreign mission labor from early days. Our fathers gave themselves to the work, and have transmitted it to us, their children. We labor under circumstances somewhat different from those which

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beset the early toilers in this field. The halo of romance which once encircled lands beyond the sea has vanished. Thousands of heathen throng to our shores, and with the slightest effort can be reached from our own doors. Their ignorance and their wisdom, their degradation and their peculiar virtues, are scrutinized as they never were before, and ideas are gained which affect differently different minds. The scoffer at missions points to this emigration, and pronounces races, of which these wanderers are types, unworthy our effort to Christianize, increasing national prejudices through the competitions of labor and trade. Another class, earnest often for Christ, speaks of these "Greeks at home" as demanding the whole of our benevolent regard, and decries the throwing away of such providential opportunities. Wit and literary talent band themselves in opposition to what is termed "visionary," as opposed to "practical" Christianity. But all these arguments and jeers do not touch the main question. There are yet millions of dying souls in lands beyond the sea, who have not even the chance to hear of the great salvation. Before the king, in the parable, gave the command, "Compel them to come in," his servants had borne the invitation far and wide, "All things are now ready." Our own land is, at least, marked by churches where men may worship; but we have not yet carried the gospel to the ends of the earth. We have not yet preached it to all nations. Till that is accomplished the cause of foreign missions must be one of prime importance among the various departments of Christian labor. It must still exercise the faith of Christ's redeemed, and demand their prayers and gifts. And the believer or Church who best obeys the departing Saviour's words will never find his strength so exhausted as to be unable to work for Christ at home. The Reformed Church has stood for nearly a century in the front rank as to proportionate gifts and energetic prosecution of the foreign mission work. Her growth at home, in the meantime, has been steady and sure, till she stands to-day, among American churches, one of the most compact, and well organized, and zealous of all the tribes of the spiritual Israel—clear in her doctrines of grace, firm in her adherence to them, and ready to perish sooner than to yield one of them to the caprice of a passing age. Her work abroad is a part now of her life. The leaves and branching twigs cannot be destroyed without the trunk losing some of its vitality. There is no step backward in the march of Christ's army. When we lose our picket line we must

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either regain it or understand that we are near an overthrow. By the goodness of God in the past we are bound to press forward in the future. By the memory of such men as Abeel and Scudder, Pohlman, Doty and Youngblood, who hazarded and gave their lives for Christ and His kingdom, we cannot let their work fail. By the pledge and consecration we have made of all we have and are to the Great Redeemer, we are bound to do our share in preaching the gospel where it has never yet been heard. By the hatred we have to the devil and all his dominion we are bound to penetrate to the fastnesses of the sin-cursed world where moral light has never shone. On the last year of the sixteenth century, on the cold and desolate shores of Western Patagonia, the crews of seven ships of Holland assembled themselves. For over a year they had struggled with the reefs and whirlwinds of unknown seas, with Spanish cruisers, with tropic fevers and polar frosts. The provisions were running near exhaustion, and they were feeding on what barren rocks and niggard seas would supply; yet then and there the admiral called the officers and crews together, and in memory of the first passage of the Straits of Magellan by a squadron of heavy ships, he instituted an order of knighthood. Pioneers on the path of empire, the members of that order took a solemn oath to maintain their honor unsullied, to be true to each other and to the little republic which had sent them forth to seek the proud enemy of their fatherland on every sea, and to do battle with him in every corner of the earth.* Nobly did they fulfil the promise. One of those ships began the great trade with Japan. Another reached, for the first time, the continent around the Southern Pole. Only one ever returned to Holland to start new expeditions for conquests in the southern seas. And what our brave ancestors could do from patriotic and commercial impulse, surely we, the children of a nobler kingdom, should do to-day. Before a greater leader we should take higher vows never to rest till this world is won for Jesus, and his enemy and ours is spoiled of the prey. Then shall we press onward and grander conquests reward our enthusiasm and zeal. Then shall the final triumph of the Great Redeemer hasten fast, and shorter grow the distance which divides the Centennial of our country from the Millennial reign of our only King.

* Motley's "United Netherlands," vol. 3, p. 580.

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"Waft, waft ye winds His story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole;
Till, o'er our ransomed nature
The Lamb, for sinners slain,
Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss returns to reign."

TABLE OF RECEIPTS FROM 1857.

[These sums include legacies and individual donations. The figures for 1857–'58 show the receipts for about eight months. After 1859 the accounts run to May 1; before that time they ran up to June. The date is that of the year in the May of which the accounts are balanced :]

1858	$16,076 87	1869	$81,410 38
1859	25,034 61	1870	57,342 94
1860	30,181 58	1871	73,085 54
1861	34,159 26	1872	65,173 26
1862	30,403 17	1873	83,948 61
1863	42,259 68	1874	55,352 95
1864	35,494 48	1875	54,249 95
1865	*85,128 29		
1866	55,783 75	Total	$998,589 12
1867	120,030 89	Average per year for 18 years	$55,447
1868	53,472 91	Average for last 8 years	$65,504

* Exchange cost, $35,000.

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ITS DUTY IN THE FUTURE

AS FORESHOWN BY

ITS COURSE IN THE PAST.

BY

REV. JAMES DEMAREST, JR.

KINGSTON, N. Y.

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ITS DUTY IN THE FUTURE

AS FORESHOWN BY

ITS COURSE IN THE PAST.

"The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way."—PROV., xiv: 8.

A CHARACTERISTIC of wisdom is circumspection—a looking about one, to discover the bearings and relations of things. While folly goes heedlessly forward, under the chance impulses of the moment, wisdom ponders its going that its way may be established. It becomes us to use this practical wisdom, whether in regard to the course of life or the progress of an enterprise, since without it there can only be disappointment and failure.

And what is true of individuals is true also of institutions, which flourish in proportion to the wisdom of their foundation and the prudence of their management. The Church of Christ is no exception to this statement. On the contrary, the highest exemplification of the truth of the text is given in the history of the Church—which cannot indeed die out of the earth, since it pleases God to communicate the divine wisdom unto the world through it; but which, composed as it is of the frail children of men, has failed sometimes to recognize the teaching of God's providence toward it, and heedlessly lapsed into folly and disgrace. Any branch of the Church which fails to mark, with a devout and docile spirit, the course of God's providence toward it, as the

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guiding pillar of cloud and fire in the wilderness, will be sure to reap the consequences of such neglect in disaster and decline; while, on the other hand, that Church which understands the day of its visitation, and responds with alacrity to the divine call, will go on from strength to strength, and from conquest to conquest.

In view of this fact, it is eminently fitting, on this Centennial year, to take a glimpse of our Church's history in the past, and carefully to note the circumstances of the present, that we may learn the Lord's will and our duty. I, therefore, cheerfully accede to the desire of the General Synod, as expressed through its Committee, to treat in this Centennial discourse the topic of "The duty of our Church in the future as foreshown by its course in the past."

In doing this it is necessary, at the beginning, to glance for a moment at certain passages in her history.

One hundred years ago the Reformed (Dutch) Church was just emerging from the chaos of a long and bitter controversy. A fierce dissension had arisen over the question of an independent ecclesiastical organization in this country. Up to the year 1737—that is, for more than a century from the first planting of the Church in this Western world—the question of independence of the Mother Church in Holland had not been agitated. But in this year a desire for relief from the embarrassments and delays attending this state of things found expression in a formal proposal for an organization "for advice and fraternal conference," put forth by a convention of ministers and elders held in the City of New York. The plan received the endorsement of the several churches, and was duly forwarded to the Classis of Amsterdam, for the judgment of that body, whose jurisdiction was acknowledged by all the churches in this country. After a delay of some ten years the plan was finally approved, and the proposed body was constituted under the name of the Coetus, in 1747.

But experience soon showed that very little was gained by this arrangement. The Coetus was simply an advisory body, whose doings were subject to revision by the Classis of Amsterdam, and the annoyances of the old state of things were felt as keenly as ever. Enough of independence, however, was enjoyed under the new arrangement to beget the desire for more, and to convince many that the Church in this land was competent to manage her own affairs, and would be greatly increased in efficiency by so doing. Hence the demand arose for the formation of a Classis,

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and in 1754 the Coetus formally laid before the churches a proposal that it should be changed into a regular Classis. But this was going too fast and too far, in the opinion of a considerable party; and now the oft-repeated conflict between progress and conservatism began to be waged in the bosom of the Church. The strife grew into great bitterness, and continued for fifteen years, to the great scandal of the cause which both parties were professing to serve. At length deliverance came from this sad state of things through the instrumentality of John H. Livingston, one of the most revered names in our Church history, and who is justly regarded as the father of the Church in this country. Through his intervention peace was brought about among the contending factions, and harmony reigned once more within the Church.

These dissensions were scarcely healed when the war of the Revolution broke out, and the perfecting of the work which had been so happily begun was of necessity postponed. But after the close of the war efforts were renewed in this direction, and the organization of the Church, substantially as we now have it, was finally completed by the adoption of a formal constitution, in 1792.

Thus it will be seen that the Reformed (Dutch) Church has not yet had a century of organic life in this country. Though one of the earliest on the ground, it was for more than a century and a half the dependent of a foreign church. Not until the year 1792 was she in a position to take her place alongside of sister churches as an independent organization, equipped for the Master's work.

Nor was she even then quite free to pursue an onward course. The Dutch language was still largely used in her services. It had been her only language until the year 1764, when the first sermon in English ever heard in a Dutch church was preached by Archibald Laidlie, a Scotchman, in the old Middle Dutch Church, in New York, the building familiar to this generation as the New York Post-office. It was not until 1794, thirty years after this, that English became the official language of the Church, the minutes of the General Synod being then, for the first time, kept in that language. But long after this the Dutch was used in many places in the services of the Church. It is less than fifty years since one, at least, of the services on the Sabbath has been rendered in some of our churches in the Dutch language, the innovation of the use of English being so far allowed as to yield up the

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other service to that language, for the benefit of the younger portion of the congregation; so that the period is comparatively recent within which the Reformed Church has been free from that bar to progress which the use of a foreign tongue so long and so effectually raised in her way.

In view of all this, it is not strange that the progress of the Church has been slow. What with the delays and vexations incident to procuring her ministers from Holland, for a very long series of years; the internal dissensions which arose over the question of a change in the source of ministerial supply, involving that of a more perfect organization of the Church in this land, and which threatened at one time its utter disruption; the persistent use of a language foreign to that of the country, long after an earnest desire was expressed on the part of very many for a change in this respect, and the retention of this language in many quarters down to a comparatively recent period, we cannot wonder that sister churches, which came on the ground subsequently to our occupation, but harassed and hampered by none of the hindrances with which we have had to contend, have far outstripped us in progress and growth, and left us toilsomely trudging along in the rear. The fact is, that for all practical purposes of church life and work, we are very much younger than we have been accustomed to think. Our centennial has not come yet, and will not until near the close of the nineteenth century. We have been here, it is true, ever since 1619—but for so long a time in swadding clothes, and then in leading strings, that the time is comparatively short since the Mother Church sent us forth with her blessing, to strike out for ourselves and make our way in the world. Our babyhood was prolonged beyond all reason, and our childhood was sickly, being subject principally to convulsions, so that we did not have a fair start with others of about our own age; but at last we did get on our feet, though at a much later period than many suppose, and have since then been gradually developing and making our way.

Now the question comes: What light is thrown upon our future course by our history in the past? What lessons can we learn from the teaching of experience?

That mistakes have been committed in the past is plain enough from the hasty review which we have just made. If a more enlightened view of the situation had been taken, and a course adopted in accordance therewith, in the two great crises of our history in

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the last century, there can be no doubt that the Church would be vastly stronger and more influential than it is to-day. There was, first, a tenacious clinging to the Dutch language long after New York became an English colony, and the English language had displaced the Dutch, not only in the courts and the schools but to a great extent even in the social intercourse of descendants of the Dutch themselves; and although the first steps taken to introduce the English language into the service of the Church were marked by the greatest caution, only one English speaking minister of the four in New York being employed in the pastorate, still this very moderate advance was not accomplished without a great upheaval, to the vast detriment of the Church. Three classes of people were lost to her communion by this movement—first, those who were impatient of the long delay in the introduction of the English language, and who consequently went to other churches, where they could understand what was said in the preaching and other services; secondly, the lovers of peace, who wanted to escape from the din of the controversy on the subject; and, thirdly, a perversely wrong-headed class, who said, "If it must be English, it shall be English then," and withdrew to the Episcopal Church, where, of course, they never heard a syllable of the language of their fathers. Then there was an equally tenacious clinging to ecclesiastical connection with the Classis of Amsterdam on the part of a large and influential section of the Church, resulting in that bitter war of parties which threatened for a time the Church's very existence.

In these two notable instances of most harmful error we find the root of the evil to have been an overweening affection for that which should have been altogether subordinate—attachment to what was Dutch taking the place of attachment to Christ and His cause. And the confounding of these two has too largely characterized the Church within the present century. There has been a disposition to make the Church *Dutch* rather than *Christian*. Glorifications of the Dutch Church, with the Dutch emphasized, are associated with my earliest recollections of these things, as the staple both of public and private conversations which concerned church affairs; and in maturer years I have observed that the key-note of a public meeting held to promote denominational interests is very apt to be given in "the Dutch of it." Now I have not a word to say against the cherishing of a high veneration for all that is good and great in a noble ancestry. On the

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contrary, I hold it to be eminently right and dutiful thankfully to appreciate the heritage of a noble name and honest blood. But why confound this with the higher relation in which we are all the children of God, by faith that is in Christ Jesus? A true Church of Christ is more Christian than it is anything else; and if we are to have a future in this country we must fully recognize and appreciate this important truth. We are not to know each other after the flesh any more, but the faith that makes us one is to be the life blood of a new vitality. As a Church we have behind us a glorious history on the other side of the water. One of the grandest developments of the Reformation period was witnessed in the Netherlands, when the zeal and courage of the Dutch Church, her sublime patience and self-sacrifice, elevated the low countries of Europe to a moral grandeur which has commanded, and to this day commands the admiration of the world. But on this side of the water we have no little reason, as a Church, to humble ourselves over the frailties and follies of our fathers, confessing before God their errors and sins, and imploring the impulse of a wiser and holier spirit to actuate us in our church life and work. Forgetting the things that are behind, alike those in which we take pride and those of which we have reason to be ashamed, and reaching forth unto the opportunities that are before us, it becomes us to press on to the realization of our high calling as a Church of Jesus Christ.

The great vice of the Church in this country has been the slowness with which she has recognized her mission to do work for the Master, rather than to be distinctively Dutch. In addition to the immediate hindrances to progress which this disposition has imposed upon her, it has placed her at the disadvantage of being, to a certain degree, un-American; and this not only in the aspect which she has presented to others, but in the feeling which has swayed herself. Until within a very recent period, the first question asked, when the proposal was made to constitute a new church in any locality, has been, "Is there a Dutch element there?" as if the Church had no mission save to Dutchmen! This spirit has circumscribed both her efforts and her boundaries —has confined her principally to localities which are peopled by the descendants of Hollanders. And, unless this spirit be cast out, disintegration and decay are only a question of time. For this nation of ours is rapidly outgrowing the old traditions which the several peoples composing it brought with them originally

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from the lands beyond the sea, and is becoming more and more distinctively American—a new resultant of the forces which shape a nation; fashioned out of the old elements, it is true, but possessing a character and life peculiarly its own. Any institution, therefore, secular or religious, which is to live and thrive in the future history of this nation, must be American and nothing else; adapting itself, by its broad sympathies and generous policy, to the needs of the whole people—feeling in itself the pulses of the national life, and exerting its activities on the broad plane of national development.

It is a cheering sign of the times, in connection with our Church, that this necessity is becoming more and more felt. There is manifestly a growing disposition to cut loose from the dead past, and to accept the facts and duties of the living present. And it is high time that the whole Church should understand, and profoundly feel how vital is this necessity to our very existence as a Church. What is the meaning of all the talk which has been lately heard about the merging of our Church into a larger sister denomination? What is the meaning of the intelligence which comes to us every now and then of a church here and there transferring its connection to some other body? Would these things occur if the feeling had not arisen that the Church has about lived out its day, and had better get ready to depart in peace? When a man is in the vigor of his prime, and diligently pursuing his calling, you never hear people talking about the disposition of his effects; but when he exhibits the infirmities of age then his will becomes a subject of anxiety. And so with our Church. People have said, "It is evidently past its prime. It will continue to exist for some time yet in places where the old Dutch traditions and feeling linger, but in other places it is dying out, and might as well die out." Well, if the Church is simply Dutch, that is a correct view of the situation; and that view will inevitably be taken just so long as we consent to be anything less than an American Church, fully alive to the needs of the cause of Christ in the country and the age in which our lot is cast. We shall never convince others, nor ourselves either, that we are strong and healthy, by sitting down and arguing the case. We may pass as many resolutions to that effect as we please in our church assemblies, and manipulate our statistics with ever so much skill to make a favorable exhibit, but all will be in vain as a demonstration of soundness and vigor. There is no argument for

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a right to be like being. There is no proof of strength like the exertion of strength. Let us prove, brethren, our right to live, by putting forth the activities of life. Let us challenge the respect of sister churches by vying with the most zealous of them in downright work for the Master. And let us command the love and reverence of our whole population by the diligent dispensing of the Gospel which is committed to us.

This general view of the necessities of the situation, in regard to present duty and the aim of the future, indicates the policy which ought to control the Church from this time forth. This policy should be active aggression—the putting forth of the proper life of the Church in vigorous growth. Our development heretofore has been mainly on the line of a foreign nationality. Let us now, putting aside all such constraint, broaden out our Christian activities on every hand, keeping pace as far as possible with the rapidly increasing population of our country and the development of our national life. In doing this it becomes us, in the first place, to foster growth and expansion in those regions where the Church has long been planted, and then to aim at the planting of churches in steadily increasing numbers in the newer settlements of our country, where the influence of the Gospel is so greatly needed in moulding the life of those new communities. The duty of church extension, in both of these forms, needs to be distinctly emphasized; for in some of the locations where the Church has existed longest there has been a steady retrogression for years. In other similar localities the Church has been stationary for years, barely holding its own, while population has increased, and other churches have grown up around it. Is it not high time that this backward course should be arrested, and a forward movement be begun? For going backward is dying, and standing still is beginning to die.

And as for church extension in the newer parts of the country, we might as well confess the fact, that, aside from our efforts among the Hollanders of recent immigrations from the fatherland, and through the agency which they have exerted as an integral part of our Church, very little has been accomplished in that direction. The great bulk of the churches composing our Western Synod are Dutch, as distinguished from American churches, which have been planted and grown up in the Holland settlements in Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. Take away these churches and there would be no call for a Western Synod at all.

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It is plain, then, that on this part of the field, also, it is high time to bestir ourselves. Much labor has been put forth, and considerable money expended in our Western operations, but there is very little to show for it. Our American churches in that part of the country are few in number, and for the most part feeble. They appear to be like plants which are not native to the soil, and which, therefore, have to wage a constant struggle with the adversities of the climate. How shall we explain this lack of adaptation? It is certainly not in the Gospel which is preached, which is the same Gospel as that by means of which other churches achieve their successes; nor in our methods of church work and worship, which are substantially the same as those which others pursue. Shall we not find the reason of our failure in a narrowness of aim, which has influenced the laborers on the field, as well as inspired the directing policy at headquarters? Among the Hollanders in the West the Church flourishes, and also in three or four places in the States of Illinois and Michigan, which were colonized by New Jersey Dutchmen, somewhat more than a generation ago; but in other places the soil has proved ungenial—the Church has failed to take root in it and grow. Would this have been the case if the aim had been to spread abroad as a National Church, without reference to past antecedents, save as these had served under Providence to develop the system of evangelical doctrine, and the spirit of unyielding devotion to truth and duty? As a Dutch Church we have been a success; as a Christian Church we have measurably failed in this country. No one reaches beyond his aim; we have aimed too low. So true is this that the sons of the Church—those who have been brought up within her pale, and who have Dutch blood in their veins, too—desert her, in very many instances, when they take up their abode in distant parts of the country, and prefer to cast in their lot with Christians of another denomination. There must be something seriously wrong about a church that cannot hold its own children—descendants of the old Knickerbockers at that. Is the diagnosis which I suggest the correct one? I know of no other that so well explains the symptoms which we all deplore.

A narrowing of aim on the part of any Church, a dwarfing of purpose below the grandeur of that high commission to "preach the Gospel to every creature," by virtue of which alone any Church has a right to exist, cannot but react upon its own life, enfeebling

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it and causing a decrepitude which will be felt more or less throughout the whole body. This is just our case at the present time, resulting, doubtless, from the error which we have too long practiced—an error, it must be said, of the heart rather than the head—for a moment's thought will convince us that the life of a Church does not run in the blood of its members; when it gets down to that the current will be foul and turbid enough, as we saw but too plainly in the glimpse which we took of our own history in the last century. It is, rather, something immeasurably superior to natural kinship, in which it may find an analogy, but nothing more. The life of the Church finds its impulse in the heart of Christ. From that divine centre it pulsates through all the members of His mystical body, whether they be Greek or Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free—the one life in all which makes all one in Him, and which constrains all to be debtors, the one to the other. Let us but feel this life in its full power, and we shall have an inspiration that will carry us anywhere, conquering success out of the most adverse elements; we shall be lifted up to a higher region of sentiment and purpose, and prepared thus for the fulfilment of a worthy mission.

Two years ago the Reformed Church, through its representatives in General Synod assembled, put on record by a formal vote its deliberate conviction of the propriety and duty of maintaining its separate organization as a Church of Jesus Christ, in the belief that the Master has yet for it a work to do. The conclusion thus reached is endorsed, I believe, by a general persuasion of its correctness throughout the Church. Now, then, brethren, let us gird up our loins for a fresh start. Let us go to work with a more intelligent appreciation of our opportunities than the past has witnessed, and a more earnest spirit of Christian devotion than we have put into our past efforts. We have every facility for large and rapid growth. Our organization for aggressive work is complete; we have educational and missionary agencies and an evangelical ministry. Our polity is cast in the mould of republicanism, like that of the civil institutions of our country. Our usages are flexible, adapting themselves to times and circumstances, provision being made both for liturgical order and extemporaneous freedom. The spirit, withal, which has ever characterized our Church is liberal and catholic, and so is well suited to command the respect and confidence of all fair minded men. Our adaptation, therefore, for successful work in this land is complete.

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So far as regards general Church characteristics there is nothing wanting. And we are strong in resources, too. There is no lack of money, nor of talents and gifts, among the membership of the Church. If we are ready to go into the vineyard and work for the Master with a devout spirit, there can be but one result. Many have lost faith in our Church as an aggressive power in this land on account of past failures. Let them and all the rest of us now go about the work of extending the Church with a truly missionary spirit, and they will soon find cause to take courage again. They will soon witness results that will rejoice all hearts.

But let it be understood that this work must be engaged in, not for Church aggrandizement but for the salvation of souls, and to do our part toward leavening with Gospel truth the expanding mass of the population of our country. If we continue the practice of planting churches where there is no call for them, simply that we may occupy prominent positions, we shall still find ourselves fishing behind others' nets; and we have surely done enough of that. But if we pass on to regions beyond, where destitution cries out for supply, and there lift up our standard, we shall find multitudes flocking around it. This is the way in which the larger denominations have attained strength and spread themselves over the land; and it is the only way in which we can hope to reach a similar result. You cannot build a house by beginning with the roof. The foundation must first be laid, and the walls be gradually lifted to their crowning height. Our mistake has been, in attempting to build up our Church, that we have begun at the top instead of the bottom. We have been trying to put in position the roof and pinnacles when there was nothing to hold them up. We had better give over the attempt to work contrary to nature, and address ourselves to the less brilliant though more profitable task of laying deep and broad foundations for the edifice of the future, in the evangelization of the gathering masses that are developing the resources of our broad land, and are destined to build up the cities and States which shall be such important factors of the nation's greatness when the next Centennial comes round. It is a necessity for us to pass on to the far West to find the field of our greatest expansion. We have been so late getting into working trim that other churches have preëmpted the ground nearer home. We have missed the opportunity of entering and cultivating these fields; and the sooner we recognize

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this, and lay out our strength where we shall have undisputed sway, the better for our success and the progress of Christ's kingdom.

There is no special reason now for sighing over past delinquencies. Vast regions are open to us; and the best way to prove our penitence for past neglect is to enter in at once and take possession, in the name of Christ and the Reformed Church in America. We have, or have had a missionary superintendent in the West, who knows the field, and who only wants a sufficient force of laborers to make it abundantly productive. With the knowledge which he has gained from an experience of years in that part of the country, he could at the briefest notice put scores of missionaries in positions where our Church would be gladly welcomed, and where, in a comparatively short period, strong organizations could be formed. We only need, brethren, a liberal supply of men and money, and a missionary spirit, to dot the prairies and fleck the mountains of the West with Reformed Churches. And let us remember that the growth of the West has only begun. There are other Chicagoes and Cincinnatis to be built. Other railroads than the Union Pacific are to bind the trans-Mississippi regions to the older States as with an embrace of iron. The westward course of empire is not to halt in the rich bottom lands of Illinois, nor yet at the iron mountains of Missouri. So that, grand as was the opportunity we have missed, that which now presents itself is no less so; and on the answer to the question whether or not it shall be improved, heartily and with alacrity, depends the future of our Church.

I am the more disposed to emphasize the importance of an active and zealous prosecution of home missionary work by our Church, because in the nature of the case all our Church work depends ultimately on that. We have erred in the past in the smallness of the amount that has been appropriated for this purpose, as compared with that devoted to missionary work abroad. The record of our Church in regard to foreign missionary operations is good; we have cause for thankful felicitation in what we have been permitted to do in this most important department of Christian effort. But it has been a great mistake that we have allowed so large a disproportion to exist in the amounts of money expended severally in the home and the foreign fields. Not that we have given too much to foreign missions, but too little by far to home missions. The demands of our foreign work

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are such at the present time, through the blessing of God on our labors among the heathen, that our contributions for that work should be increased to the largest extent possible; but at the same time we should see to it that our contributions for home missionary work keep pace with them. It is the policy of the larger Christian denominations to expend as much or more in the home field than in the foreign—a policy evidently dictated by a wise and prudent regard to relative needs in the development of church life and growth, and one which we should do well to adopt for our own. If a tree is to thrive, and stand firm in all weathers, it must grow downward as well as upward—must spread out its roots as well as its branches. And if we, as a Church, are to thrive and maintain a steadfast vigor, we must spread abroad our roots in the soil where we are planted, at the same time that our spreading branches hold forth the fruits of life to the perishing in other lands. We must broaden our base of operations at home in order to maintain a growing work abroad.

And it need not be difficult to accomplish this. The foreign work has commanded more of the sympathies and means of the Church in time past, because it makes its appeal directly to the Christian heart. There is nothing to break the force of this appeal—no intervention of denominational considerations to abate the urgency of the call that comes up from the perishing millions whom Christ's Gospel has virtue to save. Moreover, our foreign work has been successful, as all work conducted on purely Christian principles is sure to be in the long run; and success inspires both confidence and zeal. Now let our missionary operations on the home field be conducted in like manner—let the appeal in behalf of this work be the cry of the perishing, "only that, and nothing more," and it will find a response in the heart of the Church that will express itself in ready contributions according to the need. Let it be understood that our missionary work at home is essentially the same as that abroad, viz., to preach the Gospel to every creature, and gather together the elect of God from out our heterogeneous population into the fellowship of His dear Son, and it will fill an ever enlarging place in the confidence, the prayers and the liberality of our people.

There can be no better time than this Centennial year to begin a forward movement along the whole line. The nation starts out upon a new career. The past has been but the preparation for the development of our national resources; the possibilities of the

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future almost stagger imagination. Before the Church of Christ, too, possibilities of surpassing magnitude are unfolding, and our branch of the Church has proffered to her a share in the achievements of the coming century. What has our past been but a preparation for the work which the great Head of the Church now gives us to do? What our future shall be depends on our wisdom to discern, and faithfulness to improve our opportunity. With penitence for past follies and delinquencies, and with fresh consecration to Him who has mercifully preserved us until this hour, and enriched us with the gifts of His grace and the means for His service, let us determine in His strength that we will not be found wanting in that day when the work of every generation that has lived and wrought in the Church shall be made manifest of what sort it is. Let us arise and build the temple of the Lord, not with wood, hay and stubble, which the testing fires shall devour, but with gold, silver and precious stones, which shall endure for a perpetual memorial of our faith and zeal.

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THE ADAPTATIONS

OF THE

REFORMED CHURCH

TO THE

AMERICAN CHARACTER.

BY

Rev. T. B. ROMEYN,

HACKENSACK, N. J.

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THE
ADAPTATIONS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH
TO THE
AMERICAN CHARACTER.

"The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."—1 TIMOTHY, iii: xv.

THIS subject is one which has respect simply to Church nature and life, as suited to a people's nature and life, as distinctly American.

It might, at first glance, seem to be trammelled, if not settled by the present *status* of the Church in regard to size, strength, progress, condition or prospect; but, except incidentally, this is in no way involved. What the Church is, numerically or influentially, is subordinate to the idea of such adaptation, based upon its own peculiar features.

This adaptation has reference to the agreement of these features with those national traits, institutional or individual, which are in themselves excellent, and with which there ought to be harmony, or to their fitness to supplement such defects as may exist in that national character.

Whether or not the topic was designed to cover this broader ground we know not. Enough that it all belongs to it, or the adaptation would be most partial and unsatisfactory at best. Nor was it designed that this idea of adaptation should be expressive of any *exclusive* preëminence, as over all other Christian

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bodies, but simply of the fact of a *marked fitness* for the age and the country.

Basing this adaptation then upon the character of the Reformed Church, it cannot savor of presumption to claim for it all that we do, irrespective of the matter of numbers. It will be recognized at once that the numerical size of the Church has no bearing whatever upon the question, or Mohammedanism or Hindooism could legitimately put in even superior claims and maintain them.

Then, too, the admirable Christian courtesy which has so often made the numerical size of the Reformed Church the butt of its very manly ridicule, would have something worthy of itself to give it countenance, small though that something might be; quite sufficient, however, for small dealers in Christian graces, which in themselves amount to little more than small wares.

We have now to do with character, capacity, inherent quality, in its practical bearing upon the people of this land, and on this basis we can afford to speak with no "uncertain sound," although we be "little among the thousands of Judah." David was equal to David's work, though himself small of stature, and wielding nought but the rude and homely weapon which the big brawny warrior of Gath so flippantly ridiculed in contrast with his own royal coat of mail.

When William, Prince of Orange, assumed his most responsible charge as champion and leader in the defence of the Netherlands, he chose for his motto the suggestive sentiment, "I will maintain," and he was true to it till the assassin's blade pierced his heart, and he fell a martyr to that noble cause. In the same spirit of fidelity "let us hold fast that" heritage "which we have, that no man take our crown."

This subject involves two distinct questions: the one of *the American character* itself, the other of the *character of the Reformed Church*. These blended together will serve to illustrate the point of adaptation before us.

Character, as applied to a people or nation, denotes the distinctive traits which have become impressed, engraved upon them, so that they are parts of themselves. All character is not the same in individual, race or nation. There is distinctiveness, whatever the cause may be. So differences of traits require difference of dealing. European, Caucassian, African, Asiatic, though belonging to one great human family, are in other respects so distinctive that they seem as if having sprung from distinct origins.

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Even in the closer relationships how plainly can these differences of traits be detected—German, English, Irish, French and other nationalities—all as distinguishable as Jew or Turk. In the same nationality, even, it is remarkable what differences of type character will take on in clan, in *locality* and in neighborhood.

The American is himself *sui generis*—a character by himself, however composite he may be. American institutions take on the impress of the American character; and this is so though, to a great extent, the American character is inchoate—not yet fully developed, chrystallized, set in fixed and solid shape. It is in process of such, though eventually it will probably be but a development of the original, with modifications as we now accept it. Instead of dwelling upon a too minute analysis of the American character, we shall confine ourselves to the main and more important features of it; and thus we remark that the Reformed Church is adapted to

I.—The Spirit of Freedom.

Which is a distinctive characteristic of the American. With him the liberty loving is instinctive. He would not be American were he not a sworn enemy of every description of oppression—a sworn friend of independence. It is inborn; it is inbred. He is "born free:" "to the manor of freedom" born. He is thus "a citizen of no mean country." Her very life, and the life of her institutions, which are one and the same, is an effect of emancipation from the thraldom of old despotisms of the world. Could you eliminate this feature from the true American life and institutions nothing distinctive would be left. The signal of the American Revolution was freedom from tyranny. Its spirit burned in every bosom and nerved every arm. It flashed in every beacon fire and thundered on every battle field, through thick storms of disaster and under small rifts of success, till its career culminated in that quite novel declaration that "all men are born free and equal." For it rebellion continued its persistent opposition and repeated its obstinate demands till was inaugurated the era of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

On the old independence bell was the inscription, prophetic of the spirit of the nation whose birth hour it was to ring forth, a significant and Scriptural utterance: "And thou shalt proclaim liberty throughout all the earth to all the inhabitants thereof." Her emblematic eagle is no freer in its very nature and wing than

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are the instinctive impulses of every loyal citizen of the Great Republic.

The organic nature of American institutions is that of liberty, in distinction from and opposed to the monarchical, oligarchic or autocratic institutions of the world, which subserve to themselves the popular will and rights. The American is thus the advance column of the state in the world, as it consists of the rulership of the people through representatives of their own choice. The American citizen is the republican citizen. His creed is the creed of human right, unrestricted and unshorn by any humanly assumed power outside of itself.

Now, in taking with this principle is the spirit and governmental polity of the Reformed Church. It is technically, to the same extent, a republican Church.

An historian has said, "The episcopacy of the Reformed Dutch Church, following the popular impulse, naturally resumed a republican form, and each minister of that Church claims to be, and by its canons he is the "bishop" or "overseer of his own congregation, in subordination alone to the Classes and Synods of his peers."*

The Papacy is monarchy, Prelacy is oligarchy, Presbyterianism, and its older more general polity, is aristocracy, Congregationalism is democracy. Each of these styles of government may have, on the estimate of their respective adherents, advantages of its own, from the extreme of hierarchical despotism on the one hand to the extreme, to use another's words, in which the "Kingdom of Christ may be reduced to a mere confused and chaotic jumble."†

But neither of them is republican normally. Other elements distinguish and rule. They are foreign to the republican amid the republican, and illy adapted to it. They are plants out of their clime.

The Reformed Church, however, is thoroughly republican. She belongs here under a republican constitution. This is her clime—the same clime under which she was born and nurtured, in which the flag of William of Orange floated for thirty years of battle and blood, though he, the original standard bearer, had fallen early in the fray.

The policy of the Reformed Church was fixed by "the Churches

* R. Brodhead's History of New York, i: 118. † Dr. R. Storrs.

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under the Cross," at Wesel, in 1568. It grew out of the trouble in the Netherlands.

At the Synod of Dort, in 1619, the Bishop of Llandaff, indirectly at least, commended the Episcopal form of government; but it was not adopted. The people were republican. The reaction from despotism was too strong, and yet not so strong as to drive to extremities, as in Independency or Congregationalism. Hence the liberal yet conservative system commended by Calvin.

That system is simply government by the congregation through chosen representative officers, whose term of incumbency is limited. One head of the Church is recognized—that head is the Lord Jesus Christ. Officers are only members as others. Their membership is under him—their honor and their responsibility. He is "the Chief Shepherd."

The remedy for abuse or incapacity on the part of officers, certainly much needed, though confessedly only partial, lies in the system itself. They may be impeached and dismissed, or time will gently show them the door they ought never to have entered. Blessed time it is often; more blessed it would be, in many instances, if it would only hasten its official action, as not seldom it were desirable that the Consistory bench should be unloaded of its incubus of unreasonable and inefficient officers.

Then, again, if it be desirable that an acceptable officer, who "rules well," should be reëlected, he may be returned to his seat as often as the Church pleases, year after year, term after term. Such has been the case in some of our churches.

This whole polity of the Reformed Church is merely a natural outgrowth of the free principle which she drew from Christ himself, who said "The truth shall make you free." There are, according to divine authority, to be no "lords over God's heritage" (albeit such "lords" are not infrequently found in the churches). Her history is a clear, clean record on this subject. Aptly was she called, in the earlier days, "the Church under the Cross," because of her suffering for that liberty which she found in her King and fostered. Like our own republic, she was a child of liberty, born of and for free thought. She was a departure from despotism—a pure, persistent protest against it. The Netherlandish struggle with which her inception is associated, and which was, indeed, the travail of her own birth, looms up in history with scarce an equal for its sublimity in energy, and patience, and power. A Hollander who is not a patriot of the best blood must be a traitor

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to the very blood of his birth. For only seven weary years did the American struggle for independence last. For thirty wearier years did the Netherlandish conflict continue, and with trials and severities compared with which the American was scarce more than a flesh wound. William of Orange was the elder Washington, as Washington was but a second William. If this sounds like disloyalty, let the history on which the remark is based be studied. But for William it may be doubted whether there would have been a Washington. Thirty years of blood, "up to the horses' bridles," did the war of the "Lowlands" continue, and the candid historian confesses that "it was worth all it cost," for it was the purchase of liberty there that has made it so much cheaper since elsewhere. Surely it is with a pardonable pride that the Dutchman recognizes a particular providence in that these children of civil and religious freedom were born together of the same mother, Holland—twin children—a noble pair, the Dutch Republic and the Reformed Church, the banner of the cross and the watchword of William—the freedom of the State and the freedom of the Church.

Schiller says that "when the rest of Europe groaned under a heavy bondage, Amsterdam was the only free port for all public opinion." Another remark of the same author is worth repeating, as containing one of the finest of compliments, that "every injury inflicted by a tyrant gave a right of citizenship in Holland."

Holland, says Romeyn Brodhead, was stigmatized, because of her religious catholicity, "as a cage of unclean birds." The Netherlands became so notorious, among the bigots of Christendom, for such comprehensive liberality of conscience and opinion, that it was observed "that all strange religions flocked thither."

Motley says that "to establish the principle of toleration for all religions was the inevitable consequence of the Dutch revolt."

Thus, in the earlier days of the Reformed Church in America, when the established religion, it extended its hand of fellowship to all other Christians. She claims no exclusive headship with the Romish Hierarchy, no exclusive ministry with the Prelacy, no exclusive church membership with the Baptist, on the ground of mode in administering an ordinance, or with her own secession on the basis of being "the true Dutch," and no heterodox orthodoxy, which ignores the "charity" of the Gospel for the sake of its doctrinal creed, because it cannot comprehend both.

She thinks for herself under Christ, and yet feels and acts to-

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ward others without any expression of pretension or assumption of inherent superiority. With Coleridge, she "tolerates everything but intolerance."

She believes what she repeats in her creed, and not unmeaningly, not to say unmockingly, "in the holy catholic Church" and in "the communion of saints;" for she proves her faith by catholicity and communion, and not by the narrow and contradictory limitations of a churchly "*shibboleth*." Her benediction, caught from holy lips, is "Grace be with *all* them that *love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*."

II.—THE REFORMED CHURCH IS ADAPTED TO THE NORMAL SPIRIT OF ACTIVITY AND PROGRESSIVENESS WHICH IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AMERICAN.

This is simply intense. The world acknowledges it. The development of a brief century evidences it. It is no mere matter of American brag. "The Lord shall make thee the head and not the tail." The American leads the world. The world follows with surprise. It is no extravagance to assert that her stirring spirit has set the whole world astir, has wakened up the drowsy East from its slumbers, and vitalized the dead West.

We may be detailing platitudes, but the subject requires it. The American is the very soul of energy and activity. He is personally, or is represented everywhere, and in everything good and bad. Mountains and vales, oceans and deserts, are witnesses to his enterprise. Steamships, railways, telegraphs, printing presses, looms, inventions in mechanics, triumphs in engineering, diplomacy of her statesmen, and the teaching of the nations by her Christian Church—these are all her testimonials. The European can make exhibit of his ancient architectural monuments and artistic wonders, hoary with age and bristling with coruscations of genius, but the American points to the marvellous achievements of a brief century, which centuries on centuries had failed to produce. So much for a crowning enterprise. What land has been possessed! What wastes rescued! What cities reared as by a magician's wand! What facilities of intercourse, and how many hearts are now throbbing the American pulse and hand, toiling in great deeds in the Oriental and Occidental—amid the snows of north and the blossoms of the south! How far the Reformed Church has a claim to the same spirit as

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an inheritance, history will vindicate. Indeed, back to her very earliest era, we can trace that very emphasis of energy to which at this hour we claim her adaptation.

It is a part of her very self. She has it as a transfer of that native fire which originally burned in the bosoms of the Dutch of the Netherlands.

No character in European history has developed so brilliantly in respect to energy and enterprise, ingenuity and persistence, as theirs. Arts and arms, agriculture and science, commerce and manufacture, together bear witness. At this very day the Hollander is said to be in advance of the best English agriculture. The very soil he treads and cultivates was wrested from the storms and floods of the ocean. By means of ever pressing struggles was it won, and now, by the most surprising skill of engineering, is it kept in their possession. The act of draining Harlaem Lake, by which a vast area of territory became dry land, was a very prodigy of human enterprise.

It is said of Holland that while passing through her memorable ordeal, which began under that prince of merciless despots, Philip II of Spain, "the republican army maintained its full complement without the plough being stopped for want of hands to work it. Amid the incessant clash of arms, trade and industry flourished, and the peaceful citizen enjoyed in anticipation all the fruits of liberty which foreign blood must soon purchase. At the very time when the Republic of Holland was struggling for existence, she extended her dominions beyond the ocean, and was quietly occupied in erecting her East Indian empire."*

Memorable in history is the siege of Leyden. For two long and weary months did Spanish malignity spend its most wicked ingenuity and energy driving its citizens to the borders of the despair of famine. The heroic burgomaster even offered his own body as food to some who implored him to capitulate. At last the cruel siege was raised and the suffering city was free. At that point the Prince of Orange offered the citizens, by way of compensation for their endurance, to remit their taxes or establish a university in the city. The liberal-minded Dutch Leydeners nobly chose the latter. This was the origin of the celebrated University of Leyden.

The Dutch were at an early period on the American shores as explorers and traders. New Amsterdam was settled as early as

* Schiller's "Revolt of the Netherlands."

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1619 as a trading post, six years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock.

The enlarging and inspiring influence of the contact of Puritan, and Huguenot, and Scot with the Hollanders in the Low Lands, during the period of their sojourn there, where they found a refuge from the sword of persecution, is readily acknowledged by the students of their history. Thus we do not indulge, for the sake of the reputation of Holland, by taking this view, in that glorying which is "not good." It is even said of James I that he became prejudiced against the Dutch because his own soldiers, who had served in the Netherlands, had returned to their homes imbued with enlarged and advanced ideas of civil and religious law and liberty. Noble men as were Puritans, and Huguenots and the Scotch, their impulses were nobler still, and their hearts warmer for their contact with the children of "the Mother of Free States." For the expression of such sentiments we need not offer apology, nor will any be required by the candid student of the past. The worthy sons of those willing exiles for the truth's sake, even at this distant date, do themselves bear the very tribute of this acknowledgment, and with pure grace lay it where it belongs.

The Reformed Church is a friend of progress and culture. She has always been such.

This has been evinced in quite every department in which her energies have been called out.

In every good word and work has she been either the pioneer or of it the patron. Of art and science has she been the culturer. On the busy scenes of industry, the march of emigration, the advancement of letters, the refinement of civilization, she looks with approbation and delight. Her colleges and seminaries are of the highest grade. Her educational institutions were among the earliest, her seminary being the oldest in the land. Her missionary efforts have been eminently successful at home and abroad. For many years she was co-worker with the American Board of Foreign Missions, and then became an independent organization. Her treasures have been opened in aid of every good work of evangelization in true catholicity of temper. Indeed, she has enriched others, if possible, at the expense of her own individual enterprises and institutions. If to-day the Reformed Church was to expend upon her own institutions the benefactions she is expending outside, her boards of missions and education, her colleges and seminaries, would be amply supplied

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with funds to sustain them.* An invisible growth of influence has thus been going on which is not consequently apparent otherwise. This is so to a very large extent indeed. Our Church lives in other churches and other enterprises than her own as well as in them.

Her Master's activity she has recognized, and in His parting command to His Church, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and that activity she has repeated, as her missionary history will testify.

When Commodore Perry's fleet returned after his first visit to Japan, and the question of the Christianizing of that country was under discussion among those who had been on the ground making observation, before the home port was made, the decision was reached that the proper ecclesiastical body to inaugurate the work was the Reformed Church of America. And it may be added, as a fact worthy of note, that the inner history of the Japanese reformation, both in its civil and religious aspects, would, if made public, reveal to the world an agency at work at this hour associated with the Reformed Church which is no less than a power behind the throne.

Eastward and westward has the Reformed Church flung out her banner, and marched her soldiers, and won her victories.

Whatever offsets may be made to these views by the apparently limited growth on the scale which her age and opportunities warranted as the pioneer Church of this country, they do not by any means affect this subject at this point. She may be open to censure. She may have, by some standards, been slow. But there are considerations which will sufficiently answer these oftimes none the less impertinent cavils.

She is, as a denomination, but a branch of the whole great Reformed Church. And under the limitations of nationality or race and language under which she labored at the outset of her American career, and since, it is not so strange that the branch has not become a greater tree.

At the same time its growth has not been small, comparatively, as it seems to have been to those who have not studied the subject closely in the light of statistical figures.

* We believe the statistics of contributions for religious and benevolent purposes will more than bear out this assertion. The remedy lies, if anywhere, in a more judicious system through the whole Church "concerning the collection for the saints" and an oversight of authority, which will lead the churches to feel and act with responsibility in this matter. At present there is little or none.

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Indeed, it is rather than otherwise a matter of great congratulation that "this little Church" has succeeded as it has. That it has lived and increased, and occupied an honorable and prominent position without help from immigration, the great feeder of other denominations—and, despite the constant and tremendous competition to which it has been subjected, proves at once that she must have great recognized excellencies and peculiar adaptation to this country, and been of some special service, or ere this it "must have been overwhelmed and blotted out."

It is enough, however, that the inherent nature of the Church is such that she is ready to stand abreast with the enterprising spirit of the American people and the age. She cannot do all that might, and apparently with warrant, be required of her. She can fill at best but a very limited space in the vast field. The work to be done is simply enormous for even the combined energies of Christendom. Failure is not to be charged against any one outside of the sacramental host, on the ground that it has not met the higher demands of outside observers, nor even kept up with the march of secular enterprise. The Reformed Church can afford to regard herself, among others, as a Church for the century and the country.

There is another important aspect of this subject in its bearings upon activity and progress—*the conservative.* Activity and progress are not always healthy. They may be, very often are unbalanced and rash. They may need correcting, restraining. They may require something like brakes on wheels, which often serve a better purpose than mere wheels themselves without them.

There is a wild and speculative talk of progress. It means nothing worthier than run away activity and reactive energy. This is perhaps the present great peril of the American people. They reel with an intoxication of excitement, if they are not really mad. Everything good, everything sober, everything old and staple is in danger of being sacrificed to the fast, false progress of the era. The Church may seek to propitiate this spirit by temporizing with it. Such a Church is not the Church for the United States. There is a low, lax liberalism of thought and practice which has at times crept into the Christianity of the day and receives its sanction, whose influence upon the nation has, in some respects, been more demoralizing than that of infidelity itself. The land has already far too much of creed that

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has allowed itself to be carried away by the popular cry of progress.

There is a "zeal without knowledge." There are methods of religious enterprise which amount to mere human excitements, and leave the cause in the last state worse than the first. Radicalism, reason, culture, science, reform, earnest working novelty are the watchwords and rallying sounds which take the place of faith, and truth, and fundamental principle. The spirit of the age assumes the place of the Spirit of God. Not a few individuals and churches have been carried away by the cry of advance at the expense of the "truth as it is in Jesus," and drowning the older cry, "*it is written.*"

Just in this bearing the Reformed Church presents one of her finest of adaptations. *She is conservative.* The word may be a byeword and taunt in the minds and mouths of outsiders. Let it be; *she* is none the worse for it, standing though it may be. It is her salt, and it is good salt, and she having such salt is herself so far guarded against, and prepared to guard others against the fate which belongs to things unsalted.

This salt of conservatism is the great need of the land to-day in the political, social and commercial *interests.* Were it repressive of true progress or vitiative of true vigor it would be different. But it is neither. It is not laziness, nor lack of principle, nor narrowness, nor does it necessarily have any kinship with them. It is, however, at once a break on excess and a conserver of vital forces. There is a law of moderation as there is no law of excess. Nations and peoples need ballasting and balancing, as furnaces need checks, that they burn not themselves up, and machineries, that they run not wildly, and as mettled steeds need curbs, that they dash neither their reinsmen nor themselves to pieces.

Conservatism is a great part of a Dutchman's force. It is, at least, not reckless waste and reactively ruinous, as is recklessness. It gave Holland her "commercial prestige on the seas, and her arms their success" on the land. It has been said that "it was the distinctive characteristic of the seaman of the Netherlands that he made sail at all seasons of the year, and never laid up for winter." The secret was a reserve of force that was always ready for service. Energy was not wasted by extravagance of use. The great mistakes of the world are the result of rash and abusive use of power. The rash is the abusive. Nature knows by

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instinctive law, and possesses and uses the conserving elements. Church, and State, and family, and society stand in as much need of the same.

A little vaccination of the true Dutch slowness would immensely benefit the American swiftness in all these respects. Sureness is the safeguard of swiftness. A good Dutch burgomaster of the Peter Vanderhoff or Wouter Van Twiller sort, of New Amsterdam, would be a vast improvement upon modern mayors, and be worth millions to municipal government, if not add lustre to presidential and gubernatorial chairs, and honor to cabinet and Congress in this year of Centennial glorying. And how much better a purpose it would serve than the wild fire of *religious* excitements or the impulsive acceptance of every novel invention, baptized spiritual, or disclaiming any other spiritual relation, the practical results of these appeals to passion unchecked will show, and especially the statistics of the great day when the wheat and the chaff shall be separated.

III.—The Reformed Church is adapted to the intelligent feature of the American character.

And so through the standards of culture which she maintains. The men who laid the foundations of American institutions were men of thought and culture. They were not here simply as those who were carried away by

"The wild adventurers' love to roam."

The Pilgrims of the bleak New England shores were not restless fanatics nor romantic roamers. Nor were the traders of New Netherlands mere lookers out for good bargains. Our respect for the purposes of the former is such that we recognize ideas and principles as having wafted the Mayflower from Delft Haven over the deep as verily as did the favoring winds that blew.

And the Hollanders, who before them made the port of Manhattan Island, under the East India Company, were no less animated by cultured motives. They did not leave the education of their "lowland" homes behind them and basely absorb themselves in thoughts of wampum and muskrat skins, though they dealt with savages, or merely of "catching fish," as put to their credit by their calumniators.

When William Ussilene urged the formation of a company for the purpose of trading in the West Indies, "beside the mercantile

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advantages which would result from securing the traffic with these affluent regions, he pressed the higher motive of the conversion of the heathen inhabitants to the Christian faith."

True to his inceptive characteristic of Puritan and Scot, Huguenot and Hollander culture, the *American* takes on the trait of intelligence. There is an instinctive thoughtfulness, a spirit of inquiry, of invention and education. There is a thirst for and receptivity of information, and to a large and universal extent an actual diffusion of it in correspondence with the demand. The multiplicity of educational institutions show this. The American is at once a reader and thinker. The very nature of his institutions tends to make him such. He must intermeddle business with questions of public interest. He is a voter; he is thus a legislator. Then, too, it is his privilege to speak as well as to read and think. There is no censor at his side. The press is free to print and the reader to read. The land is full of discussion of all classes of questions, from the hall of Congress to the country debating club and the loungers at the store and tavern.

The adaptation of the Reformed Church is just here again very apparent. She is just what she always was, a Church of culture; yet never such at the expense of spirituality, or by way of holding herself aloof from the uncultured. Her fathers were not boors, and hence from the outset she has insisted upon an educated ministry. In the the earlier period her ministry were educated in the fatherland. Dr. Livingston went from this country to the fatherland there to pursue his course of studies. The great controversy on this point arose largely, without doubt, not so much from obstinacy on the part of those who adhered to the idea of education in Holland as from the conviction it would be of a higher character.

When the Holland emigrants came to these shores they brought both minister and schoolmaster with them. The school house stood under the shadow of the church spire. This was simply characteristic and peculiar. Academy, college, seminary were indispensable as part of the churches' life. Hence the fact, generally overlooked, that our fathers, "in their weakness and numerical smallness, established classical academies" all through those parts of the country which they occupied. You find, then, in a connected line in New York, the Collegiate School—Hackensack, Albany, Schenectady, Somerville, Fort Plain, Kinderhook, New Paltz, Kingston, Flatbush and other places. Following

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them were the Colleges—Queens (Rutgers), Union,* Holland, and the Seminaries of New Jersey and Michigan.

It is worthy of notice that "Queens College" (now Rutgers) was originally chartered as an educational institution specially for the sake of the Church. The language of the call made by Domine Goetschius for the first meeting, to be held at Hackensack, of the gentlemen named in the charter as trustees, is as follows: "*to correct* the many dangerous inconveniences and abuses which have crept into their Church, whereby the progress of true Christianity in knowledge and practice is obstructed, and with which they have been grievously afflicted these *many years*." It was founded thus in order to correct these abuses, "and to restore their Church to its ancient and proper lustre and virginity." It was felt by those interested that their religion needed to be *educated*. They talked thus not only of a *sanctified education* but of an *educated sanctification*. And they were right "flat-headed Dutchmen," as they were styled, and worthy descendants of those of whom it was said, "of their boats they made houses, and of their houses schools."

The same spirit still animates the Reformed Church. She scorns the thought of a ministry whose chief characteristic is ignorance in dealing with the great things of Revelation. And hence she seeks to encourage a ministry which can at once stand before kings in their palaces, philosophers in their halls, or sit by the fireside of the cottage and break the bread of life to the lowly. "He hath given her the tongue of the learned, that she might speak a word to him that was weary."

* A recent article in *Scribner's Monthly* on Union College says that previous to its founding and at its nucleus "a few of the solid men of Schenectady, of the old Dutch stock, had been developing a literary life, and the form of an institution for the cultivation of literary investigation and debate, and the founding of an *academy* of a higher order for the careful, classical and scientific training of the young"

The direct credit for the founding of Union College, to whom no reference is made in the article, belongs to Rev. Dr. Dirck Romeyn, the Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church of Schenectady.

Dr. Sprague says, in his "Annals" on this subject, "Shortly after his settlement in Schenectady he seems to have set his heart upon the establishment of a literary institution of a high order. The immediate result of his efforts was the germ of Union College in the form of an academy; but he lived to see the academy grow into a flourishing college, which has taken its place among the more prominent literary institutions of the land."

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IV.—The Reformed Church is adapted to the moral and religious features of the American character.

There is a religious element in this character, and then, again, there is an irreligious element. Both of them need to be met by specialty of adaptation.

Whatever amount of irreligion may exist in this country, there is a religious instinct which is quietly pervading the American conscience, as opposed to the godlessness of unbelief. It does not exist through any constitutional or legislative provision, or the result of traditionary superstition, or cringe to priestly domination, but through the education and experience of the past by the grace of God. Puritan and Scot, Huguenot and Hollander were the fathers of the people, and their descendants are not disposed to throw away the radical religious inculcations and noble examples which form so great a part of their heritage. Their old creeds have quietly moulded and colored our institutions, which are but the growths of long periods, and as ruling elements therein they may entitle us to the character of a Christian nation.

At the same time, however, there is an American element of ungodliness in the land. Its development is too patent to be mistaken in the utterances of an Atheistic science, and the importation of foreign infidelic thought and custom, which are seeking to undermine our own; in the issues of the demoralized past, with its profane and prostituted publications; in the monster vices of intemperance, licentiousness, gambling, and every possible phase of crime; in the race for wealth, the pant of ambition, and the venality of public officers and private citizens.

If the utterer of the sentiment, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just," could have lived in these later days of the first century, he would continue his trembling; albeit the close of the century does not manifest so much a fuller proportion of corruption than did the earlier periods, as some imagine. But the outlook has very dark features in it. Of his imperial code the heathen Seneca said, "All is full of outrage and vice; a monstrous prize contest of wickedness is being enacted; the desire to sin increases, and shame decreases every day." And such was the moral condition, which, not having any reactive and regenerating principle to counteract it, was the cause of the disintegration and downfall of the Roman Empire.

"Vice, corruption, barbarism at last."

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The same disintegrating elements will do their same destructive work whenever they are permitted to exert their force. And our country, whatever contrasts for the better or worse we may draw between earlier and more recent periods, or between itself and others, has them within and at work. She therefore needs some vigorous counteracting force.

Thomas Carlyle, with no special admiration for our republic, it is true, is credited with saying that "America is a great country, but no system can last which would give Jesus and Judas the same vote on public affairs." Bitter as the remark was it was not far from the truth, and reminds us that the dangers ahead take a *moral* phase, and need *moral* counteraction.

This is specially true, in view of the fact that the religious element has entered so fundamentally into the origin, and growth, and preservation of our national institutions that it is a vital part of it. And it can no more be eliminated, and the nation survive, in its original integral character, than could the magnificent architecture of St. Peter's, was the genius of Michael Angelo to be expelled from there, or the artistic taste of Raphael from his matchless frescoes. The great national question of the day is this: *Can we now afford the experiment of parting with the religious element which is already an inherent part of the American life and character?*

Again, in this special light, are we warranted in claiming for the Reformed Church a special adaptation? If not preëminent above other churches, yet is she eminently qualified for the task.

And the reason lies in the truths she inculcates. They are none less than the eternal verities of the Word of God—the Gospel of Salvation through the person and cross of the Lord Jesus Christ. Her creed is the solid truth—the simple "truth as it is in Jesus." It consists of no mere human conjectures, or truths so modified as to suit the "wisdom of the world" and the progress of the age, which assumes to outdistance the older truths of the Bible and leave them far behind, as if the new generation had outgrown them. Her Christianity is no mere liberalism that dechristianizes Christianity, and tearing its very heart out, leaves it a bare corpse or skeleton, to meet the pride and carnality of depraved natures. It consists not of *issues* or *gushes*, or sensational frothiness, or essayic utterances of a philosophic Christianity, but of the great verities of God and of Christ; "of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." She brings the everlasting King

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with the throne of heaven, and law and retribution to the souls of men.

She produces the authority of the Word of God. She allows no man to offset that authority by human reasonings and speculations, but at once stands by the mount of eternal truth, and speaks what she there hears in tones of thunder as loud as Sinai's, or in *whispers* soft as the "still small voice" which the prophet heard succeeding the storm which swept the summit of Horeb where he stood. What "is written" she receives as enough, because "written with the finger of God."

She teaches the radical truths of *guilt*, and *sin*, and *depravity*, as they define human need and give occasion for the ministry of God's Son by his blood and his Spirit. She teaches no development of manhood out of any human goodness or by any ritualistic process. She insists on the radical change regenerative of the heart, the very nature—founding human development on divine *principles*. She brings, too, the divine Father's love in all the sweetness it could be manifested, in the sweetness of the one altogether lovely—Jesus the God-Man. She brings the cross of atonement, with its pardon and salvation; the Holy Ghost, with his grace, and renewal and sanctification. She brings the divine sympathies and comfort in sorrow, the resurrection of the dead and the eternal judgment, the eternal life of heaven and the eternal death, "and destruction from the presence of the Lord." She inculcates the beautiful and pure precepts of the Divine Man and the matchless fairness of his whole life and character. She presents a divine Saviour, with a mind capable of comprehending the sinner's wants, with a heart capable of sympathizing with him, and an arm of power at once able to destroy or save, and no mere man, with mere human authority and ability, but Christ the God-Man, "mighty to save." She brings love to God and man—the great divine law of human feeling and action. She brings the *Sabbath*, enshrined among the moral enactments of the law for the world, the reminder of holy things and the special day for their nurture, and the recuperator of the worn body and the weary mind. *She brings* the *marriage* bond and the *home*, with all their sweet and sacred associations, hallowing all others. She brings *loyalty* to *government* in "the powers that be," right and integrity in all the relationships of life, inculcating "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just." She brings a pure and sacred literature for the youth—a place for

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them specially in the visible Church, according to ancient covenant legislation not leaving them outcasts, the baptismal rite, the covenant promise and the parental vow. She brings the catechism, the Sabbath school and the warmest sympathies for the children of the Church and the country.

The Reformed Church is thus fitted to foster every virtuous impulse, to work with every Christian worker, sending purifying influences into the great sea of human and national depravity.

And she is as well qualified to meet and counteract the depraved tendencies of the human heart, and by the grace of God renew them. They need the vigorous grappling of strong truth, and she is prepared with that truth for the grappling. If the doctrines of the Reformed Church are radical—if they carry in them thunderbolts—it is because men of passion need them to teach them that they are dealing with no dwarfed, enfeebled divinity on his throne, and so restrain them by moral forces from their own rash and reckless trifling with his eternal law to their own destruction. There are weak phases, or what are called weak phases of Christianity, which in this respect must necessarily fail. There is neither law, nor justice, nor retribution, nor responsibility in them, and they cannot deal successfully with the worse than insane deviltry of human passion—"the lion of the desert, with the madness of hunger in his eye," in defiance of the authority of heaven. Hence the strong and vigorous truth, which is the "sword of the spirit" unsheathed, and not the mere scabbard without sword, however ornamented or ornamental it may be. At the same time she presents the love of Jesus—the compassion of the heavenly Father—to the discomfited and sorrowing human soul in as attractive sweetness as ever mortal lip or pen have presumed to portray them.

Let the people hear her teachings, because they need them. Let no American pride himself on the conviction that, because such, he or any, or all with him, have advanced beyond the need of these radical utterances. American nature is depraved nature, and neither the culture nor the progress of a gospel of liberalism has made it anything less, nor will it be anything less until the grace of God has brought it into radical subjection to its higher and holier self. *Liberalism is not* necessarily truth, for there is that which liberalizes all the truth out of the truth. We may be wisely wary of this new and popular gospel of culture under the phase of liberalism, which is a salvation without sin from which to

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be saved, and a Christ without a salvation; which treats of fragrant flowers when standing on a crater's brink, whose fires of human passion are continually burning in every form of depravity, and are ready to burst forth at any time in volcanic fury, and sweep the very Republic itself into ruin beneath its flood of flame.

The country needs a religion which does not pander either to vulgar passion or to the soft sentimentality of culture.

And the Reformed Church offers such a *religious* system—worthy of the divine law and judgment, of the appearance of God in flesh among men, and the blood of the cross. Her faith is a grand and solemn one—one such as tends to create and develop the manhood worthy of the Creator, and the revealed destinies of eternal life in heaven.

We remark, in conclusion, that however thorough any discussion of this subject may be, it must of necessity be very unsatisfactory on the basis of American character, since it is yet so inchoate—so unformed a condition. At the same time, however, it is true that these features of the Church are as well adapted to the work of moulding character as affecting it after having taken on a defined and solidified shape.

The subject of the adaptation of a Church to a people is worth the study of the interested and thoughtful. Nor has it been overlooked heretofore.

An historian has just touched upon this subject by way of accounting for certain aspects of the times of which he was writing. He says that "to a romantic people, whom a warm and lovely sky, a luxurious, ever young and ever smiling nature, and the multifarious witcheries of art rendered keenly susceptible of sensuous enjoyments, that form of religion must naturally have been better adapted, which, by its splendid pomp, captivates the senses by its mysterious enigmas, opens an unbounded range to the fancy, and which, through the most picturesque forms, labors to insinuate important doctrines into the soul. On the contrary, to a people whom the ordinary employments of civil life have drawn down to an unpoetical reality, who live more in plain notions than in images, and who cultivate their common sense at the expense of the imagination, to such a people that creed will best recommend itself which dreads not imagination, which lays less stress on mysticism than on morals, and which is rather to be *understood* than to be dwelt upon in meditation.

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In few words: the Roman Catholic religion will, on the whole, be found more adapted to a nation of artists, the Protestant to a nation of merchants."*

Another historian of the Church has said that "the constitution of the Church of England perfectly resembles that of the State, and a striking analogy exists between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in the country."† As such it probably served a very practical purpose for good or ill. But after all, it is a grave question as to how far this idea of adaptation can be legitimately carried.

Because, for example, the inhabitants of Spain are too indolent to give any personal care to body or soul, it is no reason why Romanism, which is so well adapted to such conditions, with its priestly office, should be regarded as the best form of religion for them, taking all responsibility on itself. That surely would be more fitting which would not play in with the placid sense of irresponsibility, but would, on the other hand, awaken in the bosom a personal life and lead on to a higher personal culture. Then, too, it is not to the advantage of the people that the Greek Church, with its gorgeous ritual and paintings, appeals to their carnal tastes and sensuous emotions, to which they are suited. Surely the adaptation ought to be to the radical religious want, to the end of a better religious development. And that must be the Church adapted to the American character which will the better develop all that is excellent in it, and discourage all that is evil.

We believe the Reformed Church to be eminently adapted to such a mission—not preëminent, indeed, but among other churches holding the same great general truths, drawn from the charter of the Son of God. Let us, then, of the Reformed Church, "Hold fast that which is good," "and contend for this faith which was once delivered to the saints."

It is nought against such adaptation and its mission that the Reformed Church, as a denomination, is comparatively small in numbers and limited in territorial extension. Our Church may have her own special work and efficiency as such in her own *distinctiveness* without regard to any other features; neither does she need organic union with other bodies in order to greater efficiency, for she would lose by such union what she now has through that *distinctiveness*. She has her mission; let her fulfil it.

* Schiller. † Mosheim.

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A lesser star; let her shine. This very adaptedness to the American character ought, at this era of the nation's life, gird her children to new and nobler development of her forces. Even so far as this topic opens a field of effort, the field is a broad one and worthy of the working.

We have already stated the fact that when William, Prince of Orange, espoused the cause of religious freedom in the Netherlands, he chose for his motto the brief but sententious saying, "I will maintain." When he fell, his son Maurice took his father's place. He assumed at once for his device a fallen oak with a young sapling springing from its root. His motto was, "*Tandem fit surculus arbor*"—"The twig shall yet become a tree," and it was nobly justified, as the historian asserts, by his career and the subsequent triumph of the Netherlandish cause, the freedom of *the Reformed Church.*

Those who are children of the Reformed Church through ancestral ties, and others, especially of Huguenot descent, who early cast in their lot with her, need not be ashamed of their heritage. Nor need those who of other blood have become children by adoption, *in many cases the most devoted of all the household*, and have shown a true filial spirit.

Let us all seek to *maintain*, and when we die let our children take up the venerated and venerable cause with the same true spirit of the young son of *Saxony.* This phase of the Reformed Church which we have discussed is a basis of encouragement for its friends to cherish her interests. Their trust may be regarded as a special trust for their country's sake, in addition to its being a trust in the general sense for the Gospel's sake. Patriotism and piety are thus blended together. Let the Church be faithful to itself as the "pillar and the ground of truth," and she will find trust enough to engage all her energies and absorb all her devotion. So shall "the little one," in influence at least, "become," by the help of her great Head, "a thousand."

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THE IMPORTANCE

OF

CHERISHING A HISTORIC SPIRIT.

BY

CHESTER D. HARTRANFT,

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

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THE IMPORTANCE

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CHERISHING A HISTORIC SPIRIT.

"Remember the days of old; consider the years of many generations; ask thy father and he will show thee, thy elders and they will tell thee."—DEUT., xxxii: 7.

HISTORY, objectively, is the course of this world, the order of its many-sided events, the progressive phenomena of humanity. Subjectively, it is our inquiry into this course; our conception, conviction and faith as to its order, our theory as to its phenomena. These conclusions may be stated formally, and thus become written history. Every investigation of these phenomena reveals the existence of internal relations between them, the steady work of causation, "the reign of law," the plain development of a plan towards its supreme fruitfulness, the moulding and changing of forms by a resident Personal Spirit; so that the vast congeries, seemingly chaotic and anarchic, presents a positive unity.

The Christian's study of the course of this world is directed by the clear testimony of the Scriptures concerning it. They discover to us the salient, ethical points of its progression from the beginning to the end, and concern themselves mainly with what pertains to founding and perpetuating the relations between God and men; therefore, they reveal the incessant motion and informing of the Spirit, and the systematic interference of God. According to them, all history comes under "the reign of law;" it is

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a partial display of the divine government, the unfolding of those decrees whose enactment and adjudication are of the Infinite Mind. The conflict between the good and the evil is put at once in the most emotional and personal form, as an enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, and by St. John as a war between the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Error, between Christ and Antichrist, and yet as a feature of that kingdom whose purpose is to effect the salvation of men, to glorify God, to be the attestation of his excellence, the proof of his wisdom, righteousness and love. The veil of the future is so raised that, under the figures of the past, we may behold the destruction of the present order and the eternal issue, the thrusting in of the sickle and the harvest. We have, therefore, an authoritative exposition of these phenomena, with which all human research agrees, so that faith becomes the true interpreter of the course of this world.

Already do the Scriptures disclose not only such a connected and general progression, but an innumerable series of particular developments in the record of families, genealogies, languages, peoples, nations; and all of them as divergent yet confluent methods of the divine government, so that we have diversity of gifts, but the same spirit; differences of administration, but the same Lord; diversities of operation, but the same God, who worketh all in all. They thus show that particularism (to borrow an appropriate theological term) in historical development does not destroy historic unity, any more than the differences which obtain between the things in heaven and things on earth conflict with the power which gathers together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth. It is evidently a dictum of that historic plan which they unfold that a development in particularism is essential to such a blending of all things in Christ, and that no amount of particularism on the side of the Spirit of Truth can either exhaustively reveal or sufficiently attest the divine fulness which operates through them.

Since the word of God gives us such an authoritative exposition, and such a consistent philosophy of history, and every comparison of facts confirms its view, it is legitimate to instruct the mind in this conception of the course of this world, to instil prepossessions for the subjective explanation which the Scriptures present; and he alone is a wise interpreter of human events who, like Augustine, Bossuet, Bunsen, learns of the Prophets and the Apostles.

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But what are we to understand by "Spirit" in this connection? It cannot mean the Personal indwelling Spirit, who moulds the historic forms, nor yet the outward moral tendencies, which His operations indicate as His methods, the principles or laws which He makes appear as determining Him, in effecting the purposes which God has in view, since He knows the deep things of God. It cannot designate our own faculty, the spirit, as the seat of the consciousness of God, and of communication with the Holy Ghost; but it must refer to the dispositions, the temper, the tendencies of that spiritual nature, as determining the motives, the laws, and the method of our actions.

Hence a historic spirit is such a tendency, principle, or law of action, with regard to the present and future, as is conditioned and determined by our subjective view of history; the motive, the energy and the enthusiasm which are shaped in accordance with what we ourselves discover or are taught to be the plan of the course of this world. This must be first particular, that it may be wisely and discriminatingly general. Of necessity it begins with the local; the nearer relations must have the precedence; we must have the restraints and duties of home life as a training for wider spheres; only by faithfulness in the more immediate obligations do we acquire trustworthiness and capacity for more extended influence. Therefore, the historic spirit must be trained by the particular history. No Jew could have been prepared for the dispensation of the fulness of times without that unique culture which, while eminently local and separative, had nevertheless in it the seeds of a true universal empire; Christ could not have come but according to the developed particularism of Jew and Gentile. If there can be no genus without species, no synthesis without analysis, one can expect no different order in history. Whenever, then, these local historic relations prove themselves to be in accordance with the divine plan, they oblige every one to cherish principles of action in accordance with their tendency; to form and foster such motives for the regulation of our conduct in Church and State as have their spring in the manifested purposes of the particularism.

No time, if we now address ourselves to the Reformed Church, is so pressing as the present for the revival and application of such principles. Let us glance at some points which emphasize the importance of a movement in this direction.

I. In nothing will it be so advantageous as in the impulse it

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will give to the discovery of the features of our particularism. It will compel us to find our *raison d'être*, our true origines, the conditions out of which we have become what we are. It would be of incalculable benefit to earnestness, sincerity and truthful progress could we be impelled to go to the sources, the fountain heads of our particularism; to trace the rise of special institutions; to ascertain the springs of certain peculiarities and the junction of their waters with the great streams of history; to go back, like the Thessalonians, to the primitive traditions, and so make ourselves competent witnesses from the beginning until now. It may not be so easy to distinguish any such original characteristics in the present anomalies of our Church life; but certainly, if we inquire of the fathers, and consider the years of many generations, we shall have no trouble in discerning them. Moreover, to any honorable maintenance of even the present residuary forms, we must determine the ethical quality of their origin. There is nothing for us to do but to inquire into the morality of our particularism: Is it a legitimate product of the course of the world? Is it a fruit of the Spirit of Truth in deadly conflict with the Spirit of Error? Are its roots imbedded in holy ground? Are the peculiar institutions and special features of our Church the clear forms of the Spirit's operations? Are the tendencies which the history has evolved such as commend themselves to our understanding of the divine purpose in history, as unfolded in the Scriptures? We ought to be able to give a sufficient reason for the origin and the perpetuation of our particularism, lest we transgress the commandment of God by our tradition. It was a happy day for human liberty and progress when men like John Pupper, Gerhard Groot and John Wessel began their inquiries into the primitive constitution of the Church and the practices of the early faith, and to compare the ecclesiastical monstrosities of their time with the patterns given in the mount. It was a happy day for science when men left speculation and tradition and took to the air, the rocks and the trees in order to comprehend nature. Would it not be equally good for us to make sure of our foundations? Ought we not to trim our lamps for a patient exploration of the crypts of our faith? Is it not time for us to know the exact points which distinguish the Reformation in Holland from other reformations, and whether those distinctions have sufficient ethical value in them, as manifest and unexhausted parts of the plan of God, for us to perpetuate them?

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With such a perception of our peculiarities we shall be qualified to maintain rationally and honestly that which is good, and to reject that which is either false or superfluous. There can be no historical spirit, no principle of action according to the course of the past, unless we penetrate into that past and decide upon its moral quality by a comparison of it with the revealed plan of God. Otherwise we act simply from prejudices, from the prepossessions which habit and education have engendered, and that assuredly is neither intelligent nor commendable; in that case, our strongest argument must continue to be, the one of most aggravating Samaritan unreason, that our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and, therefore, we will worship in this mountain. Rather let us ask why the fathers worshipped in this mountain, and whether they did right in worshipping in this mountain, and whether there is no better way for us?

And what have our recent discussions of a certain overture, whose gravity weighed upon our whole church life, whose obtrusiveness required such continuous hospitality as to interrupt our work, whose uncertain issue jeopardized every one of our missionary and educational operations, betrayed so much as a lack of just this discriminating historic spirit, a failure to inquire into the ethics of our particularism; a heroic defence of its merits and an impregnable argument for its perpetuity, based upon such an investigation? Such has been the retrogression of political morality, such the danger impending over our civil institutions, and over all that we have regarded as particularly American, that this hundredth national year finds us eager students of the ancient virtues, with a desire widespread among the people for progress in the original lines of our political science, and for the revival of intelligence and morality in our civil life. And doubtless the thought of the General Synod, in appointing these discourses, was to incite our Church, so identified with the history of the nation, to remember in this same year her own days of old; to impel her children to consider the years of many generations, to inquire of the fathers and elders, that out of an instructed conviction, not out of family prepossessions, out of a satisfied conscience, not out of blind prejudice, we might continue to develop our Church particularism, and keep intact that which is distinctive in our ecclesiastical life.

II. The importance appears again in this, that all our ecclesias-

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tical action may be in accordance with the true law of progress, which requires the growth of the present and the future out of the past, and the ready change of form according to the increasing revelations or activities of the Divine Spirit. The seed must expand into the blade, and the blade into the ear, and then advance to the full corn in the ear, as far, therefore, as the vital principle impels it; the continuance in any one form is determined by the capacity and the degree of the vital principle. The elements in this law of the Holy Ghost are: the natural succession of time, the causal relation, the process of development, the judgment and punishment of evil, the increase of spiritual energies and proportionate forms—so that history becomes an ever brightening transfiguration. There is more growth in ideas, more expansion of humanity in its political, social, artistic, utilitarian and religious conditions, than there is in the plants or the trees, because in the one there is the Eternal Spirit, in the other the limited vital principle. Hence all progress is out of the past; the germinating life bursts its shells. How is it possible, then, to sever the organic connection between the past, the present and the future, especially when the majestic figure of Him who is, and who was, and who is to come, stands over against it? How can the processes which have begun their combinations and affinities in remoter generations be arrested on the instant, and entirely new thoughts and ideas usurp their place? Can we ever dissociate such knowledge as we now have from the wisdom of Egypt, of Teman, or of Greece? In this sense Solomon could say, "There is no new thing under the sun." Thus could the streams of the Cephissus appear to Sophocles as the undying, ever-renewed flow of human events, according to whose exuberant spirit art and love mould themselves. Dare we regard the successions of time as without any other significance than as marking the sequence of phenomena? Does not the ethical quality of history manifest itself continually as sowing and reaping, as cause and effect, and, when the iniquities of the Amorites are full, as judgment and extermination? Can a wrong development succeed any better in history than in the animal or vegetable life? Must not every plant which the heavenly Father has not planted be rooted up? Was not the Church always scourged by the prophets until she repented and sought for her invigoration in the definite laws and covenants of her Lord, and did again her first works? Upon the recognition of this law, that all healthful progress is out of the

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past, the Scriptures insist. God makes himself known by increasing words and visions, in which the promises expand, but always on the original basis; the covenant becomes more inclusive, but never to the invalidity of its primitive features; the law has the commentary of the prophets; the Church life develops in its artistic appointments even beyond the artistic progress of the people, for the tabernacle gives way to the temple, but the harmony of proportions and furniture is not disturbed, and their symbolic import is preserved in new flowers of form; the old economy is distinctly educational—a preparation for the new; the former times hasten on to the fulness of times, and it to the mysterious hour of Christ. Our Lord, as a sower, scatters the incorruptible seed, and that incorruptible seed has in it an eternal vitality. The Apostles plant and water, but God alone gives the increase. "We are laborers together with God; ye are God's husbandry; ye are God's building." The kingdom of heaven is likened to a leaven that assimilates all the measures of meal—to a seed which is to become an overshadowing and restful tree. The New Testament accelerates the majestic processes which move forward to produce the New Jerusalem, the new heaven and the new earth; it presents us an augmented expression of divine ideas and the visible fruits of the Spirit's work down to the day of the manifestation of the sons of God and the evident triumph of Christ. How suggestive, in this light, is that profoundest of hermeneutical maxims, "Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet; Vetus in Novo patet!" How corroborative, too, the saying of our Lord, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," affording as it does the explanation of all history.

Under all the varieties of race, nationality and creed, is it difficult to discover the one Spirit in his manifold movements, confirming the good form, checking and uprooting the bad, digging about a tree to make it more fruitful, or if it prove unproductive, cutting it down because it cumbers the ground? Much less, therefore, shall we be able to hold any other view of progress if we consider all things as the operation of the one Spirit, and if we cleave to that apparent unity which the Scriptures indicate; or if we reflect that it is the same moral law, which is enforced invariably, through all the stages of time, and that a new statute is not devised for every novel form. To apply this law to ourselves, then, there can be no rational, faithful progress, no development save according to the institutions of our origin, nor can there be

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an adequate perception of and obedience to this law, unless we cherish a historic spirit; unless we decide and act according to the genuine and approved tradition. Our past must be our guide in shaping our future, as much so as their past was for the Israelites when Moses urged the people to recall their ancient glories, in order to the healthful flow of their national life. What we require is the honest and strict development of the original spirit of our Church, the growth of the seed after its kind; let us beware of an attempt at culture after another kind, which must result in destroying not only our distinctive habits but our organic existence.

It is the rigid support of this law of progress that alone can preserve Church and State against the radicalism which uproots the past, and yet has no permanent shoots and layers of its own. Nothing is more fatal to morality itself than the unhealthy subjectivity which now plays so prominent a part in the politics, the religion, the literature, the science and the art of the day.

> Human kind rejoices in the might
> Of Mutability, and airy Hopes,
> Dancing around her, hinder and disturb
> Those meditations of the soul that feed
> The retrospective virtues.

The divorce of the present from the past, the endeavor to institute a new wisdom without regard to the treasures which previous minds have brought out and amassed, and the desire to have gold and silver without working the mines, are altogether too unsubstantial and profitless to be of permanent injury. These are manifestations of the spirit of error; and while their advocates are as "clouds without water, carried about of winds," they nevertheless occasion storms which destroy much, so long as their fury is not wholly spent. It is not a little singular that the very partisans of the falsely called "free spirit" should be so impatient of moral form and of spiritual progress out of the past, when they regard evolution as so essential to the interpretation of the phenomena of material nature; they will not concede any merit to the thought and belief of the men who have preceded them; they permit no genealogy that can bind their present faith to any of the antecedent religions of the world, least of all would they be regarded as branches of the True Vine, or think of being grafted into Christ. How much, too, is it the fashion to become arrogant in the pride of the many subdivisions of modern study, as if these

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were not the outgrowth of the ancient trunk whose roots are deep in the ages of thought. Even in religious work how the young zealots and the epigrammatic preachers decry the methods of the past, as if these fledgelings were to bear aloft the Church on their tiny, unpractised wings. Can spices ever make a feast? And these reformers in our own Church, who are trying to direct the rationalistic waves into our land-locked sea, so that our confessional landmarks may be washed away, seem to think that their syllabuses are worth more for the cure of the ills of Christendom than the evangelical Protestantism which has proved itself always the most strenuous foe of Vaticanism; but the "here I stand" of confessional life is better than all the shifting sands of subjective and concealed opinion. The most democratizing of democracies is not born in an hour, but is an evolution of many self wills; nor do republics spring out of decrees. Can you foster English by forsaking the Saxon, the Latin, the Greek? Can the most radical and audacious school of surgery do without the careful methods of the conservative school? Can you change in an instant the political geography of Europe by the idle dreams of a few anarchical minds, whose mental and moral confusion is betrayed in their lurid rhapsodies? Literature, which is the first to feel, and, indeed, to give vent to this unhealthy subjectivity, has been no little sufferer by the "Sturm und Drang," and has caused no little suffering in the last one hundred years. It is true that, in a thousand and one of these cases, the ideas broached as revolutionary are, after all, the product of former periods. The American Transcendentalists would have had us believe that their mental and moral vagaries had a native origin, and did not spring from Coleridge, who received his impetus from his very partial knowledge of German literature. Wagner to-day would lay claim to the discovery of some points in music which are older than Gluck, older than Galilei, yes, older than the passional modes of the Greeks. In our limited denominational borders there are a few agitators who can see no good in preserving constitutional order, and who would exile the confession and the catechism. But the historic spirit requires a recognition of authority and adheres to the pursuit of defined ideals. It will never allow the paternity of the past to be destroyed, any more than the loving child would free himself from the relationship in which he stands to those who bore him, nor will it shift its goal. It will neither set itself against Jehovah and His Anointed, nor will it violate the consciences of

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men. Holding to the interfering supremacy of God, it will not change its patterns, but will continue to build on the ancient and true bases, and upon the one corner stone; the city which it rears must be attaining to the ideal city of God.

But an equal danger is from that conservatism which has a Chinese veneration for forms, and will make no room for the operations of the Spirit; it is forever pouring new wine into old bottles. There are not a few whose idolatry is of the letter, and whose only object of faith is a crystallization of all ideas; when Moses is read the veil is upon their hearts. St. Paul, like his Master, attacked this cramped tendency of the Hebrew mind, and he did not fail to expose it as a cause of Hellenic decay. What periods were more disastrous to the spirituality of the Church than those wherein the verbal acknowledgment of the creeds was regarded as a life of saving faith? when orthodoxy measured men by the letter of the dogma and not by the living Spirit in the word? When were there less Christian activity and church extension than when men refused to be the instruments for carrying the word of God to the heathen; when the prejudice against the mission idea had actually assumed a fatalistic postulate about the conversion of the world? Such an exaggerated conservatism is the surest precursor of death; the Spirit must go out of any form which is prized only for its antiquity. We need not say how that sort of conservatism has injured our Church in the past; how it has made us to be the least among the thousands of Israel, and our inheritance to be the smallest in the land, when we might have been and ought to have been in the van; how it has forbidden the prospect of any extensive possession in the future, because of our fatuous devotion to the obsolete, our want of regard for the necessity of progress and adaptation to different circumstances. The effort of some radical Germans to Germanize America according to their ideas of republicanism, is an illustration of the earlier mistake that our fathers made in perpetuating Holland in America, especially after the serious moment when the colonies became an independent nation. A formalism in usage and custom is even more deadly than a formalism in creed. The cultivation of a historic spirit avoids this heartless devotion to the letter, and while it seeks its advancement in the lines of the past, it is nevertheless ready to adopt such forms as shall express the larger revelation of God in human events.

To cultivate a historic spirit is also the only sure preventive of

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a retrogression to exhausted and obsolete forms. Our day has witnessed, amid the incessant agitations of modern thought and the new ideas which science has brought to bear upon human life and history, a strong reactionary tendency; a desire to clothe the present in the costumes of the past, in the vain search for rest from the tumults of speculation and discovery. Who could have imagined such a revival of mediaevalism in the very heat and heart of Protestant controversy? After all, Romanism, in order to be true to any developed tradition, moves in a circle, so that it has now come back to the effort of controlling the politics of the world, according to the exhausted and unspiritual ideas of uniformity and supremacy. The strenuous endeavor of ultramontanism is to arrest the modern course of events, and to bring all things back into the stagnation of the tenth century. One might as well expect the English to give up their concrete language and revert to the Saxon, or hope to persuade the Germans to forsake Goethe for the Gudrun. The romantic school of art, while claiming to take immense strides, yet positively reverts to the mythologic eras for its gravest subjects, as the most intelligible symbols of a universal life! So does philosophy, tired of its modern fashions ever and anon, fall back to the draperies of Plato and Aristotle. The Epigoni are always on the stage of literature and art; and the Napoleons long to turn the tide of politics into Latinism; and musical ecclesiastics are zealously resuscitating the barren Gregorian modes and chants. There is, indeed, no such party of reaction in our Church; there are none among us who believe that archaisms and antiquities are the only normal, and, therefore, absolute forms. We are too Protestant to espouse the antique because of its antiquity. Reverence is due to age, but age is not virtuous because of its years. Indeed, such a tendency can make little headway in a country where the State can have no appreciable influence upon even the outward Church life, where one reasons already from a much higher ground than where men strive to reconcile political and religious quiescence with a true freedom of the spirit. Hence we are sure of perpetuating the open antagonism which our fathers manifested in many a council and many a field to the spirit of reaction in forms.

The present, then, is not so much a child of the past as the maturing manhood of the past, and, consequently, the bettering of the past in all true and right directions. Therefore, what can be of greater moment for a Church than not only to discern the signs,

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but to be abreast of the times to have that incisive glance into current events which comes to that eye alone which is practiced in reading the past? When the word encourages us to hope through the very patience and comfort which it administers, when we are exhorted to watch and to wait, do we not read in these phrases the duties which every believer must discharge because he stands in connection with the progressive plan of God —because he is of the kingdom and patience of Jesus? Do we hope to cope, not only intelligently but ardently, not only in evenly balanced contemplation and cautious reserve, but in fervid championship and a decided taking of sides, with syllabus and mediaevalism and ultramontanism, with the desire for the illusory flesh pots of Egypt, with the earnest propaganda of radicalism and liberalism, the lances of "the free spirit," we must have the clear conscience which the historic spirit gives; that loyalty to truth, that enthusiasm for its support which the historic spirit alone can engender. It indicates the times when we are to go forward or to encamp, because it watches the cloud as it rises for the march or as it rests among the many thousands of Israel.

III. The cultivation of a historic spirit is essential to the highest development of particularism. If the origin be a true one, if it be in accord with the broader currents of good, if the instructed conscience approve of the sources and the elemental features of laws and institutions, then to build upon these bases and after these lines, until the edifice has its full elegance and proportions, is certainly a clear duty. Each seed, after its kind, ought to come to its highest flower and fruitfulness. The True Vine takes delight in showing his potentiality through the innumerable branches. No one will be acknowledged as a disciple who does not show the fruits of a training by Christ. All acceptableness to the Father is conditioned by this production of fruit with the seed in it. Did not our Lord come to see what yield the husbandmen could give Him from the vineyard? and will He not again ask the stewards what they have done with their talents? We cultivate the flowers and trees that they may come to their best color, fragrance, health and fecundity. The species must all show their idiosyncrasies in fullest bloom before we can generalize, and generalization does not thereupon annihilate the species. We must have a keen appreciation of all the shades of meaning which a word has before we can construct an accurate sentence. Hence the ancient

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world presents a constant succession of fragmentary developments in families, in races, while every effort at a comprehensive world plan or universal empire had to give way before the superior energy of particular races. The family tie generally proved stronger than all the amalgamating endeavors of government, of war, of education or of commerce. In precisely the same way do we have the phenomena of sects appearing at the very dawn of the faith, because our Lord and his apostles did not seek to promote a union in opinions, but in the feeling and in all the offices of love. All attempts at crushing out these particularisms of development have proved utterly futile. No national establishment and no sword which the Church has yet used have been able to hinder the speculative movements of the mind, or to prevent the assertion of different shades of belief, much less to arrest the emphatic protests of the conscience. We must recognize it as a law of the kingdom of grace, that all these different judgments, these variant doctrinal conclusions, so far as they are put forth in an obedient surrender to the instructions of the word, are to be developed to their full extent and to exert their farthest influence, to come in every direction to their most fragrant blossom and maturest fruit. The conscience of men about forms, about the dress of the Spirit—is not this, also, to be respected? It would appear that the Spirit thus shows his many-sidedness, as He did through prophets of such different temper as Micaiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel; or as He manifested the phases of Christian faith and conduct through such dissimilar apostles as Peter, Thomas, John, James and Paul. And a thoughtful perusal of our Lord's messages to the seven churches will suggest how individual they were in life, in duty, in temptation: there were seven stars and seven candlesticks, each star differing from the other star, and each candlestick differing from the other candlestick, and yet all reflecting the lustre they had received from Christ; while He who holds the seven stars in his right hand, and walks in the midst of the seven candlestick, surges upon them, by name, an individual development. A no less pregnant fact is the elective separatism of the Jews, whose upbuilding was to be according to the proportions of covenant and promise. How that eclectic particularism was to be educated and cherished is seen from this very song of Moses and this entire book of Deuteronomy; nevertheless, it had a universal bearing, for in Abraham all the families of the earth were to be blessed.

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Those forms which are not of God will eventually exhaust themselves; the test which Gamaliel proposed for dealing with Christianity politically is the true one. The sects which increase only in form, and do not make religious expansion a religious tenet, are always better left to the judgment of the Holy Ghost than to the arm of the State or the Church. It is just as hurtful to press all these divergent systems of belief into one huge, unassimilated mass; sooner or later every such amalgamation must undergo the same disintegration that has taken place wherever uniformity has been esteemed of more value than spiritual vitality. There can be no graver mistake for Protestantism than to imitate the hollow, compulsory universality of Romanism. A mere passion for external unions, and the consequent suppression of separative features, is the veriest vanity of appearance. The Bride is not to adorn herself by plaiting the hair, the wearing of gold and putting on of apparel, but to cultivate the ornaments of a meek and quiet spirit; God values her spirituality at a great price, and the development of that will make every feature beautiful and attractive.

If Protestantism has as its cardinal tenet the right of private judgment, it must be the duty of every Christian to fulfil the obligation which the possession and assertion of the right imposes; and surely its sincere exercise cannot consist in a suppression of opinions, in a concealment of characteristics, for the sake of parading a huge force or of making a display of banners. The cherishing of a historic spirit will forbid a repetition of the efforts either of Rome or of George Calixtus. Every colloquy of Thorn will fail as disastrously as any Trentine council; and it is significant that very many of those who have held that such a suppression of the judgment is essential to the peace of Christendom, have become the bitterest of controversialists.

Hence the historic spirit cannot adhere to a uniformity which comes through the compulsion of the State, or through the voluntary sacrifice of such peculiarities as the Holy Ghost has used in the past and will use so long as men are not alike. The superficial ardor of the day for a vast Church organism might succeed for a few years, but would end either in a disruption similar to that which has dismantled Rome, or in such incongruities as the establishments of Germany and England present. It would be a sad day for our land were the States to lose their distinctive political life, and were all their separate organizations to be

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merged into one general government; it would be an equal calamity for the universal Church to swallow up all the denominations through the maw of organic union. Our safety lies in developing our particularism according to its original ethical features; to bring our cultus, our tempered theology, our common sense exegesis, our blending of the lights of nature and revelation, our manner of advocating Protestant principles, our missionary ardor, our love for universal culture, our fraternal habits to their highest possible fruitfulness; these are the duties of the hour. None of these tendencies are exhausted; they have in them all the charms of the more excellent way; the world has need of their best products, for they come nearest to the combined qualities of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. John. Only as we cherish the historic spirit can we hope to prove how efficient these characteristics are for good, and what our own capacity for enlarging the sphere of their usefulness is.

IV. It is important, also, for securing the broadest sympathy with and support for those features in which all particular histories are alike; as you generalize from the species and constitute a genus of these similar traits, so all the points of positive identity in the local histories ought to be grouped for the positive universal history. This should be one of the chief studies of Protestantism, because the results of such a study afford the clearest testimony to the unity of the race and the unity of the Spirit's operations; no less do they designate the energy and the material which are available for coöperative schemes. In how many prolific and beautiful forms has the Christian Church sought this true fellowship, and enjoyed the freedom of a communion of saints, the fraternity of feeling and of worship, without any fear of having her concord disturbed by the particularisms. On how many fields have the sects stood side by side in doing or suffering the will of our Father in heaven, thereby affording the best demonstrations of the charity which yet rejoiceth in the truth. What harvests of good have resulted from the coöperative systems of benevolence and education, in which all good people could unite with unanimity of love, and yet not ignore the liberty of mind and conscience that it behooves every son of God to exercise.

In other words, we are not to exaggerate particularism so that it becomes dogmatically or formally exclusive; we are not to become Pharisees. With what biting scorn did Jesus speak his

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abhorrence of their false separatism; with what skill did He lay his finger upon those traditions of men which had usurped the authority of the divine commandments as the source of their malignant hostility to the new forms which were about to come out of the old types. How He laid the axe to the root of that corrupt tree, an abiding suggestion of the overthrow of all such selfish individuality. We may be sure that His satire would be just as caustic of all who shut themselves up in their narrow cells, therein to contemplate and magnify their own ecclesiastic importance; that His woes are just as authentic now, and just as applicable to the sects whose stress is upon forms, and who make the forms a barrier to coöperation and generic fellowship. And we do believe that there is nothing at this day so pressing as an investigation into these points of likeness, both in spirit and in form, out of which a system may be devised that will make an effective engine for the propagation of the gospel.

We are to labor toward all the possible harmonies of charity—harmonies better than those of the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal. Religion is to know no barriers of race, of national prejudice, of political estrangement; it alone is cosmopolitan, and for the realization of what St. Paul has set before us as the ideal Christian cosmos, the federation of the confessional sects shall yet play an important part. Probably no denomination has studied so much the identities of all confessions and cultus as our own, and certainly none has been readier in the display of its affection for catholicity, in taking the first advantage of those proofs of kinship for establishing a closer alliance, or else no Reformed Synod could ever have convened at Dort; no such kindly greeting would have welcomed the exiles who sought shelter in the motherly embrace of Holland; and in every coöperative project the American daughter has entered with lavish warmth. In this respect there has been no loss of the historic spirit.

V. A special advantage of cherishing such principles as the history sets before us appears in crises. When our motives are determined by the approved models of the past, we can move forward immediately under the impulse of genuine and decided convictions; the direction in which to go is not an uncertain one; we need not be perplexed by any effervescent enthusiasm or by popular cries. In moments of excitement and of threatened revolution let the conscience rule according to the historic law in which

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it has been instructed, and there can be no danger of precipitate or erroneous action. And how this preserves a man from indecision, instability, double mindedness! And what a preventive against being non-committal, lukewarm and inactive in the midst of profound movements! The historic spirit compels one to take sides, to be for or against, and for such reasons as are drawn from our own or others' experience. It makes us champions with a zeal which is according to knowledge. The feelings follow the judgment in close and supporting sympathy; they are enlisted with all their volume of hope, of ardor, of affection; therefore, under such determining influence, the better nature is capable of the highest sacrifices of blood and treasure. The spirituality of men appears in nothing so conspicuously as in their quickened zeal, their ardent enthusiasm for what they deliberatively conceive to be right amid the storms, the uncertainties, the crises of Church or State. The Maccabees found the facts of the past the most cogent instrument in stirring up the Jews to a struggle for nationality; with no less skill did Pericles and Demosthenes awaken the lethargic Greeks by the reproduction of glorious memories; and what could ever impress the Hollander in camp and council so much as the thought of what peace with the dark power they had so long resisted, meant, and of the bitter irreconcilable struggle between the light and the darkness through all the historic days? A modern poet has not hesitated to fan the flame of opposition to the same baleful influence by the dramatic rehabilitation of Queen Mary. The ancient singer, too, would constrain his people to prepare for all the emergencies of the future by the recollection of the Rock, so perfect, so creative, so full of honey and oil, so superior in majesty and love. In our civil war it was the recollection of the original idea of the fathers to seek safety and strength in the combination of such functions as were common to the separate colonies—an idea out of which the union was born, and the nation grew—that gave emphasis to the popular determination to support the government.

We then, as a denomination, can have no safer guide for our action, in any emergencies that may arise, within or without; we can find no graver and better authority for the conscience in the moment of peril, no more efficient help for deliberation, for the formation of our opinions, for resolution and effort, whenever a Reformed or Protestant interest is at stake. Herein is the stimulus to a generous endeavor, not only to perpetuate ourselves but

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to recover some of the ground which we have so blunderingly lost, and to prove ourselves equal to the nation's spiritual necessities.

VI. Observe, also, what stress the Scriptures put upon this matter. The book of Deuteronomy—what is it but a reiteration of the formative facts of the birth of the nation, its early trials, its laws, the origin of the covenant history, the divine interferences, as an appeal for the conservation of the national life? The scope of the book is to sustain the historic spirit in the new generation. In like manner, the historic Psalms do not refer to the events which characterized the writers' own times, but to the ancient ones, that the perverted theocratic life might be restored to its primitive purity. Every institution had precisely the same thought at bottom, and was ordained to perpetuate this very historic spirit. If you look at the moral law, it was a revelation, in its first table, of the will of Him who had brought the people out of the land of Egypt—out of the house of bondage; in its second table it was a reminder of their estate as bondmen. If you turn to the festivals, along with their symbolic alliance with nature they were commemorative of the earliest national events; the very ceremonies of worship were suggestive of the father, as a Syrian ready to perish. The covenant and the promises always recalled the venerated progenitors, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Was not the Scripture scheme of education founded upon the grave importance of cherishing a historic spirit? And that matter of education of the people is enlarged upon in this book of Deuteronomy. When we read such imperative precepts as are contained in Chapters IV, VI and XI about the instruction of the children in these facts, we perceive what emphasis Jehovah puts upon the principles which are framed according to the ancient events. Every divine appeal clothes itself with the original language, and reanimates the historic personages. Prophecy not only uses the sublime events of the past as a display to enable the soul to contemplate and imagine for itself the future, but its particular aims are to revive among the degenerate people a devotion to the principles of the older world; in the presence of calamities to rekindle the ancient fire; to create an anticipative hopefulness through the contents of the covenant, and to give still wider horizon to the germinating ideas contained in the promises. It pleads for the development of the original institutions out of their shadows and words to their substance in Christ. Our Lord

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sought not only to dispel the vanities with which human tradition had freighted the conscience and the life, but also to attack the spirit of the Sadducees, so radical and destructive to all logic in human events, and to restore the heavenly tradition in such forms as were adapted to the larger manifestation of God. Hence He would never sever himself from the ceremonial observances; He stood forth as in direct human succession from David and from Abraham, while at the same time He lit up the genealogies with a new light. His own institutions were but so many changes of form for the same Spirit, who had dwelt in law, in covenant, in festival. The rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper at the same time become commemorative of the historic acts of Christ. The peculiar office of the Holy Ghost is to bring to mind what Christ has said and done—to keep alive the sympathy with the larger revelations that were new points of history. Hence the Christian reproduces that ministry so full of unutterable sorrows and joys; that teaching of Him who sat in a seat higher than that of Moses; that death which had in its patience and resignation the elements of victory over sin and its bitterest consequences. The Christian always goes to the crowned Jesus by the way of the cross; whenever he approaches the throne he sees thereon the Lamb that was slain.

Was there a speech of St. Peter, of St. Stephen, or of St. Paul addressed to the Jews which did not rebuke them for quenching the historic spirit? The mission of the apostles, as looking to the success of the Gospel, was it simply for proselyting, or was there in it the proclamation of the personal divine elements, now no longer hidden, but manifestly set forth as once concealed, but now patent factors of history, the mystery made known? When St. Paul unfolds to the Thessalonians the apostasy, the career of the Man of Sin, he begs of them to stand fast and hold the traditions which they had been taught, and to wait patiently for the historic Christ.

To the Galatians he avers that there is but the one Gospel for all time, and confirms the perpetuity of the Abrahamic covenant, contrasting the period of historic minority, wherein the law was purely pedagogic, with the period of majority, of sonship, heirship, freedom, and still further illustrates the superior position of the believer in Christ by the allegory of Agar and Sarai.

In his first letter to the Corinthians he speaks of the Spirit of God as knowing all the depths of God, and, therefore, the per-

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sonal energy of all history, and the interpreter of the divine purposes to the receptive heart. He also traces the progress of the Church from the apostolic labors, made successful by the divine increase and the enlargement of her functions through the diversity of spiritual gifts, up to the glories of the resurrection, and of the period when Jesus "shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father." In his second letter he dwells upon the procession of the ministration of the Spirit, and of righteousness from the ministration of death and condemnation, and the taking away of the veil which had prevented the Jews from discovering the purpose of their history.

For the Romans he traces the progress of the divine law in the world, and lays as the basis of all historic Christianity the atonement of Christ. When he addresses himself to his own people, he represents the course of sacred and secular histories as the synchronous growth of the good and the wild olive trees, and the purpose of Christianity itself as the grafting of the wild olive upon the good.

His Epistle to the Ephesians is stupendous for its presentation of the spiritual cosmos as it lay in the divine mind from before the foundation of the world, and its gradual manifestation up to the fulness of times, and its perfect substantiation in the gathering together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth. What a profound view of history there is in the words whereby St. Paul describes the second purpose of his apostleship: "To make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ; to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." These views are reaffirmed in the analagous Epistle to the Colossians. He would persuade Timothy to preserve the institutions and doctrines of Christianity intact: "This charge I commit unto thee." In periods of departure from the faith he was to put the brethren in remembrance of these things, as a minister "nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine;" "take heed unto thyself and unto the doctrines; continue in them;" "these things teach and exhort." In the second letter he reiterates this thought: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love,

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which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us;" "of these things put them in remembrance;" "but continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them;" and when, in iv: 2, the apostle charges his son in the faith "to preach the word," he shows the irreversible obligation of the Church; the ancient truth must be kept unchanged through all generations; hence one great office of the Church is to preserve the historic spirit. This same obligation he places upon every bishop, when he writes to Titus concerning the duty of that high calling: "Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."

The Epistle to the Hebrews is throughout an exposition and application of this principle, since it shows how the Hebrews ought to have expected the divine Christ to come and suffer as Jesus did, from what scripture, and priesthood, and sacrifices and tabernacle had foreshadowed.

The Johannic conception of the apostleship is according to the Lord's teaching; the apostle was to bear witness to all things in the life and word of Christ from the beginning, and to train men to distinguish between the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Error, between Christ and Anti-Christ. The apocalypse borrows its drapery from the past to image forth the future. The admonitions to the churches require a renewal of the first love and the first works. He who walks among the golden candlesticks is also He who comes in the great career of spiritual conquest and in the splendor of the latter day; all events spring from the power of Him who opens the sealed book, and tend to the exaltation of the Lamb once slain. The song of Moses is blended with the song of the Lamb, and because the visions indicate how the future grows out of the past, they are so many exhortations to the Christian to cherish a historic spirit. Therefore the entire Scripture is a unit in this matter. Whether we have the true complexion of church organization, of worship, of confession, depends wholly upon our fidelity to the ancient tradition as given by God, and upon an advancement in its original path; in order then to bring out these features in their integrity, we must cultivate such a principle and be ruled by such a motive as is in accordance with what the Founder has himself authoritatively established. That the apostles were called to be witnesses of the facts of the Master's

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life, as well as to catch His inner sentiment and thoughts, is an evidence that their testimony is of lasting value; that it is binding upon the Church in all her duties of administration as well as of teaching. That constant appeal to the early churches to preserve intact the original institutions and doctrines, and that reproach which our Lord himself casts upon their Jewish and Balaamite tendencies, are proofs that we must draw water from the fountain heads, and shape our particularism according to the pattern which our Lord gave us. We dare not forget the solicitude of the Master for the purity of His truth when entrusted to the custody of men, and therefore for the purity of His Church, for He has given us the Holy Spirit to guide us into all truth; nor must we shut our ears to the vehemence with which the apostles assail all schemes that mar the original integrity of the doctrine. They too watched jealously whatever particularism had been developed under their own ministry, lest the growth of these special features might plunge the people into ultraisms and extravagance. Surely our Church claims to be a reviver and defender of historic Christianity. Would we be participants in the divine scheme, would we contribute to the adornment and beauty of the Bride, would we enhance the glory of Jesus, our Lord, we must preserve that historic spirit which allies itself with the apostolic spirit.

To inquire into the distinctive features of our particularism would be out of place here, and indeed superfluous, since not a few of them are pointed out aptly in the present series of discourses; but it will be in keeping to define how we may best cherish such a spirit.

1. These distinctive features ought to be integral parts of all our educational methods. As rigidly as the Israelite was commanded to train his son in a knowledge of the circumstances and reasons which gave birth to the theocracy, so rigidly should we teach our children the causes which led to the Reformation in Holland, which produced our Church, and which make its perpetuation desirable. The pulpit should be the constant exponent of this spirit, not so much by the letter and by positive statement—for that would magnify the accident above the essence, the Church above Christ, and the history above the word—as by its steadfast example in the conduct of public worship, by its manifested regard for constitutional order, and for customs and usages. Indeed, the individual churches ought to show their fidelity to that historical spirit which the standards and the constitution so

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positively inculcate, and which the vows made by the people at their organization into churches so explicitly pledge. To the church school, where the children are under the care of their spiritual Mother, and to the family in which should be found the hues of traditional piety and of solid confessional life, we must look for the closest teaching and for the best types of the ancient virtues. But for the farthest reaching effects our seminaries have always afforded the surest field, because in them we have not only the sphere for the uninterrupted teaching of our traditional exegesis, of our theology and symbols, of our homiletics, of our liturgy, of our government, of our catholicity, and for moulding these into such forms as shall be best adapted to the expanding spirit within them, but also the minds which are to persuade other minds. The rising ministry ought to make these matters not only the objects of temporary study and admiration but the ruling tendency, so that personal and official life may be colored and shaped by them; so that the healthful, unaffected love for the institutions of the Church, for her ancient order and history, may never know estrangement, but always be on the watch for broader demonstrations of her usefulness and power.

2. An agency of scarcely less potent influence would be the revival of the classic literature of the Church; we want a genuine Dutch *renaissance*. Who, of all philologians, theologians, exegetes or preachers, were like the Dutch in the palmy days of their new national and religious life? Where else can you find such solid masses of erudition, such skilful use of speculative thought in application to theology, such sturdy advocacy of a confessional Church, such records of the contemplative life, such devotion to historic usage and tradition, as in the Dutch literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? But the great mass of that literature is unknown to our people. It is noteworthy that there has been no effort on our part to bring these works of our best authors within the compass of popular knowledge, such as other churches of the reformation—the German, both Lutheran and Reformed, the English, the Scotch, and even the French have made with respect to their earlier classics, and with such beneficial results; a dead weight of oblivion has settled upon the major part of these once widely esteemed works of our then great leaders in all avenues of religious culture. As a very natural consequence we can boast of no distinctive literature since. It has always seemed to us that Mr. Motley could never portray the

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Dutch struggles adequately, because his prefaces reveal with what imperfect sympathy he entered into the religious animus of those struggles—into the faith, patience and heroism of the people, as trained in the school of the divine Christ, whether as against Rome or as against heresy within the pale; and his later volumes betray no acquaintance with that religious literature which most faithfully reflected and most resolutely determined the feeling of the people. From his standpoint he must regard the orthodox pressure that led to the Synod of Dort, and the issues of that remarkable council, as the gravest attacks upon liberty; and while he passes over the history of the council, he assails the resulting political events. The world takes the impressions that he would make upon its yielding and ignorant judgment. As a defence against these misconceptions ought there not to be a resuscitation of at least the more important of these materials? Is there not enough genuine love of the past in our Church to make the most prominent of our Dutch classics available for fostering the historic spirit, and for giving new impetus to scholarship and authorship in these specialties? Defective in conception as are particularly the latest volumes of Mr. Motley, we remember how his dramatic narrative and vivid portraiture evoked a universal praise of the heroism, the political sagacity and religious earnestness of Holland: how much more would the true presentation of the spirit of that day serve not only to solve some very mysterious problems of the then European politics, but to make us cherish a kindred devotion to Protestant and Reformed truth?

3. It may be considered uncharitable to say it, but we must ask frankly, is not the too large settlement of men of a different education, of a different tendency, hazardous to the future of our denomination? It results not so much in the engrafting upon our system the good stocks of other systems, but in the obliteration of all our peculiarities. Is it not to this fact that we must attribute the growing hostility to the catechism, the open violation of constitutional injunctions, the disuse of the liturgy, so that the option with regard to some of the forms has virtually become the ostracism of them? Did a minister dare to use these forms in most of our congregations he would have to resign rapidly. When our churches, especially those which are regarded as the flower of the denomination, habitually settle a ministry trained to regard the kingdom of Christ from other standpoints, must we

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not expect, however punctilious may be the observance of certain customs, a gradual loss of our particularism?

Is it not this want of regard for training in the traditions which leads to the steady disappearance or prostration of our city churches? Some become extinct, and others would gladly run off into the cant of sisterhood, were it not for mightier and more material ties than any a historic spirit can originate. Must not this systematic practice of so many of our consistories deplete our seminaries? Let the young men discover that if they attend our theological institutions there is less prospect of call, and less yet of progress in ministerial spheres; let them find out that there is a premium put, in many quarters, upon those who do not make their preparation at the educational centres of the Church; let students see that it is as easy to enter our ranks from without as from within, and in not a few places easier, and inevitably you bring disaster upon your seminaries.

Must we not also anticipate a modification of "our heirlooms of faith and order" if so many of our ministers are schooled in different communions? In short, if we do not want those propositions which look not toward union simply but toward absorption, to prevail ultimately, we must begin by caring for the men who are educated in the history and in the spirit of our Church; men trained in the authorized schools and anointed with the ancient oil; men desirous of preserving the original and conquered landmarks against the washing of engulfing unions.

4. There should also be an immediate revival of certain characteristics of the Church in the actual Church practice. It will be safe, certainly, to give the children more solid instruction again. The catechetical drill has been compelled to give way largely to the much abused, perverted Sunday school; and every minister has wept over the utter shallowness of that system which essays to make youth wise in the Scriptures by teaching them a scant hour per week! And with what superficial preparations—with what teaching! In spite of manifold conventions and new methods, and the thousand cacklings of ill trained minds, and the enormous milk and water literature, and the variety of apparatus, the golden egg is not yet laid. No royal road to sacred learning has yet been discovered or invented. We, as a Church, could well take a step backward for a step forward, and again emphasize the word *school*—the place for earnest, thorough education, under competent teachers. The Church Sun-

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day school should be as thorough in study and discipline as any other school.

Is it not time for us to pay attention again to the systematic religious culture of the young, and in the larger forms of modern study, so that they may know the Bible in its archæology, geography, evidences and introductions, as well as in its history and doctrines? Must we not rise to the former exactness in teaching the children all that pertains to the understanding of the word of God, and of the symbols which classify its holy truths, that the era of the superficial and sensational may come to an end? How shall we ever recover the ground if we permit our children to become so wise in the earthly wisdom, and yet impart to them no precise knowledge of the heavenly wisdom?

The exposition of the catechism is a no less necessary help to the renewal of a historic life. It is true the average lay mind will prefer always amusement to instruction; but the delight in flaccid epigrams is in no little degree due to the prevalent methods of religious education. We are reaping such poor harvest as a superficial sowing has produced. There is no repugnance on the part of parents to the compulsory study of grammatical rules, but there is an unjust, unmeaning prejudice against the "grammar of assent." Therefore, the present and the coming generation have an inferior preparation; they are not as strong in the Scriptures as the previous generations, because they have not been trained in the body of divinity. The men and women of our churches, on the average, are simply the boys and girls of our Sunday schools over again; the Sunday school system has possession of the Church. We cannot expect anything else from those who, not always directly, perhaps, but, at all events, by the very absence of discipline in religious thought, have been led to look for their stimulus to the minister and to the superintendent, and not to their own conscience. We have been swept along in the giddy revolution, and as a consequence, there is a growing neglect of that exact study and exposition of truth which our fundamental law, in its endeavor to maintain the education of all in Church fellowship, requires. Are we about to let go our entire confessional attitude? Has the occasion for such confessional life passed by? Has the Church lost her judgment, her deliberative power to determine her own beliefs, or her heart of bravery to declare and defend her convictions? Has tradition so little moral authority that we owe it no allegiance, even though we have sub-

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scribed to it? or do its teachings reflect the divine ideas so meagerly, so superficially, and are its forms so ill adapted to the larger intellectual calibre of the age that we must perforce ignore them, and trust ourselves to such irresponsible and unconnected subjectivities, such interpretation of the Scriptures as may occur to us from week to week? If not—if confession, and catechism, and canons are still really dear, if they are more than relics which we superstitiously adore, but as superstitiously refuse to handle—we must revive the order, give life to the letter, and profess our belief earnestly and solemnly, as the undying protest of our Church, against every form of Antichrist.

Why do we continue to publish a liturgy, with its formal prayers, its confession of sins, its litany, its creeds, as well as its orders, if the tyranny of "the free spirit" virtually allows no option whatever as to its use, and if every form which the constitution does not compel us to use be considered empty of spirit? Does not the almost universal neglect of all those portions which are not straitly enjoined say, that if the constitutional barriers were removed, we would rush eagerly into the disuse of those which are so rigidly prescribed? But whence this liturgical stream? What is its history? Why is it treated as an unwelcome appendix? How could a stranger discern in us anything liturgical beyond what other denominations present, were he to judge us by our practice? It seems very childish for the General Synod to appoint committees now and then to undertake the severe task of revision, and to publish the fruit of their labor at no inconsiderable expense, and to submit it for ratification to the Classes, only that the ministry and the people may remand it to as complete an oblivion as its predecessor. Possibly the Synod commands so apparently a superfluous exercise in order to show out of what miserable gelatinous masses we have been evolved; how magnificent our development has been out of such crude forms into the elegant subjectivities of our extempore prayers and confessions; to afford a sort of evidence to the world of how little there is in our present appearance that would indicate even a remote connection between our present hoof and our then five toed foot, and to reveal the protoplasms out of which we have attained our plastic way of dealing with the traditions.

5. On the generous support of our benevolent and educational institutions we found our chief hopes of self-preservation. These are the products of past faith and sacrifices; they are the heart

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of our organism; to neglect them is to assent to the uselessness of our separate existence and to hasten our extinction. We cannot forget with what zeal the mother country cared for the religious welfare of her colonies, and what earnest missionary work was done by her at a time when the missionary spirit was scarcely perceptible in the Protestant Church; surely the heroic element and the enterprise of faith can never cease to form conspicuous parts of our Church life; we never would consent to quench the holy fire which the Spirit enkindled in us from the beginning. We also call to mind the educational glories of the past. We can do no better than to imitate the foresight which established the schools and universities of Holland, and the zeal which carried them forward until they became famous centres of learning; and if we remember, also, how long our American institutions have been organized, as among the first in the field, and the difficulties the fathers wrestled with in order to lay the foundations, and the remarkably prescient view the charter took of the scope of education, we shall want to put our grammar schools, and colleges, and seminaries abreast with the best; for unless we offer advantages commensurate with the augmenting requirements of the age, unless we adapt our educational forms to the expanding spirit of the times, we must expect to find ourselves without patronage and success. There ought to be the strongest sympathy between all the churches and these centres; if these institutions suffer, we ought to suffer with them; we ought to feel the necessities of every one of them as personal necessities. Believe it, there is nothing that can tell on our future so encouragingly or discouragingly as the generous or meagre maintenance of the schools; and if we were to form our principle of action toward them by what the history indicates as a characteristic and a peculiar glory of our denomination, they can have no want which the sympathetic churches will not instantly supply.

6. And, brethren, is it not high time to cease that heartless criticism, which has become quite chronic, and has degenerated into a vulgar cynicism? It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest. To how many of our ministers and laymen does nothing seem good, nothing right that is done in consistories, classes, synods, boards or schools? Did something effective, either of method or of work, issue from this censorious habit, there might be some justification for its indulgence; but merely to carp is to undermine; to be looking always for symptoms of decline, and yet to do nothing for

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their arrest, is to join the French school of medicine. A generous, wise criticism endeavors to build up as well as to pull down, because its office is to discover the true spirit of the literature, the history, the science, the art which it analyzes, so as to establish the canons according to which our opinions of individual works may be decided, and an enlightened taste may address itself to the task of production. When we criticise the Church or her institutions, we must do it according to the laws of the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of our particularism, and then proceed to restore the waste places, to renovate such parts of the fabric as time may have defaced, to adapt the forms to the larger operations of the Spirit, and not to live, and teach, and preach as if three centuries had not intervened since the fetters which made all faith tyranny were cast off.

The present is evidently a serious moment in the history of our particularism. The agitations which have but recently shaken us to the depths have not strengthened us, but they have exposed us to the searching question: Why do you continue your particularism as a mere prejudice and prepossession, while you systematically ignore almost all of your distinctive traits? Only the revival and cultivation of a historic spirit can satisfy the Christian conscience. Is it worth while to continue any longer in our separatism, if we be preparing practically for a future absorption, through the gradual abolition of all that has made us providentially individual? If a not very pronounced majority of the Church has voted no, on the proposition of organic union with the Presbyterian Church North, it remains for the winning side to begin with discriminating zeal this *renaissance*, and to institute a propaganda as well, on an ample scale, or it is evident that those who have learned to set no value on tradition, and have proved themselves ready to sacrifice our particularism for a plausible generality—a party now so nearly abreast of those who profess to be actuated by a historic spirit—will soon, if the present method of filling vacancies be continued, pass beyond their minority, and the Church will be handed over to the tender mercies of Pan Presbyterianism, and never reach that Reformed Federation which is our true ideal, and a legitimate fruit of one of the schools of Dutch theology and of early Dutch ecclesiastical effort. We repeat it, the determination of this matter lies in the answer we give to the question: Shall we cherish or quench a historic spirit? It depends upon our people to say whether all our

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schools, so grievously unseconded, and even reprobated by some of our leading churches, shall be aided in their endeavor to propagate the seed which has been transplanted from the rich gardens of Zwoll, Utrecht, Leyden, Groningen; whether our library, under its present auspicious patronage, shall be made a centre for the revival of the Dutch literature, and for the support of scholarly research and authorship; whether our churches will select men whose love for the traditions is assured; whether our laymen will devise such liberal things as shall enable our schools, by their equal apparatus and equipment, to compete with the best; and whether the General Synod will bring to its fulness the federal work begun by the Synod of Dort. It is not, however, mere endowment that can save us in the long run; money and property can never do the work of a historic spirit. Are we ready to receive instruction from the fathers, so as to imbibe the spirit which made martyrs to Reformed principles at Antwerp and at many a stake; which endured the extremities of suffering under all the aggravations of war, to secure political and religious liberty, in an age when these rights were opposed with all the machinery that Romanism could devise? Are we willing to go forward under the stimulus of that phase of Protestanism which always associated the Church, the Home and the State in a sacred internal union; which also asserted and cultivated the right of private judgment in strict obedience to the authority of the word and the Church? Are we ready to imitate the tendency which sought to utilize the written as well as the free form; which blended liturgy with the free spirit; which could as readily sing the devout German hymns, wedded as they were to majestic melodies, as the psalms; which, indeed, sought from all the fair fields of worship the choicest flowers of praise and prayer? Must we not go to these past generations of the Church, just out of bondage, to learn how to prize the varieties of theologic thought and method, to unite with revelation the testimonies of nature and of philosophy, as the fathers of our Church did in their desire to collect the evidences of God from all sources of human observation and investigation? Where can we find a better determination to meet the intellectual and spiritual needs of the times than in that Dutch education, in that Dutch missionary effort, in that Dutch enterprise, and in that Dutch policy which the elders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrate by the phenomenal stir they made in every sphere of European life? Or can we dis-

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cover a piety better than theirs—at once simple and strong, patient and prudent; self denying, yet resolutely asserting its liberty; unascetic, yet morally energetic; contemplative, yet aggressive? As we consider the years of many generations, are we ready to adopt the fathers' principles as our principles, in such forms as a wise reference to the increased development of the intervening centuries may require?

The Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb are alike commemorative of the triumphs of grace. They both teach us to go to the sources of our religious life—the one in the history of Israel, the other in the history of our Lord. The memory of the interpositions of God must always stimulate our faith and hope, and it must also enhance the blessedness of heaven itself. Would we sing these eternal songs, we must cherish a historic spirit.

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ITS

MISSIONARY WORK

AT HOME.

BY

PROF. CHARLES SCOTT, D. D.

HOLLAND, MICH.

1890

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ITS

MISSIONARY WORK AT HOME.

"I have caused thee to multiply as the bud of the field, * * * * * * and thou art come to excellent ornaments."—EZEKIEL, xvi: 6.

THE Saviour looked upon the lilies of the field, and from the lesson of their radiant beauty taught the providential care of God. In like manner may we gaze upon the spreading oak, so strong among the forest trees, and learn the Creator's law of development and growth. The little rootlet sinks into the moist earth beneath; the primal stem shoots up into the clear atmosphere above; the vital sap begins to flow; the swelling buds put forth the leaf, the branch, the trunk in nature's order; and thus goes on the mystery of its organism—the adding of fibre to fibre and of tissue to tissue—until the noble tree stands as a cedar in Lebanon. All the changes of time may pass over it—the summer's heat and the winter's storm, the fury of the tempest and the crashing of the thunderbolt—and yet for centuries it will scorn decay, as if it claimed eternal years. And what is the principle that thus repels the forces of destruction? It is in the simple fact that every function of the plant is devoted, not to mere existence but to continued expansion. Let that law of its progress cease, and soon the finest shaft that ever waved its boughs over "the rivers of water" would struggle with the issues of death. For a season, and only for a season, the green foliage might conceal the canker at the heart, but no outward form of life can long supply

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the want of internal vigor for enlargement. A simile this of many important truths: and it is not difficult to apply the same to the moral and religious things of the kingdom of God.

Once there was great rejoicing at the Roman Vatican. The bigots of the Pope had reported that the Protestant Reformation was checked, and stood only on the defensive. "Ah!" said a crafty cardinal, "then the crisis is past, and this arch heresy, like all before it, will hasten to perdition." That cardinal in his inference was right. Let it never be said of any pure church of Jesus Christ, in this or any other land, that it has reached its limits of development.

I have been chosen to sketch the "Home Missionary Work" of the Reformed Church in America, and enter upon the task with a firm conviction that our beloved Zion has not been planted and watered in vain in this garden of the western world. The Lord hath caused her "to multiply as the bud of the field," and hath made her "comely as Jerusalem." Otherwise would it be a sad pen that recorded her shame, while now there are so many glad hearts to welcome her progress and beauty. The facts of her history, however, must speak for themselves, whether they come with sombre shades or with brighter hues of hope; and it is my simple office to present those facts in their proper groupings, and not to indulge in misplaced criticism or eulogy.

It pleased the Most High, who "divideth to the nations their inheritance," to plant the flag of the Dutch Republic over the region now known as the States of New York and New Jersey. Contemporaneous with the sittings of the Synod of Dort the yeomanry of the Netherlands began to lay the foundations of a new commonwealth around the waters of Manhattan. They came, not like the Puritans, for conscience sake, but still with a conscience as deeply rooted in the gospel of Christ. Precious memories of the fatherland, and of its long struggle for civil and religious freedom; of the shed blood of their martyred kindred; of the faith, and labor, and sacrifice that had gained the final triumph over Philip, followed them across the seas, and hallowed, as it were, their American homes. The first congregation of the Lord seems to have been gathered between 1622 and 1624, at New Amsterdam, but the first preaching of the word through the settlements was in 1628. Already the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay had rejoiced in their means of grace, and already the churchmen of Virginia had reared a sanctuary on the James.

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Hence our denomination is not the first that unfurled the banner of the Cross in the United States, but it did thus early rear up a "pillar and ground of the truth," and thus early begin to unfold, in this western world, as one of the "fair daughters of Zion."

In 1644, after fifty years of occupancy, the dominion of the States General passed away from the New Netherlands, and they became subject to the sway of Britain. Meantime, not 8,000 souls had gathered under the somewhat rigid rule of Governor Stuyvesant and his council. The Dutch boweries had scarcely spread beyond the signal call from the forts and redoubts, and their trading posts were everywhere confined to narrow limits. Kings County, on Long Island, was the heart and centre of the colony, and the outposts extended thence to Harlem, Hackensack, Bergen, and beyond the Sandy Hook to Middletown. At Albany a village of some extent was seated on the hill side; Esopus and Schenectady marked the newest of the settlements; while the more distant New Amstel was a recent conquest from the Swedes. Think not, however, that these strangers from Holland and Zuland—from Utrecht and Overyseol—had forgotten the religious principles of the fatherland or the teachings of the Reformation. By no means, for the word of God had come to every family circle, and had permeated the whole community. At the time of the surrender, in 1664, there were thirteen organized congregations in the New Netherlands, and seven ordained pastors, who not only ministered to their immediate flocks but followed all the people to their scattered habitations. Seldom has a new country been more favored of the means of grace, or more subservient to the ordinances of the gospel (Appendix A).

The English colonial period, from 1664 to 1775, must be passed with as rapid a survey as the subject will admit. Not only did new accessions from the Netherlands almost entirely cease, but many of the colonists, chafing under an unwelcome yoke, returned to Europe, or scattered along the rivers of the South. At once began that adverse train of circumstances which increased from generation to generation, and which would have destroyed the feeble Dutch churches in the land, had not their gracious Head spread over them His guardian care. Episcopacy was soon established in New York, with taxation for its support, and all the influences of social and political life were brought to bear upon the proselytism of the sons and daughters of the old inhabitants; as also the charms of the English tongue, and the seduction of

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English alliances. No wonder that so many Holland and Huguenot names appear upon the early parish registers, and that the Church of England became so strong along the Hudson. Moreover, a flood of immigration poured in upon the land from New England and the British Isles, and the new comers being unable to worship with the people, had no alternative but to build up an ecclesiastical sisterhood of rivals. Meanwhile, the Dutch congregations remained in servile dependence upon the Classis of Amsterdam, while the Congregationalists and Presbyterians at once organized their own church courts, founded their own academies, and trained a native ministry for the work of the Lord. The very money and energy which should have reared a new Leyden in America were wasted in useless disputes upon the endowment of Columbia College. Then, a century after the surrender, came the famous Coetus controversy, and the troubles and defections caused by a needed change in the language of worship. Can this Zion go on and prosper when around her are so many hurtful agencies, and over her so many dark and threatening clouds?

Yet prosper she did, yea, almost without a parallel upon the Continent. We began with 7,000 or 8,000 colonists, and, without increase from abroad, these had multiplied to from 60,000 to 70,000 in 1775, of whom a portion had been lost, as already stated. Dutch settlements had flanked the Hudson on either side to beyond Saratoga; had penetrated far up the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys; had appropriated the finest portions of East New Jersey and of Central Long Island; and wherever they went the school, the catechism, the word of God, the Church and the sacraments went in company, and started the praises of God through all the forests and mountains of New Netherlands.

The new congregations had no special mission aid, but the members thereof faithfully clung to some Mother Church, and received the ordinances from the pastor thereof as he came on circuits of duty, until by the organized union and effort of two or three or four together they called and supported a minister of their own. Little conception can we have of the effort demanded, often for years together, to secure the preaching of the word, or of the herculean labors and unflagging zeal of some of those early evangelists. Theirs was a "home mission work" of the noblest kind. Rev. J. H. Goetschius, of Hackensack, filled his appointments to the hour for a 100 miles, and the Rev. J. C. Fryenmoet gloried in a parish that reached from old Esopus to the Water Gap

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of the Delaware. Hardly a child's name failed to be found on the baptismal registers, or among the catechumens of the Church. As the natural result, 86 new congregations, or 98 in all, had been formed, and remained up to 1775, with 41 active pastors in the field. The number of families and communicants may be estimated at about 9,000 or 10,000 respectively, and the people reached, by church ordinances, at from 45,000 to 50,000. We only pause to ask if any other colonial denomination can make a better showing? (Appendix B.)

If the American churches clung too tenaciously to the Classis of Amsterdam, as to a dear mother, we must remember that that mother was worthy of the love bestowed. No Christian body in Europe or the world had so much evangelical zeal, or gave so much fostering care to the spread of the faith abroad, as that recognized mission board of all the Synods of the Netherlands. In the East and in the West; in Ceylon and Java, as well as in Demarara and Brazil; in Pennsylvania, among the Germans, as well as in New York, among their co-religionists, did the Classis labor wisely and well. Let this fact entitle them to our everlasting remembrance.

The schism between the Coetus and the Conferentie, deplorable as it was for a season, had no permanent evil effects upon denominational growth. Yea, rather, God overruled it for good. It gave origin to Queen's College and shape to the happy union and organization of 1772. The college, and all other plans for good, were nipped in the bud by the overwhelming civil commotions of the Revolution; but the Reformed Church had gained its automatic existence, and all the needed germs of future national development. The great misfortune of its history was that its independent establishment in America, and the measures of the fathers of 1770–'75, came just a generation too late, and many generations to come will deplore the fact, while still thanking the Lord for the multitude of His mercies.

We now come to the century which is specifically to be portrayed—the century extending from 1776 to 1875. We have given the statistics of the former year, and for the latter we have the minutes of the General Synod. And what is the first fact that strikes the observer? During the preceding one hundred years the Dutch population in this land had increased about eight or nine fold; the churches, eight fold; the ministers, six or seven fold; and the number in the congregations seven fold; but dur-

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ing the one hundred years just ended, while the general population has kept up its ratio of increase, the *American* churches have multiplied by four; the membership by five; the ministers by twelve, and the reported families by three and three tenths. Hence the century, with all its ministers and ministerial agencies and boards, has not followed and gathered in the children of Netherland households like that which preceded. Fully one half of the descendants of those who worshipped in our pre-revolutionary sanctuaries are now scattered into other folds or lost to the Christian faith. Whatever grounds we may have for centennial joy, it is well to keep these figures before our mind as a reminder that God's kingdom prevails by struggle, and that nothing but pure devotion and untiring energy can secure to Zion her promised increase. The statement made is exclusive of the congregations gathered in India, and of those formed out of the Holland and German immigrations.

The century, in its relations to our subject, divides itself into five distinct periods, as follows:

I. The Revolutionary or Transition Period, -	1776–1791
II. The Period of Synodical Effort, - -	1792–1821
III. The Period of the Missionary Society, - -	1822–1831
IV. The earlier Period of the Board of Domestic Missions, - - - - - - - -	1832–1850
V. The later Period of said Board, - -	1851–1875

A few groupings, facts, figures and conclusions under each period must make up this sketch of "Home Missionary Work."

I.—1776–1791.—THE REVOLUTIONARY OR TRANSITION PERIOD.

It is a conceded fact in ethics that civil strife and warfare is most injurious to the cause of religious and moral progress. So was it in the American Revolution throughout every portion of the land, and especially through that part of it once known as the New Netherlands, and covered with the Reformed Belgic churches. The student of history can be at no loss in accounting for this state of things, and feels thankful indeed that Jehovah set limits to the evil.

1. The war found the Dutch congregations in an unsettled state, and without the institutions of a staple ecclesiasticism. Old animosities had not quite died away in love; the supply of pas-

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tors from the old country had ceased, and some of those already in charge of pulpits had no proper sympathy with American ideas and wants; the young college at New Brunswick had been constrained to close its doors, and no separate theological professorship, as proposed in 1775, could be established in its place; a spiritual dearth came over the churches, and candidates for the ministry did not fill even the places of the dead. In the first ten years of the period twenty of the ministers had been laid aside from pastoral work by death or otherwise; only seven had been sent forth into the harvest, and thus the original forty-one had become reduced to twenty-eight. After the lapse of the sixteen years, in 1791, the denomination had one man of God less in the field than when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed. Regions of the size of a dukedom could be found where no living preacher of the word was seen for months. What could be done under such a lack of laborers?

2. The war swept, as with a besom of destruction, the whole area occupied by the Reformed Dutch Church. No portion of the land was so long and so fearfully in the very focus and furnace of burnings and plunderings, of rapine and death. From New York the British fleets and armies radiated through all their settlements; and upon the frontiers the savage and tory were ever ready for deeds of bloody atrocity. This is not the place to detail the churches of our order closed, or desecrated and burned; the worshippers exiled from their homes; the places pillaged; the lives destroyed and the millions wasted, but the record is a sad one, and justifies the statement of a fact so often overlooked, that the Dutch populations were exhausted by the Revolution, and that up to 1791 they were scarcely able to restore even their ruined sanctuaries. But this baptism of blood was their full initiation into the duties of American citizenship.

3. Some other facts must be grouped together. Examination of the records shows that religion generally declined, and that conversions were not frequent in the churches. After the war was over it was no easy task to restore the moral status and discipline of the former days. Moreover, at this time came the crisis in the matter of language, and although the important change from Dutch to English was generally introduced, the transition had its difficulties and perils. The young people demanded the English; some of the older resisted the demand, and a portion of the ministers as yet could not use both tongues, or either tongue

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at option. Hence families were steadily lost, and it may be doubted whether the members and supporters of the Church were any more numerous in 1791 than in 1776.

Still there *was* progress. At the end of this period the breaches made by the war had been greatly repaired, and the vacant congregations were earnestly seeking for men to break unto them the bread of life. The establishment of the Federal Union, in 1787–89, had imparted new vigor and hope to every interest in the land; and so the Reformed Church was busily engaged in perfecting its plans of organization. As early as 1784 the professorate or theological school had been inaugurated, and in five years, beginning with 1787, furnished over twenty candidates for the ministry, so that, as already mentioned, the pastors of 1792 were forty, as against forty-one in 1776. To the best of their ability the several classes exerted themselves to extend the bounds of Zion, and while only two congregations, and those of German origin, became extinct, there were added to the roll twenty new consistories. The total of churches was now one hundred and sixteen. The Rev. Stephen Goetschius, who left New Paltz in 1796, stated in his farewell sermon that he had aided in the organization of nine churches in the Classis of Kingston. Ramapo and Saddle River came under our tabernacle in New Jersey, while Saratoga, Florida and Lawyerville marked the placing of the more distant stakes in New York.

Before and during the Revolution (Appendix C) there had been started a movement of immigration from the vicinity of the Hudson to the Susquehanna, especially to Conewago, in York County, and to Hanover, in Luzerne. With characteristic fidelity and zeal these little colonies formed themselves into Dutch churches, and called again and again for pastoral care. Not long after a few families located on the head waters of the Potomac, and a larger number in Mercer County, on the Kentucky. The needs of the former led to the ordination of the first settled missionary of the Synod, the Rev. Jacob Jennings, in 1789; and the pressing calls of the latter continued in vain for years, showing that as yet our denomination was unprepared for the wide door of usefulness which the Master had opened. In 1789–91 began a steady flow of population from all the old Holland settlements towards the Seneca and Genesee countries, and also towards the fertile regions of Ohio. And just at this juncture there was not a man to spare for these outposts—these golden

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opportunities—and every energy of the Classis and Synods was more than demanded at their very doors. Let it only be added that, among the loyalists who fled to Canada and received estates under their chosen king, there were some who had worshipped with the Reformed, and who never lost their affection for the Church of their fathers.

II.—1792-1821.—Period of Synodical Effort.

With increasing congregations, with many new openings, and such a disposition, even among the staid Dutch, to migrate, how natural was it that a demand for mission effort should come upon the Synod like thunder voices breaking from the cloud. The several Classes could labor and evangelize within their bounds; but when it came to these claims and pleadings from afar, what could they do but cast the burden upon that supreme judicature of the Church? As early as 1786 a committee had been appointed to prepare a plan of "church extension," and two years later it reported and asked for collections in order that missionaries might be employed; but nothing was further done until 1792, when a General Synod met at New York and adopted the first constitution of our ecclesiastical body. Meantime about $150 had come into the treasurer's hands from the collections, and this same Synod sent forth the Rev. Andrew Gray, of Poughkeepsie, to the regions of the Susquehanna, and directed the licentiates to visit the various vacant congregations and preach for them. What they were enjoined to do they did, and thus this year marks a momentous era in our denominational history and growth.

Mr. Gray organized a new congregation at Wilkesbarre, and become so imbued with the missionary spirit that he resigned his charge at Poughkeepsie the next year and removed to Wilkesbarre, in connection with Hanover. In 1796 his people began such a general migration to the Genesee country that he also went and located at Karr Valley, now in Almond, Alleghany County, New York. Here, on the 1st of May, 1797, he organized a church, and afterwards three others at Angelica, Danville and Tuscarora, and one in Sharon, Potter County, Pa. Through this region he spent his days in the service of the Gospel, until the Lord called him to rest in 1819. His work was just what the exigency of the times demanded, and if pushed on for a few years would have remained as his memorial to-day. As it is, he stands on record as the proto-missionary of the Synod.

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Other missionaries from time to time followed. Before 1800 they had traversed the usual routes of emigration; had visited most of the Dutch settlements of the west, and had given form to Chenango and Union churches, in Broome County, and to Owasco, in Cayuga. In 1796 Rev. Peter Labagh proceeded to Kentucky and organized the congregation of Salt River, but too soon returned to the east and left it to languish. Indeed, all the appointments were temporary, and were marked by few permanent results, for there were no candidates waiting for mission work and no fund to aid the feebler flocks. The special benefit of the Synodical acts was to stimulate the Classes to activity and to greater solicitude concerning the ministerial supply. Accordingly, these bodies began to license and ordain, as they had the opportunity, and to enter upon such plans of church extension as seemed to promise success. Particularly the Classis of Albany, standing as it did at the gateway of the west, seemed to comprehend its grand opportunity, and by means of home evangelists greatly multiplied the number of its churches. Between 1792 and 1800 there were constituted within its proper bounds the extraordinary number of thirty-three or thirty-four new congregations. Well was it entitled in that day to missionary distinction. Thus it happened that the counties of Schoharie, Montgomery and Herkimer were so fully entered and preoccupied for our denomination. (Appendix D.)

We now come to a pleasing and yet a regretful episode in the history of the Church. In 1798 the Rev. Robert McDowell, a licentiate and missionary of the Classis of Albany, toured along the valley of the Black River, in Jefferson County, and thence passing over the St. Lawrence to the Bay of Quinte, in Canada, found the destitution so great and the Gospel demand so pressing that he resolved to take up his abode among the people, and to spend his life in their Christian service. In this region he organized three large congregations, and then passing down the river to the vicinity of Prescott, opposite Ogdensburgh, organized three more. He returned to become the pastor of those on the Bay of Quinte, but no solicitation could ever secure a colaborer for Elizabethtown and its adjuncts, and so he toiled on alone in that vast vineyard, an overburdened servant, for more than twenty years. His ministrations covered an extent of nearly 300 miles, and resulted in a crown of fourteen churches—one of which was at Toronto, and another among the Germans to the north of that

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city. The denomination took the deepest interest in this mission, and the General Synod and its committee repeatedly sent trusty men to preach and administer the sacraments to the people; but as no pastors could be, or, as a fact, were furnished at their call, the Canada churches declined, and finally disappeared from the register. The only home result was to keep the treasury of the Synod exhausted, and to distract attention from nearer and more promising fields within the United States. (Appendix E.)

From 1800 to 1821 the General Synod continued to conduct its missions on essentially the same plan as before. For six years the Classis of Albany was its agency for the work; then a body of eight, within the Synod of Albany, was substituted, and called "the Standing Committee of Missions," and finally, in 1819, this committee was transferred to New York, and definitely instructed to extend its operations over every part of the denominational field. The amount of moneys furnished was small—very small; but then each Classis had its own collections and disbursements. Up to 1800 one thousand dollars in all, and from that time up to 1821 an average of four hundred dollars a year, will represent the full financial resources of our Reformed Church in its extension efforts. As to men, the Theological Seminary was located at New Brunswick and manned with three professors. Noble and successful efforts were made to endow the chairs. The Van Bunschooten and Knox funds had been invested for the aid of students, and the whole subject of education prospered; and yet, even with the aid of 30 ministers from other denominations, the supply could not be made to meet the demand. During the thirty years of this period the churches increased from 116 to 187, and the ministers from 40 to 109, but of the latter only 98 were pastors. What a drawback upon all ardent hopes of church extension was this continued lack of ambassadors for Christ!

The details of those thirty years can give but little interest to the history. We have seen how far the heralds of the cross penetrated on their missions of salvation. The Upper Hudson, the Mohawk, the Schoharie, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the central lake region of New York, the Black, the St. Lawrence, the shores of Lake Ontario and the distant State of Kentucky, were all visited in the Redeemer's name; and only the beautiful Ohio was strangely forgotten by the Synod. One hundred and fifteen (115) churches in all were added to the denomination, and the number of Classes was increased from five to four-

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teen.* But now some sad shadings must come in to complete the picture. Up to 1821 not a permanent missionary had been employed (Rev. Isaac Van Hook, possibly, excepted); not a pastor had been directly located; not one church had been aided. Brinkerhoff, Labagh, Manly and Palmer had turned back; Mandeville and McDowell had gone to the Presbyterians; Gray had fallen, with none to take his mantle; and thus, of all our long line of thirty-five gospel outposts on the frontiers, extending from Virginia through Pennsylvania and New York, to and beyond the St. Lawrence, only five remain to this day, and twenty-seven were practically lost in the period before us. Ten Eyck, of Owasco, had become the cause of intestine dissensions; Brokaw, of Ovid, had been deposed, and through all the mission churches of the North was spread the spirit of disorder and secession. The total loss of the thirty years were forty-four congregations. No wonder that some discouragement came over the mind of the Synod, and the Committee of 1821 reported as follows.

"The missionary operations of this Synod have not been attended with the success which might have been expected. * * * * * * * Experience has shown that the transient missions of a few days or weeks in a place have not been attended with any great degree of usefulness, either in turning souls to Christ or in organizing new congregations. * * * * One of the greatest difficulties this Synod has labored under has been the want of a sufficient number of zealous, devoted and active missionaries."

Yes, want of funds and want of men had all along been stumbling blocks in the way. Could anything be devised to remedy the evil? It was

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draw up a (new) plan of missionary operations, and report to the next General Synod." (Appendix F.)

III.—1822-1831.—THE PERIOD OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Sometimes the darkest hour precedes the morning light. In January, 1822, and before the report above provided for could be made, the friends of Zion in New York City organized the "Mis-

* Toward the north the advanced lines had extended to West Troy, Union Village, Fort Miller, Northumberland and Johnsborough; towards the west to Caroline, Cato, Fayette, Ovid and Le Roy, while in New Jersey such accessions as Rockaway, Lebanon, Stillwater and Hardwick swelled the charge of the Classis of New Brunswick. In 1817 were secured the First and Second Churches of Philadelphia.

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sionary Society of the Reformed Dutch Church," and so energetically did it enter upon the work of home evangelization that in June the General Synod, by a strong vote, appointed its "Board of Managers" as the Synod's "Standing Committee of Missions;" and this position of things was continued for ten years, although in 1830 an adjunct committee of fifteen was appointed for the Synod of Albany. The Missionary Society was a noble conception, to the honor of Rev. Paschal N. Strong and others, and in four or five points gave a new character and impulse to the development of the denomination:

1. It devised liberal things for Christ; for the very first year of its existence it received and paid out nearly $2,000 for missionary purposes, and the contributions gradually increased to $7,342.53, in 1831, making an average of over $3,500 per annum. What an advance over previous figures!

2. It developed a large amount of interest in the churches and engaged them in the good cause by various suitable means. Auxiliary societies, cent societies and memberships were urged. A magazine was published, and eventually changed into a weekly journal, called the *Christian Intelligencer;* and then, in order still further to educate the whole denomination up to Christian duty, it sent out the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn as financial agent—an appointment which the Synod itself assumed in 1830, and made general for all its benevolent work. By such measures an immense influence for good was created.

3. It commenced operations in all quarters with new energy, and adopted a new policy. Missionary appointments became more permanent, and feeble churches were aided in giving support to their pastors. The first case of the kind was at Spotswood, N. J.; but this plan of evangelizing was soon adopted as a denominational law.

4. It kept up a correspondence with the missionaries, gained information, arranged the facts into able and readable reports, and published and circulated the same among the churches.

During these ten years forty-eight new congregations were constituted, of which about one half were through the agency of the society. Many very important points were occupied, and remained as an ornament to the Synod. Manayunk, on the south; Broome street, Houston street, Jersey City, Fishkill Landing and Athens, on the Hudson; Utica on the Mohawk, and Chittenango, Ithaca and Geneva, in Central New York, will

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serve to illustrate the progress of the period. At the same time no zealous preacher of the word penetrated the new regions of the northwest, and twenty-eight more of the churches were lost. The year 1822 was further marked by the great secession of Dr. Froeligh and his adherents, which event was so peculiarly disastrous along the Mohawk and between the lakes. Had it not been for the Missionary Society the breaches of Zion had never been healed as they were, and the secession might have been a much more serious injury to the Church.

In 1832 four new Classes had been constituted. The congregations had increased to two hundred, and the ministers to one hundred and seventy-four. The theological seminary had its three professorships endowed, and its board of education organized. Moreover, Rutgers College was again in successful operation, and thus all the needed foundations seemed to be laid for the future rapid growth of the denomination. The dawn is passed, and brighter light hails the prayers and anxieties of the Synod. (Appendix G.)

IV.—1832–1850.—THE EARLIER PERIOD OF THE DOMESTIC MISSIONS BOARD.

As was naturally to be expected there would be prejudices against the New York Society in the northern sections of the Church, and a feeling that its operations were partial. Again, it was argued with propriety that the whole cause of missions appertained to the general Synod, and should be under its immediate and direct control. Influenced by such considerations the Synod of June, 1831, constituted a Board, which afterwards was called the "Board of Domestic Missions." This body continued its operations as first created, with occasional experiments, until 1849, when it was reorganized and placed under the secretaryship of Rev. John Garretson. About the same time began the new immigrations from Holland and Germany, and the rapid organization of churches out of those nationalities. Let this era be a dividing line in the forty-five years' history of that most important Board and of the "Home Mission" work.

One great advantage the Board had from the first, viz., the coöperation of the churches in all sections, and a more liberal supply of candidates and ministers for evangelization. True, the funds did not greatly increase during the twenty years, but the yearly average of $5,000 to $6,000 furnished the means of no inconsider-

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able degree of enlargement and progress. Former plantings were watered; new stations of importance were occupied, and marks of wiser management were everywhere apparent. In and around New York City we are gratified with such enterprises as the Twenty-first street and the two German Evangelical Mission churches: as Astoria, Greenpoint, and on the Heights at Brooklyn. Philadelphia adds a third station; in New Jersey gains are made at Trenton, New Brunswick, Newark, Somerville, Jersey City and Hoboken; along the Hudson the towers of Zion arise in a score of places, such as Yonkers, Newburg, Saugerties, Catskill and Hudson; and towards the Lakes, although the evils of the secession continued to retard, the work went surely on, and gathered such congregations as Canestota, Syracuse, Fair Haven and Buffalo. In no twenty years of our history have so many and so influential churches been constituted over the old camping grounds of the Dutch. East of Lake Erie the organizations were one hundred and nine, and of these eighty-four are yet upon the minutes; while for the preceding forty years there remain but eighty-seven. Surely, then, the Board, without large funds, and without a permanent secretary, did most excellent service at the east by aiding the Classes in their aspirations for "breaking forth on every side."

But the crowning glory of this period is yet to be mentioned. For a few years the central counties of Illinois had been colonized by families from New Jersey; and by some good men, like Elder John G. Voorhees, the Church of Fairview, in Fulton Co., was organized in 1837. The first congregation beyond the Alleghanies was hailed as a favorable omen by the Board and the Synod; and at once began a systematic, faithful endeavor to extend our denomination with the nation toward the setting sun. Revs. Wilson, Sill, Hillman and Slingerland, and soon after Williamson, Westfall and Schultz went to preach Christ in the prairie States, and before 1850 ten churches had been formed in Wisconsin and Illinois. The Classis of Illinois was constituted in 1841, and the father of the movement, Rev. A. D. Wilson, after sixty years of ministerial life, has just entered into rest. It is but justice to add that Rev. Simon V. E. Westfall also remained at his post, with martyr resolution, until he returned to die among his friends. Somewhat similar was the mission history of Michigan. Rev. Isaac Ketchum, the pioneer, broke ground in St. Joseph County about 1836. Rev. Daniel Michael organized the first

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church at Redford, near Detroit, in 1838, and to this was soon joined Grand Rapids, Centreville and Constantine. A Classis was authorized in 1841, but was not actually constituted until the next year. Revs. Waring, DeWitt, Taylor, McNeish, Bennett, Seeber, Minor and Heermance were commissioned from time to time, and here also ten churches had been organized before 1850. Efforts were made in Indiana by Quaw, Schermerhorn and Sheffield, and it was the wish of the Board to give origin to a Classis of Indiana, but this aspiration could never be gratified. These twenty years then gave the Board of Domestic Missions a worthy record in the West as well as in the East. (Appendix H.)

In all, one hundred and twenty-nine congregations were organized and thirty-one were lost during this period, and at its close the catalogue shows three hundred and five churches and about the same number of ministers. It will be noticed that the want of men had not been such a serious hindrance to the progress of the work as hitherto. The Board had its calls reasonably regarded, and among the praiseworthy deeds recorded of its administration it is only to be regretted that it did not seize upon Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Milwaukee and Chicago, as well as Buffalo, and hold steadily and prudently on until these centres of western power had been permanently included in the proper territory of the Reformed Church.

V.—1851–1875.—THE LATTER PERIOD OF THE DOMESTIC MISSIONS BOARD.

Whatever may have been the success of former years, there was a widespread sentiment that more might have been accomplished; that the failures were discouraging; that more liberal and steady efforts must be made in the new portions of the country, and that a rich blessing was in store for the Mission Board should it be rightly constituted and directed. Hence Dr. James Romeyn, in his celebrated report on "the State of the Church," in 1848, recommended a reorganization with enlarged powers; that a corresponding secretary should be chosen for the general management of the evangelic work, and an "itinerant missionary" for the superintendency west of Buffalo. The Synod adopted these views and directed them to be carried out. The western superintendent never came into being (*a fatal mistake*), but the reorganization and the corresponding secretary were

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secured in 1849, and these improved features of the Board have continued until the present time. The new regime, however, did not fairly get into operation until 1851, and this year is therefore adopted as the beginning of the last period of our century. The collections for the cause at once arose to over $10,000, being nearly doubled, and gradually increased to over $16,000 in 1859, the year in which Mr. Garretson resigned. (Of this respected brother let it be stated that, by hard work and prudent counsels, he placed the Board and its work in a much more effective position. His whole aim was the advancement of Zion, and God is to be thanked for giving the services of just such a man at such a time.)

Since 1859 four other secretaries have worthily followed out the plans and wishes of the Synod, with the unaccountable exception that no superintendent was ever appointed for the West. The collections, not including legacies, keep pace with the growth of the denomination and the demands of the work, being in 1865 $20,000; in 1870 over $26,000; and in 1865 not quite $24,000; and the missions aided have been in proportion to the means employed. It is also to be noted that in this period the educational interests of the Church have put on their present fair proportions, and that the ministerial supply may be said to have equalled the demand.

In 1847 the religious troubles of the Netherlands led the Rev. Albertus C. Van Raalte and others to migrate to this free land, and these became the forerunners of the many thousands who have since, like the Puritans of old, left home and kindred in the old world that they might enjoy the coveted blessings of the new. The result has been the settlement of the Holland colonies in Michigan and Iowa, the aggregation of large Netherland populations around Lake Michigan, and the scattering of congregations of the same noble people through almost every large city, from Boston to St. Louis. It is a remarkable fact that there are as many native born Dutch, with their families, in the United States in 1875, as there were of Dutch descent in 1775, and that they have greater ability and willingness to work for the kingdom of God. Now all this immense opportunity and responsibility came upon our Reformed Church, and it embraced the occasion with earnest zeal. Again and again the Synod and Board resolved to give to these strangers a helping hand and hearty love. Now count the precious fruits. In 1851 not less than thirteen Holland-

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ish Churches were organized, with such pastors as Van der Meulin, Bolks, Kleyn and Ypma, and year by year the work went on, until at the end of the twenty-five years we find the number seventy-nine (four having been lost), with 6,500 families and 10,000 members. Out of them three new Classes have been formed, and a fourth is in contemplation. What may another century produce from all this rich sowing of the seed! From this Western enlargement have grown the Synod of Chicago, with its eighty-four churches, and the founding of Hope College and its theological school in 1866. The facts must be epitomized, but surely here are some of those "excellent ornaments" specified in our text.

The civil commotions in Germany (Appendix I) about 1848–50, also sent vast multitudes of the Teutonic race towards our shores. Many of them were of the Reformed faith, and becoming like dispersed sheep without shepherd or Gospel care, these also appealed to the sympathies of our Church, as of old the Palatines did to the Classis of Amsterdam. The Synod regarded the counsels of such men as the noble Guldin, and the Board grappled with the many difficulties and discouragements of this burdensome work. Since 1851 forty-two congregations of German people have been formed in the several cities where they congregate, of which thirty remain, and these, with two of older origin, contain 2,320 families, and a membership of 4,600. The harvest cannot be so great and rich as among the more religious Netherlanders, but it will be as truly to the glory of God and to the salvation of the world.

Among the American populations the record of the twenty-five years has not so many of the rainbow hues. The reorganization of the Board had special reference to greater progress among the native people of the land, but the pen of truth cannot give itself to special eulogy. In New York and Philadelphia there has been a decline; too many of the old bulwarks of Zion have become desolate, and Greenwich, Market street, Houston street, Manhattan, Washington square, have ceased to sing the praises of the Lord. In the suburban cities there has been growth, but not in proportion to the advance of the census. Where are the prominent positions taken and held for Christ, such as distinguished the preceding period? It is indeed a pleasure to recall Easton and Orange, Newark North and Jersey City Third, or to go towards the north and mark the appearance of Second Tarrytown,

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Castleton, Second Schenectady, and some other congregations; but the pleasure is clouded when we think of such sad failures as Ithaca, Lee Avenue, New Haven and Buffalo. The Classis of Cayuga and Geneva number fewer *American* Churches by three, and perhaps by five, and with no special gain in families or membership. Passing to the West, the only prominent and permanent positions occupied in Michigan have been Holland Second or Hope, and Battle Creek, and although its churches are much stronger, the Classis is practically in size where it was over twenty years ago. Wisconsin has received missionary labor, but not one American congregation remains in that broad State. The Classis of Illinois has received more favor of the Lord, and has grown from four to a fair sisterhood of fourteen, with Pella and Somerset looking towards the Pacific. But shall Chicago and Davenport continue among her ornaments? Alas! if their candlesticks are fated to removal.

The number of American Churches organized since 1851 have been one hundred and twenty-two, as against the one hundred and twenty-nine of the preceding period, and the losses have been forty-eight. The total number of new organizations, American, Hollandish and German, have been two hundred and forty-seven, and the losses sixty-four. The three hundred and five congregations of 1850 thus become four hundred and seventy-eight in 1875, with 42,000 families and 74,000 members; and if to this number be added the eighteen belonging to the Classis of Arcot, we have the five hundred and six catalogued on the minutes of the last General Synod. The ministers now outnumber the churches, and are reported as five hundred and forty-six. The whole number of Reformed Churches formed in this country and Canada since 1622 have been six hundred and fifty-eight; and of the one hundred and seventy that have been lost, about one third were abortive efforts; another third lived, and perhaps flourished, and then disbanded, and the remainder passed more or less directly into other evangelical denominations. Generally they have set up the standard of Westminster.

One subject alone remains for discussion. Bitter, very bitter have been the experiences of destitute communities, when they sighed for the tabernacles of God, and found no way to erect a fitting house for His worship. Among the greater powers conferred upon the Domestic Board in 1848 was that of church erection. To give shape to the project, the "building fund" was

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created in 1854, and has been gradually shaping into one of the most useful institutions of our Church. The indispensable sanctuary now stands in temple grace, and gives effect to God's good word, where nothing but irreligion had reigned unless this fund had extended help to Christian workers. Let it be cherished among those who love Zion, for hereafter it must ever be the most efficient minister of good to all the Boards. Is it now said that the whole subject of "church extension" has been treated as "mission work?" Yes, indeed! Every evangelical denomination in this land is but a missionary organization, and any agency which it employs, such as a "committee" or a "board," is but a means of centralizing, directing and aiding the constant efforts of the body to do its mission from the Lord. When pious members separate from some cherished society of Christians, and give labor and sacrifice to a new organization, or when a minister toils in such a new field year after year for its edification and establishment, and all this without outside help, but through many trials, what is it but the noblest species of "missionary work?" Such a work goes ever on in the Reformed Church, and its most useful Boards are only the leaders as Zion advances to her destiny—the conversion of the world.

Thus ends the history of Home Missions in the Reformed Church; and such as they are, I commend the facts to the attention of the denomination. For comparisons I have neither time nor inclination. If sister evangelical bodies have been able to advance the blessed kingdom of the Lord more speedily and with better results, we can only bid them God speed, and give thanks that the Gospel has been magnified. One thing is certain, however; humbled as we may and ought to be, that so much sowing has been lost by the way-side, we can and will rejoice that so many of the reapers have come again, bearing with them the loaded sheaves of blessing. No "Ichabod" has been written over our gates—the glory has not faded from the habitations of our Israel. Most truly has "the word of God multiplied" by our means, and the planting of Jehovah in our garden has come to "excellent ornaments." Let their fair lustre never be tarnished in the time to come. We have not the whole land for our lot, but rather a tribal possession, like that of Judah among her holy mountains. Let us stand in that lot, amid the vineyards and olive groves, and make its sanctuary glorious and its borders "a munition of rocks."

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Yes! keep on thy mission, noble Church of the Huguenot and of the Netherland reformers and martyrs. Guided by the presence of Jehovah, only want of faith can turn thee back from the assured inheritance of Zion. Keep on, as the great Head and Leader shall mark the way, and when another Centennial shall fill the nation with joy, thy "ornaments" shall be as a sparkling crown, and thy "bud" shall be multiplied, until, like the vine in the 80th Psalm, it may be said, "The hills are covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof are like the goodly cedars." Then shalt thou be known, indeed, as "the planting of the Lord," and in thee shall He "be glorified."

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APPENDIX.

A.

CHURCHES IN 1664.

NOTE.—In this Appendix the present names of the churches are given. Those in *italics* are extinct, or have passed from the denomination, and the dates when lost are appended (approximately). And when any congregation is only suspended, and afterwards reappears in the same locality, even under a different name, it is considered as if keeping up a continued existence.

New York	organized	1622	Kingston	organized	1659
Albany	"	1642	Brooklyn	"	1660
Bushwick	"	1654	Harlem	"	"
Flatbush	"	"	Bergen	"	1662
Flatlands	"	"	Richmond	"	"
Gravesend	"	"	Holmdel	"	"
New Amstel (1690)	"	"	Total—13. Lost—1.		

MINISTERS IN 1664.

Johannes Megapolensis,	Hermanus Blom,
Samuel Drisius,	Gideon Schaats,
Henricus Selyns,	Samuel Megapolensis,
Johannes T. Polhemus,	Warnerus Hadson (who died at sea).

Total—7.

Samuel Megapolensis could preach in English, and Selyns ministered in French to the Huguenots on Staten Island and elsewhere.

B.

CHURCHES—1664–1775.

New Utrecht	1677	Port Richmond	1690
Schenectady	1680	Acquackanonck	1694
New Paltz	1683	Tappan	"
Hackensack	1686	Fordham	1696

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Tarrytown.....1697
Raritan.....1699
Belleville.....1700
Rochester (Ulster Co.).....1701
Jamaica,.....1702
Schaghticoke.....1707
Freehold.....1708
Ponds (Panna).....1710
Kinderhook.....1712
Claverack.....1716
Poughkeepsie..... "
Fishkill..... "
New Brunswick.....1717
Six Mile Run..... "
Readington..... 1719
Schoharie.....1720
Linlithgow.....1722
Schraalenburgh.....1724
Paramus.....1725
Harlingen.....1727
Germantown.....1728
Cortlandtown.....1729
Middleburgh.....1730
Newtown.....1731
North Hempstead..... "
Oyster Bay..... "
Rhinebeck..... "
Leeds (old Catskill).....1732
Catsbaan..... "
Coxsackie..... "
Montgomery..... "
Pompton Plains.....1736
Marbletown.....1737
Deerpark..... "
Minisink.....1737
Walpack..... "
Smithfield (1799)..... "
Stone Arabia.....1740
Wawarsing.....1745
Shawangunk.....1750
Clarkstown..... "
Fairfield.....1753
Rhinebeck, German (1798).....1755
Red Hook (Upper)..... "
Totawa..... "
Montville.....1756
Hackensack, 2d (1822)..... "
Schraalenburgh, 2d (1822)..... "
Hopewell.....1757
New Hackensack.....1758
Neshanic..... "
Bedminister..... "
Greenbush..... "
Taghkanick..... "
German New York (1823)..... "
Canajoharie..... "
Fort Herkimer (German Flats)..... "
Bethlehem.....1763
Beaverdam..... "
Fonda (Caughnawaga)..... "
Hillsborough.....1766
Red Hook Landing (1831)..... "
Hillsdale (1846).....1769
Schodack..... "
Clove (Dutchess Co.) (1813)..... "
Dover (") (")..... "
Manheim.....1770
Albany, German (1783)..... "
Kingston, German (")..... "
New Hurley..... "
English Neighborhood..... "
Waterford or Half Moon (1875).....1771
North and Southampton..... "
Indian Castle.....1772
West New Hampstead.....1774
Ghent.....1775

But New York was now three congregations. Churches organized,* eighty-six; of which have been lost, twelve.

Total, in 1775, ninety-eight, as follows:

On the Delaware	5	East of Hudson River	23
In Central New Jersey	10	West of Hudson River	19
In Northeast New Jersey	14	On the Mohawk	7
On Staten and Long Islands	12	On the Scoharie	3
On Manhattan Island	5		98

* A few Conferentie congregations were formed, which dissolved after the Union of 1772, and are not noted.

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Ministers in 1775.

Those in *italics* were born and brought up in Europe.

Lambertus De Ronde	Emeritus	1784
Johannes Ritzema	"	"
Archibald Laidlie	Died	1778
John H. Livingston		
John G. Gebhard		
Martinus Schoonmaker		
Ulpianus Van Sinderen	Emeritus	1784
Johannes C. Rubel	A Loyalist, deposed	"
Hermanus L. Boelen	" fled	1780
Solomon Froeligh		
Benjamin Dubois		
Johannes Leydt	Died	1783
Christian F. Foering	Died	1779
Johannes M. Van Harlingen		
Jacob R. Hardenberg	Died	1790
William Jackson	Deranged	1789
Gerardus Haeghoort	Died	1777
Henricus Schoonmaker		
Gerret Lydekker	A Loyalist, fled	1777
Warmoldus Kuypers		
Dirk Romyn		
Hermanus Meyer	Died	1791
Benjamin Vander Lende	Died	1789
Samuel Verbryck	Died	1784
David Marinus	Deposed	1780
John Michael Kern	A Loyalist, fled	1778
Rynier Van Neste		
Isaac Rysdyk	Emeritus	1784
Stephen Goetschius		
George J. Doll		
John Daniel Gross	Prof. Columbia Col.	1787
Stephen Van Voorhis	Presbyterian	1788
Gerhard D. Kock	Left, or dismissed	1783
Johannes Schuneman		
Johannes C. Fryenmoet	Died	1778
Elias Van Benschooten		
Eilardus Westerlo	Died	1790
Barent Vrooman	Died	1784
Johannes Schuyler	Died	1779
Thomas Romeyn		
Abraham Rosenkrantz		

Foreign born, 16. Native born, 25. Total	41
Lost from the pastorate in ten years	18
Additional losses up to 1791	7
Leaving in the pastorate at that time	16

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These facts are given in order to explain the condition of our churches during and after the Revolution.

C.

CHURCHES, 1776–1791.

Niskoyuna	1780	Ramapo	1785
Saratoga	"	*Clove* (1818), Sussex, N. J.	1787
Stissing (1801)	1781	Lawyerville	1788
Conewago (1793)	1782	Saddle River	1789
Hanover (1796)	1783	Buskirk's Bridge*	1790
Lansingburgh (1792)	"	Helderbergh	1791
Greenbush, Rensselaer Co	1784	*Middletown* (1813), Saratoga Co.	"
Boght	"	Jerusalem	1791
Florida	"	Esopus, Klein	"
Salem	1785	*Westtown* (1801)	"

Churches organized, 20; of which have been lost, 7.
Churches in 1791, 116.

THE MINISTRY, 1776–1791.

Candidates ordained up to 1785	7	Candidates ordained to 1786–91	21
		Entered	2
OF WHOM			
Matthew Leydt died	1783	OF WHOM	
Theodore F. Romeyn died	1785	Brant S. Lupton died	1789
Simon Van Arsdale "	1786	Jacob Jennings left	1791
Isaac Blauvelt was deposed	1791	Remaining in the ministry	24

Former pastors, 16; additions, 24. Total (1791), 40.

D.

CHURCHES, 1792–1800.

Wilkesbarre (1797)	1792	*Mayfield* (1826)	1793
Hyde Park	"	Owasco	"
Rockaway	1793	*Chenango* (1820)	1794
Coeymaus	"	*Union* (1820), Broome Co.	"
Westerlo or Baisic	"	*Amsterdam* (1803)	1795
Paistonkill (1808)	"	*New Harlem* (1826)	"
Wynantskill	"	*Salt River* (1817)	1796

* This church is a union of Tioestock and Sinthoick.

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Bloomingdale, Ulster Co.	1796	Peekskill	1799
Karr Valley (1810)	1797	Woodstock	"
Angelica (1820)	"	*Pittstown* (1807)	"
Charlestown (1845)	"	*Stillwater*, N. Y. (1808)	"
Currytown or Root	"	Amity	"
Herkimer	"	Rotterdam	"
Shokan	1798	*Duanesburgh* (1813)	"
Middletown (1827)	"	*Veddersburgh* (1812)	"
Roxbury	"	*Sacondaga* (1812)	"
Prattsville	"	Sharon, N. Y.	"
Oak Hill (1835)	"	Caroline	1800
Henderson	"	And six in Canada. (See Appendix E.)	
Columbia	"		

Churches organized, 44; of which have been lost, 24.

Of the above churches it will be seen that all but ten, or that thirty-four were originally connected with the Classis of Albany.

One may plant, but another must water.

E.

THE CANADA CHURCHES, 1798–1821.

The Rev. Robert McDowell went to Canada just as the country around Lake Ontario was being settled, and before any Presbyterian body or missionaries had entered upon the field. Had he succeeded in placing his congregations under pastoral care, and in forming a Classis, he and his helpers would undoubtedly have built up a strong branch of the Reformed Church along the St. Lawrence. As it is, we can only record the facts, and regret that there were no men to be spared for such a distant although most important work.

The fourteen congregations thus organized were

Ernesttown	1798	Situated on the Bay of Quinte, opposite Amherst Island, and in a fine region.
Fredericksburgh	"	
Adolphustown	"	

Of these Mr. McDowell became pastor. In 1821 he and they joined the Canada Presbyterian Church. He died in a good old age, about 1843 or 1844.

Elizabethtown	1798	Situated along the St. Lawrence, above and below Prescott. Under a burgher minister in 1818.
Matilda	"	
Williamsburgh	"	
Osnaburgh	"	

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Aussenburgh	1806	In the same vicinity.
Sophiasburgh	?	South side of the Bay of Quinte, near Adolphus T.
Hallowell	?	
Sidney	?	West end of Bay of Quinte.
Markham	?	Twenty miles north of Toronto.
Klimville	?	Also north of Toronto.
York	1810	Now Toronto.

The last was disbanded by the war of 1812, and afterwards reorganized under Rev. James Harris, and is now known as "Knox" Church. The missionary labors of the Reformed Dutch Synod in Upper Canada have often been recognized and commended by the present Presbyterian ministers in that country.

According to the request of the Synod, missionary tours throughout the Canada congregations and their neighborhoods were performed in the years 1806, 1809, 1810 and 1817. The last two missionaries found eleven churches remaining.

F.

Churches, 1801–1821.

This list will be continued until 1821, after which time the minutes give all needed facts.

Preakness	1801	*Oppenheim* (1826)	1811
Stone House Plains	"	Union Village	1812
Hurley	"	St. Johnsville	"
Mapleton	"	Owasco Outlet	"
Fallsburgh	1802	Philadelphia, 1st	1813
Shraker's Basin or Westerlo	"	South Dutch, N. Y. City	"
Greenwich (1867), N. Y. City	1803	Lebanon	"
Warwick	"	Glenville	"
Nassau	"	Schoharie Mountain	"
Charlestown 2d (1826)	"	*Osquak* (1826)	"
Danville (1820)	1804	*Aurelius* (1823)	"
Sharon, Pa. (1811)	"	*Knowlton* (1818)	1814
Bloomingdale, N. Y. City	1805	*Stillwater*, N. J. (1826)	"
Mamakating	"	Pompton	"
Clove, Ulster Co	1807	Pascack	"
Flatbush, Ulster Co	"	*Newfoundland* (1823)	1815
Franklin St. or North West	"	New Prospect	"
Lodi, once Ovid	1808	Blooming Grove	"
Argyle (1838)	1809	Easton, N. Y.	"
Tuscarora (1820)	1810	Albany, 2d	"
Hardwick (1818)	1811	West Troy	"

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Pleasant Plains (1824)	1816	*Johnsborough* (1825)	1819
Glen	"	Unionville	1820
Johnstown (1826)	"	Bloomingburgh	"
Philadelphia, 2d (1822)	1817	Northumberland	"
Spring Garden (1860), Phila.	"	Princetown	"
Fort Miller	"	Spotswood	1821
Fayette (1823)	"	*Blenheim* (1842)	"
Bellona (1839)	"	*Broome* (1837)	"
Glenville, 2d	1818	*Le Roy* (1830)	"
Cato	"	*Kingsborough* (1826)	"
Market St. (1867), *N. Y. City*	1819	And eight in Canada.	

Churches organized, 71; of which have been lost, 33.

This was just the period to occupy Central New York. As the tables show, there actually were no less than sixteen enterprises thus entered upon in that new country, but no permanent Church succeeded without early and continued pastoral care. Neglected babes must die; hence all but five of these names are in *italics*, and one of the five had a long slumber of twenty years. A good "*superintendent*" in those days might have spared us some *italicising*.

THE MINISTRY.

According to *Corwin's Manual*, a most valuable aid in giving statistical information, there had been inducted into the ministry during this period, from 1792 to 1821:

From our own Candidates	94
From other Denominations	30
Add Pastors of 1791	40—164

The losses had been—

Among the Ministers of 1775, deaths			10
Among later Ministers,	Deaths	23	
	Suspensions	10	
	Dismissals	12—	55
Remaining at the end of 1821			109
But of these three were Professors and eight disabled			11
Thus the 187 Churches are served by			98

Let it be understood that six of the revolutionary fathers remain, and seventeen of those who adopted the first Constitution of the Church in 1792.

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G.

The *secession* of 1822 is almost forgotten after the lapse of half a century, but at the time it profoundly agitated the denomination, and among other evil results led to the following separations:

IN NEW JERSEY.

Congregations entirely seceding		2
"	seriously divided	6
"	weakened	3—11
Ministers seceding		7

IN NEW YORK.

Congregations seceding or destroyed		11
"	seriously divided	3
"	weakened	6—20
Ministers seceding (under suspension)		6

Much mission work was checked for years.

H.

AMERICAN CHURCHES WEST OF BUFFALO.

Congregations formed up to 1850	20
Of which there are now extinct	12
Congregations formed from 1851 to 1875	20
Of which there are extinct	4
And in a weak or dying condition	6

But of the others, eighteen in number, the most are becoming strong Churches, with families and membership steadily increasing. For their sake let all the weak members be strengthened and Chicago be saved.

I.

The Holland Churches are thus distributed:

In New Jersey	5	Iowa	7
New York and Albany	2	Minnesota	1
Western New York	9	Nebraska	2
Ohio	1	Kansas	1
Michigan	30	Virginia	2
Wisconsin	11	Long Island	1
Illinois	7	Total	79

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There are also

Holland Secession Churches.....17 | Holland Presbyterian Churches.....11

Hope College and its theological school are as necessary for the Synod of Chicago now, as were Queens and the professorate for the Eastern Synod in 1775–1791.

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THE RESEMBLANCE

OF ITS

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY

TO THAT OF

OUR COUNTRY.

BY

Rev. W. V. V. MABON, D. D.,

WEEHAWKEN, N. J.

1881

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THE RESEMBLANCE

OF ITS

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY TO THAT OF OUR COUNTRY.

"For see" (saith He) "that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the Mount."—HEBREWS, viii: 5.

IT would be of small interest to trace the likeness between the polity of our Protestant Reformed Dutch Church and that of our civil government, unless there should be, in what is common to both, some standard worthy the pains of the comparison. God is great, and can prophesy by even a Balaam, a Saul, or a heathen oracle, so that we cannot bind Him down to our methods. We will not think it proper then to discuss either the government of these United States or of our Reformed Church as merely human arrangements, however useful or successful. It was Lord Chatham who said, "For myself, I must declare and avow, that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, no nation or body of men can compare with the General Congress at Philadelphia. It covers the Roman Senate, the Grecian Court of the Areopagus, the English Barons at Runnymede, yet these illustrious men so tempered all their virtues that they would not take any step without invoking the blessing of God upon their plans." And it was a Chief Justice who said of the constitution of our own Church, that it was an "incomparable instrument." But if anything is found to be good, let further ex-

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amination show whence its goodness proceeds; for all truth is one, and even our Lord himself said, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the Truth." Showing not, indeed, that He was inferior to the Truth, but that the Truth was anterior to His coming.

ANTIQUITY OF THE TRUTH.

Our Lord in this place ascribes antiquity to the Truth. The truth was on the plains of Chaldea, where God appeared to Abraham and promised him an heir; and with Jacob at Bethel, and among the flocks of Laban, at Padan Aram. Such pure ideas of God as are met with in the book of Job are unequalled both in expression and thought in modern times. Homer and Hesiod, among the Greeks, are in advance of subsequent Greek literature in these respects, in the very proportion with which they approach the first man and the origin of things. On the same principle, St. Paul argues that the promise of justification is of more efficacy than the law, because it was before the law in time, to the extent of four hundred and thirty years.* Investigations by Oriental scholars have now for some time proved that the theology and morality of the Hindoos and the Chinese approach revelation itself, as they go back to the dawn of history. When Calvin and the Reformers were assailed as innovators, they replied, "their creed and preaching were built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone;† so that it was not the Reformation but the Papacy that must answer to the charge of innovation." St. Stephen, also, in his wonderful defence against charges of "blasphemous words against the holy place,"‡ sanctions the same line of investigation, by showing that God had been worshipped long ere the temple had been built; both when the "God of glory" appeared unto "Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia," and to Moses at the burning bush. The excavations now in progress at Mycenae and in Cyprus, revealing a condition of art so mature as to be described for those early times as breaking into life full blown, need excite no surprise; for as the fabled Minerva sprang full armed from the head of Jove, so the fact is, man sprang into being, full-knowing and complete, from the mind of God; and until Christ came to restore all things, *human change was simply deterioration.*

* Gal., 3: 17. † Eph., 2: 20. ‡ Acts, 7: 2, 30.

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THE ORIGIN OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT—THE FAMILY.

As the first society was constructed in Eden out of the smallest number of individuals, so it was fully charged with the whole potency of government and social relations. In the family is contained the perfect germ of civil power and duty, the provider and the dependent, government and subordination, sympathy and appreciation, tenderness and endurance, exposure and protection. Amidst the burthens of a pastor's endless duties and remorseless claims there has been no time to consult authorities upon the original constitution of society; nor was there need. Observation and the Scriptures of themselves afford the clue. Locke's assumption of a social compact between the governed and the governing has no more basis in necessity than in practicability. The origin of government is in the family with the father. It is the first government and the best. Of its divinity there can be no question. He who wrote, on tables of stone, "Honor thy father and thy mother," wrote the same long before on the heart and the conscience, both of parent and offspring, weaving it into the very texture, dependencies, and growth of a family, as such. The problem of government became altered as soon as mankind began to multiply into numerous families; and then we find men building cities, erecting Pyramids and Babels, and filling the earth with violence, oppression and blood. Will we call this the divine right of kings? or is it the history of the deterioration of patriarchal government among a fallen race?

THE REVELATION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT TO MAN.

But now among the Patriarchs themselves Divine wisdom selects one, and him too at that time without an heir, among whose future aggregated families should be set up a civil government, modelled after the type existing in the mind of God. Before these families began their sojourn in Egypt their polity was patriarchal. Thenceforward they were slaves, subject to the personal government of Pharaoh—a complete example of the perversion of the so-called divine right of kings. Led out into the peninsula of Sinai, to the number of so many millions that the patriarchal polity was no longer applicable, they were detained for about a year at the base of Horeb, where a census of the people was taken, and they received not only the moral law, by the "disposition of angels," but civil government, according to the pattern which existed in the

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mind of God. In view of the condition of civil government among the nations everywhere else at this point of time, how comes it that here, in this "waste and howling wilderness," alone in all the world, and among this community, just emerging from the brick kilns of the Nile, should be found the principles and the very form of the best civil government known to man? It is certain, that God has revealed, that government is of God. "The powers that be are ordained of God;" the "magistrate beareth not the sword in vain."* But not only so. There is the additional revelation at this point of such a qualified democratic government as is without a parallel among the nations, down to the United States of the Netherlands, the British Constitution and the Polity of the United States of America. Limited to a single hour in this discourse, I purpose further to show, God helping me,

THE DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

1. That the original form of the Hebrew commonwealth, during the time of the Judges, beginning with Moses and Joshua and ending with Samuel, was God's original and perfect plan of government for civil communities.

2. That in this commonwealth we have the fibre and the essence of all that is valuable in free government, and the example of the best government that ever has been or can be for nations.

3. That the Civil Polity of the American people, taken as a whole, is more thoroughly constructed out of the fibre and material of the pattern shown to Moses on the Mount than that of any other nation.

4. That the Polity, Constitution and Usages of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church harmonize, more completely than those of any other denomination in the land, with the civil institutions of the United States.

I.—THE COMMONWEALTH UNDER THE JUDGES.

In referring to the Hebrew polity, the reference is to the Commonwealth as it emanated from Sinai, and was continued under the Judges.

And, first, the original form of administration referred to lasted four hundred years; a very long period in those ages for a single

* Rom., xiii: 1, 4.

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polity—longer than any other comparatively free government in other nations. Of the Grecian States, that of Lacedæmon alone equalled it in duration; but the institutions of Lycurgus, under the show of freedom, were a military oligarchy. That this was the Golden Age of the Hebrew State is plain from allusions to it in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, where the description of Josiah's passover throws a flood of light upon the glory of the earlier administration of the Commonwealth. "And there was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did all the Kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept; surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the Judges that judged Israel; nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel; nor of the Kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, wherein this passover was holden to the Lord in Jerusalem."* To the incomparable glory of this era may be referred those long intervals of peace enjoyed by the nation, and noticed in the Scriptures. While of Rome it was asserted that the temple of Janus was never shut, and the Books of the Kings record almost uninterrupted wars under the Hebrew monarchies, we read that the land had rest during all the days of Joshua, and the elders who outlived Joshua—more than fifty years.† Under Othniel the land had rest for forty years;‡ under Deborah, forty years;§ after Ehud, eighty years. These make up over two hundred years, without specifying the further intervals of peace associated with Gideon, Jephthah and others. What an impression of peaceful enjoyment, without a parallel in any nation before or since! Finally, the same result is mightily confirmed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "And what shall I say more, for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and of Barak, and of Sampson and of Jephthah, of David also, and of Samuel and of the Prophets, who, through faith, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."‖ Nor is this impression impaired by the occasional statement of lawless things done, because in "those days there was no king in Israel." The things referred to took place in those intervals in which there was

* II Kings, xxiii: 22, 23. II Chron., xxxv: 18. † Judges, ii: 7. ‡ Judges, iii: 11.
§ Judges, v: 31. ‖ Heb., xi: 32–34.

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no supreme magistrate, which sometimes occurred as the penalty of the passion of the people for the idols of the neighboring nations.

DIVINE PATTERNS UNIMPROVABLE.

It may then be noticed that, comparing the two forms of the Commonwealth, the former was perfect, the latter vitiated. Here prevails the rule, that when God looks upon God's work it is not only *good*, but, *behold*, *very good*. To the subject in hand applies with special emphasis the ultimate statement, "Lo! this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions."* To this emanation of the wisdom of God, as to each creative act, applies the language of Moses as well as of Solomon, "He is the rock; His work is perfect."†

II.—ORIGIN AND ANALYSIS OF THE HEBREW COMMONWEALTH.

In considering the substance of the Hebrew polity we go back to its historical creation at the base of Horeb, during the first year from the departure out of Egypt. The necessity for a civil government, with its boundless blessings, proceeded from the multitude of the people in want of organization, from the utter absence of a previous polity, by reason of their long subjection to slavery, and from the physical inadequacy of a personal government under one man to the manifold administration of law and justice in the wilderness, and land of Canaan. The suggestion of this necessity was made to Moses by Jethro, subject to the direct revelation of the mind of God, upon application of the Hebrew lawgiver; Exodus, 18th chapter.‡ I have only time to notice, in the suggestion of the priest of Midian, the kind of men to be placed in office, "able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness;" also the absence of all caste or class privilege, to be provided out of "all the people;" and finally, the suspension of the whole work upon the revelation of God: "If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so." Coming to the actual creation and investiture of the Commonwealth, we find the account of it in Moses' own words in the first chapter of Deuteronomy, from the ninth to the eighteenth verses. The result of Moses' application to Jehovah was

*Ecclesiastes, vii: 29. † Deut., xxxii: 4. ‡ Exodus, xviii: 13–26.

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ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION.

First.—The election of rulers by the people, from the people, and from all the people. "Take you," says Moses to the people. The words were spoken to "all Israel," verse first.*

The expression, "Take you," means select. It is the same in Joshua, the 18th chapter, 4th verse, addressed to the whole congregation of the children of Israel. "Give out from among you three men from each tribe, to go through the land." "Take you wise men, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." The accomplished Richard H. Dana of Boston, in a late lecture, referred the principle of elective representation to the councils of the Christian Church, asserting its full operation in that quarter even before the sixth century. This idea he borrows from Allison. The account of that historian is that the Democratic Institutions of antiquity, which had been confined to cities, came to be necessarily modified by representation, when the conquering nations overspread large territories of the fallen Roman Empire. The interests of the conquerors being common, and their residences scattered, representation became necessary in holding their Conventions. Because it had, for many centuries, been in operation in the councils of the Church, the system was the more readily introduced into the State. Be this as it may, elective representation, which has been described as creating a new world, was shown to Moses in the "pattern on the Mount," and underwent its political creation before the Pillar of the Cloud signified to the Levites in charge of the tabernacle its first removal into the Wilderness of the Wandering. The fact had been in existence for fourteen hundred years anterior to the meeting of the first council of the Christian Church, recorded in 15th chapter of Acts. Let us here notice that the germs of all the New Testament doctrines, ordinances and facts, exist in the Old Testament, as the flower in the bud and the fruit in the seed.

The representatives so constituted became the virtual nation itself; for when Shelomith's son was taken from confinement by the "*whole congregation*" without the camp, and stoned by them with stones for blasphemy, that transaction could not have been directly effected by three millions of people, but by their representatives in office. These officers had been chosen from the

* Deut., i: 1.

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universal nation, by the people, without distinction, "to be heads over them, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens, and officers among the tribes.

Graded courts.

Second.—This leads me to notice that the functions of these "officers," just described, were not merely executive but judicial, for it is added, "they judged the people at all seasons." "The hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves." In this system you see a succession of graded courts. How complete the judiciary was, may be inferred from this, that justice *must* have been prompt where judges were appointed for "tens." The object was to provide speedy redress. But if in courts so restricted the litigant was exposed to partial or prejudiced decisions, he was at liberty to secure redress in the higher courts, beginning with those which presided over fifties up to the Sanhedrim, and to the chief magistrate himself. If there is not here actual trial by jury, there is the equivalent in alternate and appellant courts, together with the specific law of testimony, that not without "two or three witnesses" could any man be condemned. Did the world ever see so prompt and full a provision for the wronged or unjustly accused?

National union.

Third.—In the next place, when Jehovah gave to the Hebrews a Civil Polity, He constructed, out of the Twelve Tribes, a single nation. It was the Israelitish *E Pluribus Unum.* For the tribes had each its geographical place and boundary; the local government also belonged to the tribe. The tribe was kept distinct, never confounded with the other tribes, nor lost in the nation itself. Nevertheless, the whole people was *one*, "the whole Congregation," "all the Congregation of the Lord." At the same time, each tribe had its own census, its own position in the camp, its own standard, and its own princes. As travellers cannot safely, either alone or in pairs, traverse the higher Alpine wastes, over avalanches, glaciers and perpetual snow, and march not only with iron hooked pikes and iron shod shoes, but are roped together in linked files, so that each individual turning the precipice with slipping feet may have the benefit of the firmer footing

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of the others; so, independent tribes and States, while disconnected, are only discordant, belligerent or exposed; but when bound into the unity of a single organism, are safe, enduring and happy, because they have the benefit and support of all the rest. The wisdom of the Convention of 1787 attained its highest result when it organized the Thirteen Colonies into a nation after the manner of the Hebrew *E Pluribus Unum*.

A WRITTEN CONSTITUTION.

Fourth.—The next marked feature of the Hebrew Commonwealth was a Written Constitution. To this Written Constitution Joshua was referred upon his appointment to be the leader of the tribes. "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shall meditate therein day and night; and then thou shall have good success."* When, afterward, the deterioration occurred from adding the "invention" of a king in the person of Saul, the same feature of the Written Constitution reappears. "Then Samuel told the people the *manner of the kingdom*, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord—Joshua, i, and 1 Samuel, x. The value of a constitution consists in binding the ruler as well as the subject. It defines the duty and the sphere of each portion of the administration. To the highest officer it says, these are your duties and your powers; "hitherto shalt thou come but no further." In the constitution lies the protection of the people from irresponsible power. It is plain that the Written Constitution must have a great advantage over one that is unwritten. It is less open to question—it is more safe against change. It contains the germ and the means of a sure redress of grievance and wrong. But the Written Constitution of the Hebrew Commonwealth was no mere paper constitution, enacted by simple resolution, without reference to historical growth in the nation itself, like many constitutions in modern times, not worth the paper they were written on, because not rooted in the wants or usages or life of the people. The Book of the Law had a historical and real origin out of Patriarchal Institutions, being adapted to a greatly multiplied population, and founded on the eternal principles of right, united with considerations of the highest expediency. As an instance of its adaptation to the peculiar temperament of the people, notice the provision for a bill of

* Joshua, i: 8.

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divorce, owing to the hardness of their hearts; as also that of Cities of Refuge for the unwitting man slayer, as a protection against the Oriental practice of blood revenge. The Constitution which I have described as written, was then not only a formal but a real instrument, adapted to the government of the nation as it was.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

Fifth.—The next thing in this constitution is the provision for universal education. It had not only a class of learned men in the priesthood, but the priesthood of this Commonwealth was not allowed to restrict the page of knowledge to its own order. Every man was commanded to write upon the "posts of his gate," and the "door of his house," and to wear upon his forehead and his wrists the letters of the law, and personally to teach them to his children. To what result these influences led, may be inferred from the eight places in the gospels where the carpenter's Son, our Blessed Lord, said to the Jews, and not only to Pharisees and Sadducees, "*have ye not read* what David did when he was an hungered," and what God said to "Moses at the bush?" and the one marked place which says of the inscription over our Saviour's cross, written in Hebrew, and in Latin, and in Greek, "this title then read many of the Jews." The education of the Hebrew child was coextensive with the Hebrew family.

III.—COMPARISON OF THE CIVIL POLITY WITH REVELATION.

I pass to the third point, viz., to show that our own Civil Government, considered as a whole, constituting the general and state departments, embraces more of the material and fibre of the Hebrew Commonwealth than does that of any other people. Before instituting the necessary comparison belonging to this division of the subject, it will be freely admitted that every one of the Christian nations and colonies has incorporated, in various degrees, the above mentioned fundamental principles of the civil law of Moses into its system of civil polity and jurisprudence.

But in which of them is the polity, law, and usage so close to the Biblical revelation as in our own? Where, either in modern or in ancient States, are the planes of contact so frequent and so full? The Grecian republics were either pure democracies, without representation, or oligarchies, without equality between man and man, or confederacies of States, without political unity. The

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magistrates of Rome, instead of being taken from or elected by all the people, as with the Hebrews, were Patricians; the heads of great families, attended by followings of thousands of clients, and whose relations to the Plebs were such that the very idea conveyed by *humanitas* in their language was merely the courtesy of one Patrician to another. As for *humanity—the relation and duty of man to man*—it was an idea that had no existence until He had come into the world, "of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." In Great Britain the elective franchise, however free and extended, is not yet founded upon manhood; and who does not know that all the political tendencies of that great nation have been for a hundred years gravitating in the direction of our own polity? As for the State, with us, like that of Moses, it is for the man, and not like the nations of the Euphrates, the Tiber and the Nile, where the man was supposed to exist for the benefit of the State. In correspondence with the Princes of the tribes and the Officers of the people, we have our Senators and Representatives. We have also the same machinery for prompt and equal justice, made up of courts, distributed over our whole territory, and adapted to the variety of conflicting interests arising from our social life. Furthermore, following the Biblical model, we have public and private schools, unrolling to the eyes of all who will, the ample page of knowledge. As Dan was Dan, and not Benjamin, so also here we have State rights and distinctions; but nevertheless a single nation only. As to jurisprudence, we have the Sabbath and Sabbath laws and ordinances against blasphemy, and the oath of testimony, and the oath of allegiance, and the oath of office, and the law of marriage, and the Scriptures in our courts, and legislative halls, and public schools, and the worship of God in military and naval schools, and in regiments of infantry and regiments of cavalry. We carry out the very law of Moses in hospitality to the stranger, whom we will not suffer to be "vexed," but for whom, in his poverty, we have made this land a paradise and a home. We have no color line of caste remaining, but manhood alone is the basis of suffrage, unless debarred by crime.

THE STATE NOT WHOLLY SECULAR.

In discarding a church establishment, has the civil government been divorced from all religion? This is the answer: ours is a practical and real government; for a theoretical and philosophical

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one a purely secular polity might have answered, but we are a flesh and blood people, with moral duties and relations; and, moreover, a Christian people at that. The idea of a polity wholly secular, and thus practically irreligious, yet derived from the divine pattern shown to Moses on the Mount, is in its very terms absurd. "Moses, indeed, was faithful in all his house as a servant; but Christ as a Son over his own house." To Moses was entrusted the light of the truth, to be kept by his people and his institutions from extinction in the surrounding darkness, and from being blown out by adverse winds. But Christ removes the "bushel," putting the light upon the candlestick for the illumination of the whole house. The relation of religion to civil society is indestructible; but now in these days, laying aside the weapons of condemnation, coercion and ordinances, and putting on the garments of love, persuasion and liberty, she asks of the State only impartial protection, respectful acknowledgment, and the concession of that which is simply decent and right. If the European Governments with Church establishments have the form of religion, we, in this land, have the power; if they have the exterior, we have the heart; if they have the shell, we have the kernel. "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's," embraces the seminal principle of the true relations of Church and State. The subordination of Cæsar to God is as fully exacted as the subordination of the individual to Cæsar. The time will never come when he "who fears not God will regard man." Not only morality, but worship, is forever due to God. The State must respect and obey the will of God, or the State must fall; and it ought to fall, for its example will bring downfall upon every one of its supports. "For the nation and the kingdom which will not serve Him shall perish."

In the absence, then, of the temple, priesthood, and ordinance from our civil polity, is it so secular as to have no religious character? Nay, but only the scaffolding has been taken down, that in this land the structure itself, substantial and complete, might stand out, as in no nation hitherto, without obstruction or incumbrance; a State administered on Christian principles by Christian men, with Divine revelation enshrined in the hearts of its citizens, recognized, from the very outset, in forms of worship and force of fact (as cannot be too often repeated); in executive proclamations, courts of justice, halls of legislation, military barracks, ships of war and public schools.

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IV.—Harmony of the Reformed Church with the American Polity.

The remaining topic to be illustrated is the harmony of the polity of the Reformed Church with that of the nation, touching it in more points than does that of any other denomination in the land.

Between the national polity and those of the several Evangelical Denominations there is an admitted resemblance of varied extent. That which is represented by Episcopacy resembles the civil method in its elected vestries and delegated Conventions. That which is called the Congregational form, finds its resemblance to the same civil methods, in Ecclesiastical Associations and Councils.

To find among the Churches of various names so much accordance is truly agreeable; nevertheless, the Congregational Churches, taken singly, are pure democracies, destitute of representative features; and taken as a body, are not a union, but merely an alliance, without authority, cohesion or organic life. Practically, they are Presbyterian when it comes to the main matter of ordaining and placing ministers over the flock; for they do not ordain the ministers by the laying on of hands of the congregation, but by Presbyters called in for the purpose.

The Episcopal Bishop, although ordained by Episcopal hands, is yet qualified and called by Presbyterian votes, and the same Church members who are confirmed by the Bishops are first baptised by the Presbyters, and afterwards served by the same Presbyters at the Lord's table. Even the Pope of Rome receives his election to the Papacy from the conclave of Cardinals, a majority of whom constituting the Consistory, are Cardinal Presbyters. The Methodist Bishop does not claim to be of any other rank than a Presbyter. Look where we will, we find in all the Churches the Presbyterian substance; and what is even more, the Papacy itself dependent on the Presbytery. From the practice and confession of all parties, we are justified in the conclusion, that whosoever, in other forms of polity, may be found wrong, we must be right; and to be consistent, we also are bound to respect each of the other great bodies of Christians, if for no other reason, yet because they embody substantial Presbyterianism in their practical administration. Nevertheless, it is only in the Churches of the Presbyterian order we find all the great

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distinctive principles of the Mosaic Revelation which have been adopted into the American Union and enunciated in this discourse. In no other does the monarchical feature, the restless democracy, and a discipline beyond appeal, disappear. A minute comparison of the specific polity of our Reformed Church with that of the civil government would require a treatise. For the purposes of this discourse, consider, after what has been implied in the foregoing exposition, the following general sketch:

Constitution of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church.

1st. The Constitution is the organic law regulating the relation of Church members to one another and to the Consistory; of Consistories to Classes and the reverse; of the Classes to each other; of the Synods to each other and to the Classes; and of the General Synod to what is inter-synodical or of general interest in the several departments of religion and benevolence, and to correspondence and relations with other bodies of Christians. The Ecclesiastical Constitution agrees with the civil usage in the method of its formation and amendment. It emanates from and is adopted by the General Synod through the several Classes acting conjointly and deciding by majorities. The ratification and amendment of the Constitution by the Classis is effected either with or without direct reference to the lower Consistories, as each Classis may in its wisdom determine. In the same manner amendments to the Federal Constitution are adopted by a reference to the Legislatures of the respective States. It must not be forgotten that the Common Law of England, although unwritten, is a part of the American Constitution; so the Creeds, Confessions, Catechisms and Customs of the Church are as really a part of the Ecclesiastical Constitution as the formal Constitution itself. Without instancing particulars, I proceed, secondly, to the

Correspondence in General Structure.

As the basis of the Jewish commonwealth was the Tribe, and the basis of the Federal Union is the State, so the basis of the Church polity is the Classis. It is the life and centre of the body ecclesiastic. "The Classis" and "Presbytery" are synonyms signifying the Eldership, the same Divine Institution handed down from the time of the elders, in Genesis and in Job, to the present hour.

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through all the ages of the Church. In the Classis lies the ordaining power by which ministers are created and set over the Churches. To the Classes, also, belongs the oversight of the Churches in respect to organization, doctrine and discipline. As the United States Senate represents the several States, so the Synod represents the constituent Classes—the larger Classes, like the larger States, having no more delegates than the smaller.

DUAL REPRESENTATION.

There is, furthermore, a very strict correspondence between the civil and Church polities in the matter of dual representation. In the State polity the dual feature is expressed by dual assemblies, viz., Senates and Lower Houses. In the Church polity the delegates sustain a dual character in a single assembly. The dual delegation consists of Ministers and Elders. The Ministers represent the more permanent, the Elders the more immediate and transient will, as well as the more external interests of the Churches. Corresponding to the popular branch of Congress, the Elders are elected from the whole male membership of the Church for the term of two years, and are eligible to reëlection.

CHANGEABLE CONSISTORIES.

By this arrangement our Reformed Church Consistories differ from an inflexible Presbyterian session, and admit, first, of the introduction, from time to time, of many of her sons into the duties and privileges of Church office; also, of securing the best talent for her services, and of relieving herself from officers who may be found, upon experience, unsuited to the work. In this capital feature, hitherto peculiar to the Reformed Church, observe the flexibility of her constituent assemblies, and her striking harmony with the State in providing immediate representatives of the mind of the constituency for the time being. It is unnecessary here to enlarge upon the details of the correspondence, in other specific particulars, between the Ecclesiastical and Civil polities, because of the full exposition of principles already given, and of the risk of weariness. In noticing, however, the harmonies existing between the two polities, it must not be forgotten that the greatest contrast exists in the nature and kind of the interests administered and adjudicated. The Church Courts, for instance, inflict no civil penalty of fine or imprisonment, or political disa

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bility; the penalties and influences are for the soul, consisting of reproof and moral chastisement; of suspension from Church privilege, and excommunication from Church fellowship; they are spiritual and eternal.

But there is one point which must not be overlooked by the American people, which, although obvious enough, has never been set forth with sufficient distinctness—

The State an Educator.

So far as education is indispensable to the life of the State, it must be a function of the State. Without education the Republic cannot have either President, Senator, Judge or Sheriff. It suspends the preparation of these instruments on no contingency of social or individual neglect, but secures them by means of public schools; providing a moral and intellectual education for its civil officers, as well as military education for its army and navy. There are also technical schools in the interests of agriculture and the arts; and, in many States, great universities for universal culture.

The State also teaches by its Judges, whose office it is to instruct the individual members of the great and smaller juries in the principles of law and justice. What can more develop manhood than service by the citizen in the duties of the jury? And what can be more fatal to the purity and soundness of judicial teaching than the education of judges in schools which do not acknowledge morality or religion? Will then an intelligent and jealous people commit the education of its judges to a priesthood owing allegiance to a foreign power, and graduated from the school of Ignatus Loyola? These questions have been already determined by the polity which has established the public schools. All political life has a tendency to promote general education, which is done by the public discussion of the merits of candidates for election, and by the debates carried on by active minds in the passage of laws and measures.

In every order of government, in despotisms and oligarchies, as well as in republics, education of some sort, and in some direction, must needs proceed from the State. But in free States its influence acts and re-acts at every point and upon every interest, being every where, directly or indirectly, the animating spirit of the body politic.

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THE CHURCH AN EDUCATOR.

The relation of the polity of the Reformed Church to universal education is parallel with that of the civil governments of the country. Her regard for all good learning has been "ever read and known of all men." She has the honor of having established the first Theological Seminary in the land. The very condition upon which ecclesiastical autonomy was conceded by the Church in Holland to the branches in America, was the establishment of a College, chartered in the interests of a learned ministry. She has not only insisted on a full equipment of her preachers for the acceptable presentation of the divine word, but claims for herself, and is entitled to the distinct attribute of being a TEACHING CHURCH. She teaches, not only in her sermons but in her forms. The reading of the Scriptures is never omitted in any of her services. In her sacramental liturgy she teaches, beyond the danger of ambiguity, of silence, or of error, the essential doctrines of the atonement, grace and regeneration. Particularly, every minister, by the terms of his call, is obligated to "explain" the full circle of doctrine, contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, once every four years. The Church, by its very constitution, is a teaching Church. Not the children only, but the adults are to be taught. Her pulpits are required to resound with "the whole council of God," summarized in the fifty-two Lord's days of her Catechism, and without the knowledge of its Compendium of doctrine, candidates are not admissible to her Sacramental Table. At every spring session of the Classis, the Minister and Elder of each Church is required to stand up and make solemn answer to the questions—"Whether the Heidelberg Catechism is regularly explained, agreeably to the constitution of the Reformed Dutch Church," and "Whether the catechising of the children, and the instruction of the youth, are faithfully attended to." The answers to these questions are recorded and sent to the Synod for review and inspection, and when negative, for suitable legislation.

Let it here be added that the Reformed Church corresponds to the American Government in the common dependence of each on the intelligence and virtue of its respective constituency. As an ignorant or corrupt people are unfitted for republican liberty, and must be controlled by despotic power, so this Church has no attractions to compete with such ecclesiastical bodies as cater to animal excitement, worldly indulgence, or spiritual bigotry.

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With a proper constituency, our Church and the nation are alike invincible.

THE CHURCH'S PROBABLE FUTURE.

How long, therefore, is this Church of ours and of the Lord, Biblical, Catholic, Spiritual, to continue? Why she should not stand until the Lord's coming cannot be shown? Her origin is in the remote antiquity; "her foundation is in the Holy Mountains." Her principles must always stand. They are "a three-fold cord," "not easily broken," woven of the justice of Sinai, the order of Zion and the dying love of Calvary. "God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved. God shall help her, and that right early." That she has been outgrown by younger Churches proves nothing against the importance of her place in the body; her American polity, at least, should recommend her to the American people. Without being a prophet, one need not venture far to say she has done giving up her peculiarities. "Walk about Zion and go round about her, mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, *that ye may tell it to the generation following;* for this God is our God for ever and ever, He will be our guide even unto death."

DURABILITY OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

How many times has the downfall of civil liberty in this land been predicted or dreaded! In the transition to the second century of our history the question of its continuance recurs with more anxiety than ever. Always, in passing the great landmarks of time, the human mind labors with the uncertainties of the future; but in the light of our subject it appears as if Providence, in appointing so vast a theatre for the operation in this nation of the eternal principles of civil government, intended a result both boundless and permanent. Despotisms are suited to brief eras, and democracies to small areas. But free government, combined with law, has no necessary restriction of time or space. The fair inference to be drawn from the work begun is that it must go on to its completed end. While there remains so much land not yet possessed, nor even organized into territories, we must expect the subduing and adapted polity to proceed with its creative work. The life of such a polity is measured, not by years, but by ages. Here and now, God goes back to the original type of civil institutions, revealed to multiplying nations. Our con-

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tinuance is simply a continuance of fidelity to the Bible. Let us not disown our mother. "Of Zion it shall be said: Lo! this was born there, and the Highest shall establish her; all my springs are in thee." Every step away from the Bible is a step straight into darkness.

Conclusion.

We have found, no doubt, in this investigation, the true Organic Unity. It is neither Utopian nor new, but yet it is organic, in a different sense from that which many apprehend. It is not to come from the Churches giving up their essential methods or historic life, but from the recognition, adjustment and use of every distinct organization by the whole. Rhode island is neither Nebraska nor California. The Constitution of each of these States differs from the others. But the very condition upon which any one State may enter into the Organic Unity of the Nation is the power and the right to do all that a State may and ought to do. The want of either the power or right to secure property, administer justice or provide for its poor, would vacate the territory and cancel the claim of any State to a place in the American Union. On the same principle, any Church, in order to have a place in the Organic Church Unity, *must needs* have all the parts, and do all the things which belong to a Church—preach the gospel, administer sacraments, exercise discipline,* support missions, "remember the poor," and "be careful to maintain good works.† Organic Unity Ecclesiastical requires complete Churches, as the Organic Unity Political requires complete States. Let not Episcopalians expect to reduce other bodies to their forms, nor Presbyterians plan to disintegrate them, for the glory of their own structure; nor Congregationalists, in their fidelity to Church independence, refuse union with one another. God's plan recognizes unalterable distinctions of type. As there are many members in one body, but all these are adjusted into one life; as there are many crystals in the constitution of a single rock; as there were four corps which lay around the tabernacle at Horeb, and three distinct tribes in each, and but one nation in the whole; as John saw "twelve gates, with the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, and twelve foundations, and in them the names of the

* Article XXIX, Confession of Faith of Ref. Protestant Dutch Church, revised in the National Synod of Dordrecht, A. D. 1618, 1619.

† Titus, 3: 14.

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twelve apostles of the Lamb," so here in this land which the Lord has blessed, in prelibation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the union of the Churches has already begun under the potent solvent of that Political Union in which distinct State constitutions create no barrier against the national integrity.

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APPENDIX.

THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

AN INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

BY THE

REV. JOHN H. LIVINGSTON, D. D.,

FIRST PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

IN THE

REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN AMERICA,

PRONOUNCED IN

THE GARDEN STREET CHURCH, NEW YORK,

MAY 19th, 1785.

Reprinted from the Original Edition.

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ACCORDING *to the statements in Dr. W. J. R. TAYLOR'S Discourse in the volume to which this address is an appendix, it appears that in* 1771, *at the first formal organization of the Reformed Dutch Churches in this country, it was resolved to appoint one or two Professors to teach Didactic, Polemic, Exegetic Theology, etc. The difficulties of the times prevented a prompt execution of this purpose. But in October,* 1784, *the first year after the close of the Revolutionary War, the General Meeting of Ministers and Elders unanimously chose Dr. Livingston as their Theological Professor, at the same time adding Dr. Harmanus Meyer as instructor in the sacred languages. In the following spring the ensuing Address was delivered in the presence of the Synod.*

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ORATIO INAUGURALIS

DE

VERITATE RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANÆ

QUAM, CORAM

VENERANDA ECCLESIARUM BELGICARUM SYNODO

NEO EBORACI CONVOCATA

PUBLICE IN ÆDE SACRA HABUIT

JOHANNES H. LIVINGSTON, S. Theol. Doctor,

ATQUE V. D. IBIDEM MINISTER;

QUUM THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSIONEM

IN EARUNDEM PRÆCIPUE USUM

AUSPICARETUR

AD DIEM XIX MAJI, MDCCLXXXV.

NEO-EBORACI,

EXCUDEBANT SAMUEL ET JOHANNES LOUDON,

REPUBLICÆ EBORACENSIS TYPOGRAPHI ORDINARII.

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*** Observet Benevolus Lector non totam hance Orationem, sed selectiores partes tantum coram Synodo ore pronuntiatas esse.

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VIRIS ERUDITIONE AC PIETATE CONSPICUIS, BELGICARUM HEIC ECCLESIARUM MINISTERIS, PATRIBUS FRATRIBUSQUE IN CHRISTO DOMINO, OMNI HONORE ATQUE AMORE PROSEQUENDIS:

NEC NON EARUNDEM REVERENDIS PRESBYTERIS, DIACONIS, SINGULISQUE MEMBRIS DIGNISSIMIS:

IUVENTUTI DENIQUE SACRO SANCTO EVANGELII MINISTERIO DICATÆ:

ORATIONEM HANC INAUGURALEM, EX CONSILIO PLURIMUM VENERANDAE SYNODI NUPER HABITAM, NUNC VERO LUCI EDITAM:

EA, QUA PAR EST, ANIMI HUMILITATE ATQUE OBSERVANTIA, SACRAM FACIT

AUCTOR.

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ORATIO INAUGURALIS

DE

VERITATE RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANAE.

Cum tandem ille dies auspicatissimus orbi terrarum illuxerit, quo nos Deus ad libertatem et beatum imperii culmen evexit; cum tam admirandorum divinae providentiae operum spectatores fuerimus; tanta discrimina rerum, tot horrida bella passi: nunc autem restituta pax sit, suavisque durioris certaminis fructus redierit; quid nobis restat? Quid adhuc requiritur, nisi ut gratis animis, piisque cordibus beneficia haec omnia rite recordemur, ea semper confiteamur, atque iisdem denique bene fruamur? Praeclara quae Deus monstravit amoris signa dum nostrae libertati prospiciebat, enumerare si vellem, citius numerum inirem arenae in littore quotque volvat aestus corpora. Quin imo labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res, quibus nuper heroes nostri ad haec otia nobis comparanda versati sunt, si commemorare mihi daretur: difficile profecto esset, oratione concinna, styloque factis exaequato omnia ordine enarrare; diesque mihi deficeret antequam horum exordia sola finirem. Incredibile enim dictu est, incepto bello, quantus libertatis ardor, quantus virtutis stimulus, quanta gloriae cupido honesta Americanorum pectora invaserint, atque in iisdem ad felicem usque contentionis exitum, indies creverint. Tum primum juventus antea simul laboris, simul belli impatiens, in castris brevi tempore per usum, militiam discebat; et talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus. Virtus, fortitudo, mens

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conscia recti, amor patriae, omnia vincebant. Historia testis temporum et nuncia veritatis, praeclari facinoris famam posteritatis memoriae tradet. Magnalia haec loquentur annales, at stupebit vixque credet posteritas.

Beatam rempublicam! quis sicut tu (Jacobeam olim dilectam si gentem excipias) quis sicut tu, populus servatus per Dominum, auxilii tui scutum, et gladium excellentiae tuae. O felix ter quaterque inter beneficia talia, bona tua si noveris, neque, quod Deus avertat! per luxuriam, coeterasve malas artes, res tuas cunctas, partumque imperium, eheu nimium subito, obscurares, funditusque subverteres.

PULCRUM est reipublicae bene facere; decet etiam omnem civem esse disertum, impigrum, laboriosum; atque aut artium liberalium scientiarumque, aut rei militaris, aut culturae terrae, aut denique commercii peritum, neque minus civitatis regundae. At tamen haec omnia consecuti, adhuc miserrimi nos essemus, nisi VERAE RELIGIONIS cognitionem et praxin, quae prae aliis necessaria est atque omnia excellit, adjungamus! Justitia enim gentem exaltat, Deumque colere et ex animo eum vereri, vivendi recte fons est et sapientia prima.

Utinam tandem ille, tot piorum votis expetitus, advenerit dies, quo sublatis e medio impietatis omnisque sceleris vestigiis, totum hoc, quo late patet, imperium, quod constellationis instar novo fulgore rutilat, unum, una mente colat, una voce profiteatur, Deum, pacis et salutis nostrae auctorem et praesidium! Quae quidem res, uti Christianis omnibus exoptanda, ita iis imprimis curae, cordique sit oportet, quibus Evangelii praedicandi munus commisit summus veritatis juxta ac pacis rex Jesus. Quorum quum in numero me quoque collocatum esse gaudeam; ita mihi in tam glorioso tanti regis ministerio versandum esse ratus sum; ut si qua in me sit doctrina, quae quidem quam sit exigua probe sentio et agnosco; eam omnem Ecclesiae ejus utilitati, propenso animo totisque viribus, semper consultam esse velim. Cum enim nihil in me sit, quod Christianae republicae jam diu non consecraverim; recte veritatis, virtutisque me sequi partes oportet, meritoque omnem studiorum actionumque rationem, et quodcunque apud alios valeam, ad religionis Christianae commodum atque lucrum praecipue referendum esse duxi. Caeteris enim omnibus rebus finis est: religio sola salutiferique ejus fructus semper permanent. Huic ut obsequar mihi voluptas; hoc unum gaudium; hic scopus aura dum fruar mihi maneat perpetuus.

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Quod igitur corde veneror, quod semper aliis mihique ipsi, et ore et factis commendatum velim; id summa ratione, hac solemni occasione, orationis argumentum constitui primarium.

In tanto vero argumento, tantaeque coronae conspectu, nil mirum quin gravi me perfundi solicitudine, animumque sacro quodam horrore totum contremiscere sentiam. Coram enim summis et doctissimis viris non pro honore et existimatione nunc me dicturum conspicitis, AUDITORES SPECTATISSIMI! sed pro initio et auspiciis gravissimi sane atque sanctissimi muneris; cujus vestra, patres venerandi, fratresque in Christo plurimum reverendi, sacra auctoritas mihi imponit et constituit religionem. Quod igitur mihi demandatum humerisque meis impositum, quidquid sit, aut muneris aut oneris; ut Ecclesiae, ut vobis, mihique ipsi feliciter prospereque eveniat, a Deo solo auxilium faustumque hujus rei eventum desiderare atque certo expectare me decet; ab illo, qui laborantem potenti manu sustentare valet; qui novum mihi hocce negotium commisit, atque instruere me et animo et viribus pollet.

Hoc proposito, hac firma fiducia animatus, solemne nunc muneris initium adgredior; et quidem pro institutis majorum, Ecclesiaeque Belgicae consuetidine, quae non nisi recitata prius de digno quodam argumento oratione, officii hujusmodi exordia legitime capessere permittunt.

Meditationem vero in praesenti eligendam ejusmodi arbitratus sum, quae vestra profecto attentione A. H. maxime digna sit; dicturus de VERITATE RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANAE. Siquidem hanc etiam explicare religionem, eamque tanquam veram et gravissimis argumentis divinitus constitutam vindicare, mearum est partium: quid quaeso magis proposito consentaneum censeri potuit, quam apodictica quaedam hujus religionis PRINCIPIA jam inde a professionis publicae subeundae initio, quadantenus exhibere?

RELIGIO, multifariae notionis apud Latinos vocabulum, summi numinis cultum, vel potius inviolabilem numen hoc colendi obligationem, ex dependentia ab eo ortam, nobis dicit.

Dari utique in mundo obligationis hujus cognitionem quandam universalem, certamque Deum colendi rationem ac studium; quae non ex pravis principiis ortum suum duxit, sed ex intima existentiae Dei, rerum omnium opificis et supremi arbitri, persuasione nascitur, ante omnia ut observemus operae erit pretium.

UNUSQUISQUE ratione praeditus sponte huic propositioni adsentitur: DEUS EST. Veritas quippe haec principiis omnino primis atque cum ipsa ratione menti insitis nititur. Quisque

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enim homo existentiae et dependentiae suae conscius, si ad seipsum attendat, statim animadvertet certissime dari aliquod ens cui existentiam suam et omnia alia debet. Vel ut elegantius orator ille dixit "nemo est tam rudis, tam feris moribus, quin oculos suos in coelum tollens, tametsi nesciat cujus Dei providentia regatur hoc omne quod cernitur, aliquem tamen esse intelligat, ex ipsa rerum magnitudine, motu, dispositione, constantia, utilitate, pulchritudine, temperatione; nec posse fieri, quin id, quod mirabili ratione constat, consilio majori aliquo sit instructum."

Ex his simul alterum deducit mens humana axioma, nimirum, huic enti hominem adeo subjectum et obligatum esse, ut sui officii putet, exequi, quidquid ulla ratione, sive per naturam sive per revelationem, tanquam mandatum illius entis, sibi innotuerit. Quod igitur rationi tam congruum est, et per tam brevem argumentandi viam conficitur, id merito principium universale et omnibus hominibus pervulgatum esse perhibemus.

STULTOS fuisse ponamus, qui petulanter corde dixerunt: non esse Deum, omniaque humana temerario sortis arbitrio ferri ac referri; dari etiamnum homines, qui se atheos profitentur, Deumque esse negant. Sed quid inde? ergo non datur religio hominibus connata et universalis? infelicissima haec foret ratiocinandi methodus. Quis enim ex monstro quodam horrendo exemplar mutuet, ad quod examinanda existimet ea, quae homini naturalia et propria censenda sunt? Et quid nobis cum atheis? Homines profecto inveniuntur quamplurimi adfectati, deliri mentisque parum compotes, qui talem jactitare opinionem audeant. Sunt denique nimium multi, qui ita vitam instituunt, ac si non daretur Deus, cujus mandata religiose observare hominis esset: sed qui gravi argumentorum pondere eo adducti sint, quo sana mente, plane, serio et sine ullo conscientiae remorsu, ex corde credant non esse Deum; nulli hominum inventi sunt unquam, nulli etiamnum inveniuntur.

> O demens Epicure! Dei vestigia passim
> Effugis, at delere nequis, te, te illa sequuntur.
> Quidquid agis, quodcunque vides, ars ipsa fatetur
> Artificem. Deus hic, certe Deus. Haud timor ergo
> Fecit in orbe Deos primus; nec Jupiter uno
> Creditus ex tonitru terris regnare minaci *

ABORIGINES per terrarum orbem dispersi multi fortassé sunt,

* Anti-Lucret. Polignac, lib. ix.

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qui sub dio degunt et nudi, ferarum instar, sedibus incertis, sylvas oberrant; genus hominum agreste sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum: sed inter eos, qui omni religionis specie destituti sunt, qui omni numinis sensu plane caruerunt, nulli usquedum reperti fuere.

Si autem ad veterum recentiorumque narrationes quis provocaret de variis populis, apud quos nullam numinis notitiam repertam esse testantur; nihil tamen ex his omnibus sequitur, quam nulla apud illas gentes religionis indicia narratoribus patuisse. Nihilominus tamen supremi entis, quod omnia potenti sua manu dirigit, vera quaedam agnitio locum habere potest, licet non sese manifestaverat per publicum et bene notum numinis cultum. Vix etiam dubitare possumus quin idem ab omnibus scriptoribus observatum fuisset, si linguarum et morum variorum populorum, qui athei exhibentur, notitiam habuissent. Antiqua Gallorum natio, testante Caesare, "admodum religionibus dedita fuit. Druides imprimis hoc voluerunt: non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios. Multa praeterea de Deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputaverunt."* Hoc etiam constat ex relationibus nuperfactis ab iis, qui cum COOKIO celebri novarum regionum exploratore, per oceanum Pacificum navigaverunt; qui de incolis Novae Zelandiae et Oteheite idem observaverunt.†

* Caesaris Com. de Bello Gal., lib. vi.

† As to the religion of the New Zealanders, we know little about it. However, this I shall not hesitate to observe, that they have some idea that respects a God, and they are not ashamed of him.

As to the religion, laws and government of the people (*viz.*, of Oteheite) much has been said about them by former voyagers, and in truth, too much, especially about their religion, WHICH THEY ARE NOT FOND OF DISCOVERING, and therefore, when urged on the matter, have often, rather than displease those who made the inquiry, told not only different accounts, but such as were utterly inconsistent with what we knew to be true from ocular demonstration. They assured us, for instance, that they never sacrificed human bodies; but an accident happened that contradicted it, and gave us the full proof of it, its operation and design, which was an oblation to the God of War, made previous to that undertaking.

They believe the immortality of the soul—at least, its existence in a separate state. It is supposed they have notions of transmigration. Our conjectures originate from the universal, constant and uniform regard which they pay, in a greater or less degree, to every species of subordinate being; even to the minutest insect and the most insignificant reptile. What they conceive respecting a God we cannot tell; though we conclude, upon the whole, that they worship one Great Supreme and governor of all things, etc.—*Journal of Capt. Cook's last voyage, by Ledyard, pages* 15, 53, 57

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Non profecto naturae hominis magis congruum est patriam diligere, libertatem tueri, commoda sua captare aut vitam ipsam sectari; quam vitae auctorem agnoscere, naturae opificem venerari, et unam aliquam religionem, quae ad salutem dux futura sit, serio profiteri. Quamvis ad omnium omnino gentium hac in re testimonium non aeque provocare liceat, cum de nonnullis non ita clare constet; illud tamen bene notandum, quo magis populi ratione et sapientia excelluerunt, eo firmiores apud eos et accuratiores summi numinis ideas semper fuisse, cultusque divini obligationis rationem ac studium maxime valuisse. Unde quos sapientes antiquitas vocavit, Brachmanes apud Indos, ut et apud Persas Magi, a Dei nomine omnia inchoabant. Pythagoras quoque et Plato ab iisdem verbis suas lectiones orsi, in eadem finiebant.* Poetae etiam antiquissimi qui philosophiam versibus tradiderunt, Orpheus, Homerus, Hesiodus et ceteri, ab Jove principium lubenter sumpserunt.†

Gentes diversae diversas de religione opiniones susceperunt, at in eo saltem consentientes, quod Deus est atque ille ab hominibus coli debeat. Esse igitur, AUDITORES, religionem quandam universalem ac omnibus hominibus connatam, extra dubium ponitur.

Sed si inquisitio veritatis instituatur, et varia variarum inter homines religionum systemata ad lapidem lydiam revocemus, plus facile erroris quam veritatis deprehendetur. Principia quaedam vera bonaque in omnibus fortasse religionibus inveniuntur; at quam multis et fere innumeris erroribus commixta, adulterata, obruta! Verum et bonum est quod omnes affirmant: esse Deum, eumque esse colendum; at multa Deo maxime indecora, cultumque manifeste sceleratum, horridum ac impium saepissime his prin-

* Multos ex graecis philosophos atheismum professos fuisse bene constat. Eruditus Glocestriae Epis., Warburton, de eorum omnibus male existimat eosque hoc sequente ordine disposuit. The ancient Greek philosophy may be all ranged in the ELEATIC, the ITALIC and the IONIC lines. The Eleatic was wholly composed of atheists of different kinds; as the DEMOCRATIC, the PYRRHONIAN, the EPICUREAN, etc. All in the Italic line derive from PYTHAGORAS, and swear in his name. All in the Ionic, till SOCRATES, busied themselves only in physics; he it was that first brought philosophy out of the clouds to a clear contemplation of human nature, and founded the *Socratic school*, whose subdivisions were the PLATONIC, or old academy, the PERIPATETIC, the STOIC, the MIDDLE and the NEW ACADEMY. On the whole, it appears that the Academics, as distinguished from the Platonists, were mere sceptics. Those then remaining will be the PYTHAGORIC, the PLATONIC, the PERIPATETIC and the STOIC. The PHILOSOPHIC QUATERNION of dogmatic theists, etc.—*Divine Legation of Moses, book iii., sect. 3.*

† Vide Mornaeum, de Verit. Relig. Christ., cap. i.

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cipiis multi intexent. Alii creaturas tum terrestres tum caelestes colunt: alii homines vivos idolis mactant, vel mortuos bello occisos sacrificant: alii nonnulla et permittunt et sanciunt, tum quae legibus bonis adversantur, tum quae naturae ipsi et pudorem et horrorem incutiunt. Haecce omnia simul bona simulque vera esse nequeunt: haec religionem Deo gratam acceptamque nullo pacto constituere possunt.

Quid ergo, AUDITORES, concludendum? nempe, cum in verum et falsum inter has diversas de Deo ejusque cultu sententias inquiritur, totum systema in omni ejus complexu semper esse sumendum, et non ex selecta aliqua parte judicium temerarie pronunciandum. Omnis igitur cujuscunque generis religio, non solum gentium barbararum sed et populorum sapientissimorum, si generatim consideratur, aut VERA aut FALSA sit necesse est. Verum enim et bonum ex integris oritur, malum et error ex quolibet defectu.

FALSA dicitur religio quae profert quae vel ipso summo numine, vel quae cultu divino et debita Deo obedientia indigna sunt. Prior IDOLOLATRIA vocatur, posterior denominatur SUPERSTITIO. VERA religio ea est quae res solum veras de Deo et ejus cultu credendas et praestandas docet. At hanc definitionem ultimam jure merito religioni christianae esse adscribendam, atque de ea sola praedicandam, nunc nobis, AUDITORES SPECTATISSIMI, demonstrandum est.

CUM homines magna concertatione inter se de religione dissideant, secumque ipsis in hoc negotio plerumque discordent; necesse est ut certa principia stabiliantur, ex quibus dijudicari potest quaenam religio vera sit, quae falsa; contradictoria enim simul stare non possint, ac in re tanti momenti periculosissimum sit ignorare ubi certum figere nobis pedem liceat. Cujuslibet veritatum systematis ea est natura ut, quae traduntur, primo cuidem principio sint superstructa; eadem in hoc dogmatum quae aedificiorum sane est ratio: haec an tuta sint atque stabilia ex fundamentorum firmitate est dijudicandum; illa an vera, certa atque rationi consona ex primis illis principiis eorumque natura et indole apparet, si modo deductio rite fuerit instituta. Prima igitur principia probe perpendenda sunt.

Uti in falsis religionibus hypothesis aliqua sive error primarius est, ex quo errores caeteri facile deducuntur; vel ad quem tuendum, reliqui articuli omnes concurrunt tanquam ad communem aliquem finem: ita etiam in vera religione, primaria aliqua datur

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veritas, quae reliquarum omnium basis est atque fundamentum. Hujus fundamenti accuratam ut habeamus cognitionem et de illius certitudine convicti simus, maximi est momenti: principiorum enim religionis generalium ignorantiam, causam infidelitatis foecundissimam esse atque semper fuisse, testatur omnium temporum experientia.

Quaenam sit illa veritas primaria ad quam reliquae omnes tanquam ad principium omnium primum tendunt, et in quam aliae omnes resolvuntur, ex ipsa religionis INDOLE AC FINE determinari debet.

Vera religio in sua natura et indole, non tanquam res fortuita et arbitraria nobis concipienda est; sed in ipsa Dei ac hominis natura, mutuaque relatione fundata. Hinc enim a parte Dei, jus ac dominium summum nascitur; et a parte hominis certa officia necessario praestanda oriuntur constituunturque. Primarium igitur omnis verae religionis FUNDAMEN est illa hominis ad Deum RELATIO, qua homo totus ac semper a Deo DEPENDET, et propterea obligatus est ad actiones suas liberas, non pro lubitu, sed secundum Dei voluntatem penitus ac semper componendas.

FINIS verae religionis alius esse non potest, quam ut homo ad gloriam Dei vivat, et inde propriam salutem aeternam obtineat. Complexus omnium perfectionum divinarum quatenus a creaturis cognoscitur vocatur Dei gloria. Finis generalis quem Deus intendit in operibus suis, ut sit manifestatio attributorum suorum necesse est. Cum autem perfectio alicujus rei aestimari debet ex relatione sive convenientia cum fine generali; sequitur, perfectionem hominis in aptitudine manifestandi gloriam Dei consistere; et inde summum verae religionis finem non alium esse quam ut homo ad gloriam Dei vivat. Argumentandi ratio eodem redibit si res a parte hominis consideretur. Hominem nempe tanquam creaturam ratione praeditam, quae a Deo originem vitamque traxit, semperque ab eo dependet, non alium quam Deum ipsum finem habere, neque ex alio fonte propriam salutem assequi aut haurire posse, immortalis ipsius ac rationalis postulat natura. Frustra enim conditus esset, vel saltem nulla ope suffultus, vitam degeret miserrimam, nisi ad Deum, ad summi boni vitaeque beatae scaturiginem pateat aditus. Quis ergo religionis finis, nisi ut homo supra mundum, supraque se ipsum attolatur; ut Deum optimum maximum non litera, non externa specie sola, sed spiritu, totoque suo corde colat; illum contempletur, illum amplectatur, totus ejus amore accendatur; ac denique amorem hunc, qui verae

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religionis anima ac vita est, per obsequium omni Dei voluntati praestitum, probet, confirmet, augeatque; et tandem feliciter ad beatae communionis cum Deo fruitionem perducatur?

Quodcunque itaque pro vera religione venditatur, quod revera ex hac proxima RELATIONE Deum inter et hominem non probe fluit; quod huic primario FUNDAMENTO, nimirum dependentiae hominis a Deo, non rite superstructum; vel quod denique summo huic FINI, nempe gloriae Dei et saluti nostrae non respondet; id veram religionem et cultum Deo decorum hominique salutare, nullo pacto constituere potest; id religionis nomine indignum; id falsum est ac merus error, idolatria aut superstitio.

QUONIAM autem vera religio primo intellectus dein quoque voluntatis objectum est, sponte sequitur principium quoddam ad intellectum pertinens dari debere unde illa derivari possit. Duplex autem cognoscendi datur principium, alterum NATURALE, quod natura ipsa innotescit omnibusque hominibus est commune; alterum REVELATUM, quod speciali ac supernaturali voluntatis divinae manifestatione nititur; hinc quoque duplex Theologia, altera naturalis, quae illi, altera revelata, quae huic innititur principio.

Religionis naturalis fundamentum est creatio et providentia ac hominis quae inde fluit dependentia a Deo ceu a creatore et conservatore suo: hanc religionem cognoscendi principium est ratio humana. Religionis revelatae fundamen est redemptio, ac inde nata peccatoris dependentia a Deo tanquam Salvatore suo: hujus iterum cognoscendæ principium est sola revelatio divina. Aliud itaque est fundamentum religionis naturalis, ad quam homo qua homo obligatus est; aliud revelatae, ad quam qua peccator obstrictus: aliud etiam prioris cognoscendae principium, aliud posterioris.

Ex diversa hominis ad Deum relatione religionis oritur diversitas. Aliam enim esse hominis integri relationem atque statum, aliam peccatoris, quis non videt? Homo integer creatoris imagine adornatus, sapientia et sanctitate praeditus, obedientiam legibus divinis absolutam feliciter praestare potuit, et inde vitam aeternam obtinere debuit. Homo autem peccator his dotibus orbatus, criminisque simul capitalis reus, legi sanctae ac spirituali amplius obedire nequit, vitamque beatam, per hocce medium, nunquam ei attingere licet.

Homo certe, AUDITORES, si nunquam peccasset, vitam aeternam, id est, perfectissimam Dei fruitionem post absolutum obedientiae

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curriculum aeterne durituram indubitato obtinuisset ac rite possedisset. Deo etenim congruum est, ut creaturae sanctae quamdiu talis manet, pro ratione status istius, se communicet et fruendum praebeat. Nemo sane concipere potest Deum homini injungere, ut eum supra omnia amet, eum pro summo suo bono habeat, in eum desiderii ac fruitionis summum caput collocet, et tamen ea lege, ut haec omnia tandem frustra sint, ac homo Deum nunquam inveniat, votique sui minime compos evadat.

Obedientia legibus divinis perfecta omnibusque partibus absoluta, nexu inviolabili cum vita beata semper ac necessario conjungitur. Postquam vero Dei praecepta homo violaverat, tota mutata est ejus condito, novus hominis ortus est status, novaque Deum inter et hominem intercessit relatio. Ex hac nova relatione, nova hominis erga Deum nata est obligatio et inde nova religio.* Si ergo beatus aditus ad Deum peccatori unquam concedi potest, is per novam, is per religionem a religione naturali diversam, alioque fundamento superstructam, et ex alio principio elicitam ut sit necesse est.

Ex his igitur diversis relationibus ultro, AUDITORES, constat, alium modum esse salvandi hominem nondum lapsum, alium vero hominem peccatorem; aliud propterea dari fundamentum religionis hominis integri, ut et cognoscendi principium, aliud hominis peccatoris.

Hae duae religiones in homine quatenus est creatura ratione praedita, et simul quatenus peccator, recte concurrere possunt. Religio revelata eos tantum obligat quibus revelatio contingit. Religio naturalis quae ex ipsa natura oritur et in mutua relatione Deum inter et hominem fundata est, ad omnes omnino homines (variis quidem gradibus quoad cognitionem, eodem vero quoad obligationem primariam) sese extendit, eosque semper ad obedientiam obligat; etiamsi nunc, deperditis per abusum libertatis viribus, praecepta illius religionis servare non amplius possunt. Religio revelata religionem naturalem tanquam homini propriam amplectitur, multaque nova ad salutem peccatoris omnino necessaria patefacit: unde vera peccatoris religio utramque religionem,

* Non quod religio Christiana nova sit religio sensu Sociniano, sed tantum comparate religioni naturali. Prima enim omnium promissio gratiae, eaque foecundissima, continetur in verbo quod Protoplasti mox post lapsum audiverunt, de SEMINE MULIERIS caput serpentis contrituro, quae continet aeterni testamenti apertionem, et propositi gratiae de salute declarationem plenissimam. *Non igitur est cogitandum cum Crellio nos in nova religione vivere:* uti bene observavit cell—Cocceius, Oper., tom. IV., Gal. 6–42.

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et naturalem et revelatam necessario includit. Harum veritatum generalium si clarior inter nos obtineret cognitio, haec religionis diversa si magis expresse inculcarentur principia, non tot difficultates, tot dubia, tot Deistarum objectiones circa religionem nata fuissent.

CUM autem religio naturalis columnarum una est quibus religio christiana innititur, pauca accuratius, tum de ejus INDOLE ac COGNOSCENDI PRINCIPIO, tum speciatim de ejusdem DEFECTIBUS ad salutem peccatoris acquirendam explananda sunt, priusquam de revelatione initium dicendi faciam.

Religio naturalis ex jam dictis facile definitur, per obligationem hominis actiones suas dirigendi ad voluntatem Dei tanquam creatoris ac gubernatoris spectati. Deo optimo maximo jus summum competere in omnes creaturas suas, et speciali aliqua ratione in creaturas ratione praeditas, certissima consequentia atque sua luce patet. Jus autem illud non solum in creatione, sed et in omnibus perfectionibus divinis recte fundatur. Si enim Deus est primus, summus et optimus, ut creaturae omnes, omni modo, a primo, summo et optimo illo Deo dependeant necesse est. Hoc enim ad universam creaturarum naturam pertinet. Quo igitur plures entitatis gradus in creatura aliqua sunt, eo etiam plures dependentiae gradus a summo ente in ea ponendi. In creatura rationali praeter entitatem metaphysicam physicamque, quam cum reliquis creaturis communem habet, perfectior quidem entitatis gradus est, nempe quod ratione sit praedita. Dependet ergo homo qua ens a Deo ut a summo Ente et Creatore; et qua creatura rationalis a Deo uti a summa Ratione et Domino. Unde providentiae physicae tanquam creatura, et providentiae morali tanquam ens ratione praeditum, homo ut subjectus sit, oportet.* Haec autem dependentia cultus divini est fundamen primarium, et obligatio ex hoc principio nata vocatur religio naturalis.

Religionis naturalis scientia theologia dicitur naturalis, et definiri potest, eam esse Dei ejusque perfectionum ac operum, ut et officiorum nostrorum inde profluentium cognitionem, quae ex solo rationis auspicio, absque ullo revelationis divinae auxilio, attingitur.† Ratio humana theologiam naturalem cognoscendi unicum

* Vid. Witsius, Oeconom. Foed. lib. 1.

† Theologia differt a religione tanquam scientia ab objecto suo; cum tamen scientia haec quam maximo practica sit oportot, nihil communi acceptatione inter se differunt. Unde Cel. Wyttenbach de hac distinctione sic se habet. "Theologia versatur vel circa credenda de Deo, vel circa agenda erga eum, adeoque docet tum Deum cognos-

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est principium;* duplici tamen fundamento argumenta quibus utitur ratio in hoc negotio, nituntur. Alterum internum in homine ipso; externum alterum in aliis creaturis positum. Prior Theologia innata appellari solet; posterior adquisita audit.

Questionem de idea innata, quae Deum infinitum ita representat, ut ex ideae contemplatione, absque ullo ratiocinio, mens humana directe perspiciat, et esse Deum, et summe eum perfectum esse; uti et plura de argumento pro existentia Dei ex illa idea elicito, missa nunc faciamus. † Sufficit A. A. nos facile concedere, talem innatam, eamque positivam ac claram Dei in mente humana

cere, tum etiam eum colere. Quae de Deo credenda ac erga eum agenda sunt, etiam indagitantur voce religionis, quae hic definitur quod sit recta Deum cognoscendi eumque colendi ratio: religio itaque proprie non differt a theologia." Tentam. Theol. Dogm. proleg. 4: 19, 20.

* *Ratio* aliquando *causam* designat. Sic nos non possemus existere, nec res aliae extra nos, nisi aliquid esset, unde posset intelligi, cur potius existimus quam non, et res aliae potius existant quam non, quod appellatur *ratio;* unde dicitur *nil existit sine ratione.*

Ratio actionum vocatur *motivum.* Hoc sensu *ratio objectiva* cur aliquid appetatur, illa dicitur, quae desumitur ab objecto; ubi quis agit vel elegit aliquid propter objectum seu representationem ipsius ut boni. *Ratio subjectiva* illa dicitur quae desumitur a subjecto agente qua quis agit aut elegit, nulla habita ratione objecti, qua stat pro ratione voluntas. Hic vocabuli usus in questione, *cur Deus hunc mundum creare decreverit*, &c., magni est momenti.

Ratio autem saepissime sumitur, tanquam solum respectum habens ad intellectum entis intelligentis, vel ad veritates facultati huic propositas; quando eodem modo *objectiva* et *subjectiva* audit. De ultimis his, accurate et concise, pro more suo disseruit acutissimus BUURTIUS, apud Amstelodamenses nuper Antistes celleberrimus, nobisque dum vixit amicissimus ac carissimus.——Wy moeten hier een weinig opheldren, wat wy door de *Reden* verstaan. Zomtyds wordt dat woord *voorwerpelyk* genomen, en betekent *den Schakel van alle waarheden.* Zomtyds komt het *onderwerpelyk* voor, en geeft dan *de beschouwing van dien schakel* te kennen. God alleen heeft daar van ene volstrekte volmaackte kennis. De beschouwing der menschen is zeer bepaald: voor al als zy buiten 'tlicht der goddelyke openbaringe leven. Ook is zy door de zonden zeer bedorven: doch wy zullenze zo beschryven, als zy ze behoorden te gebrucken; en verstaan dan hier door *des menschen reden, onderwerpelyk* genomen, *het vermogen, dat hy heeft, om buiten goddelyke openbaring, een gedeelte van den Schakel der waarheden te beschouwen.* Zegt men dan, dat de natuurlyke Godgeleerdheid uit de reden word afgeleidt; het geest te kennen, dat zy geleerd wordt door de beschouwing van die waarheden, die men zonder goddelyke openbaringe weten kan.

Beschouwende Godgeleerdheid door A. Burt. Tweede Verhand. § 14.

† Argumentum a priori pro existentia Dei ab innata entis perfectissimi idea elicitum, sic se habet. "Mens possidet ideam entis summe perfecti; perfectius autem est existere quam non existere; necessario existere quam contingenter existere; necessaria ergo existentia continetur in idea entis summe perfecti; ergo illud ens necessario existit."

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ideam, non dari; nihilominus tamen, theologia quae merito innata dici possit, omnino datur; est enim ea summi numinis cultusque ejus agnitio, quae ex innata mentis facultate, et universali conscientiae dictamine, una cum rationis usu, sponte fluit. Hanc Dei agnitionem in omnium animis ipsa dictavit ratio, impressit natura ipsa. Quae est enim, ut Ciceronis verbis loquar, quae est gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat sine doctrina anticipationem quandam Deorum? Anteceptam nempe animo rei quandam informationem, sine qua nec intelligi quidquam, nec quaeri, nec disputari possit? Cum enim non instituto aliquo, aut more, aut lege sit opinio constitua, maneatque ad unum omnium firma consensio; intelligi necesse est, esse Deos, quoniam insitas eorum vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus.*

Sed, quod probe observandum; cognitio haec, licet sine argumentatione ab aliis creaturis orta est, tamen non prorsus absque ullo ratiocinio aut argumentatione existit. Homo enim existentiae suae conscius, si solummodo ad se ipsum adtendat, nulla aliarum rerum ratione habita, ex propriae existentiae et dependentiae suae conscientia, confestim deprehendit, et cum brevissima argumentatione statim concludit: certo certius et necessario dari aliquod Ens supremum. Scientia ex hac fonte et tali modo elicita THEOLOGIA INNATA nominatur.

Nimirum est ratio nobis innata perinde
Ut sunt innati sensus. Non fecimus ipsi
Aures atque Oculos quibus utimur; ut neque rerum
Objectas species; quas inter et organa sensus
Harmoniam posuit talem natura creatrix,
Ut, cum obversantur, sensus simul hauriat illas.
Non magis artifices propriae rationis haberi
Possumus, aut veri; quod cum ratione ligatur
Harmonia tali, nequeat se ut pandere verum,
Quin ratio confestim apprehendat et imbibat illud.†

Theologia naturalis ADQUISITA in eo differt ab innata, quod per argumentationem ex rerum creaturarum contemplatione conficitur, et fundata est potissimum hoc principio; *nihil potest esse aut fieri, sine causa vel ratione sufficiente.* Quicunque innumera omnis generis entia contemplatur, et quo modo illa oriantur, intereant, vel saltem continuis mutationibus obnoxia existant, facile concludit haec omnia aliquando initium sumpsisse, neque ante illud existisse. Cum autem nihil sine causa vel ratione sufficiente esse possit, sponte sequitur dari aliquam primam causam,

* De Nat. Deorum. lib. i. † Anti-Lucr. lib. IX.

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ab hoc mundo spectabili diversam, quae rationem illius existentiae in se contineat.

Auctorem ex ipso aspectu natura fatetur.

THEOLOGIA NATURALIS nos multas easque maximi momenti veritates docet. Sed si inquiratur quasnam homines ex ea theologia veritates discant? Necesse est ut distinguamus inter homines de quibus questio sit. Constat enim multo perfectiorem fuisse Dei ejusque voluntatis cognitionem in statu integritatis, quam post peccati introitum. Adamum sapientia et sanctitate praeditum, insignem habuisse theologiae naturalis notitiam, quae indies per experientiam augebatur, nemo, qui credit primum hominem imagine Dei fuisse ornatum, inficias ibit.

Theologiae Gentilium variae dantur species. Per plurimas mundi partes crassissima regnat ignorantia, et paganismus plerumque in turpissima foedissimaque idololatria consistit, quae ad certa rationis principia nunquam reduci potest. Philosophi sapientiores puriorem unius Dei et ejus cultus cognitionem professi sunt; et talia proferebant, ex quibus systema aliquod theologiae naturalis confici potest; inter eos prae coeteris celebris erat Plato, qui magnifica quaedam ac admiranda de Deo scripsit. Multi tamen eorum nil nisi conjecturas protulerunt; incerti plerumque ipsi, saepissime de rebus divinis dubitabant, ac dogmata quae cognoverunt, in nexu suo proponere et e principiis suis deducere non potuerint. Est enim in theologia, nihilominus quam in philosophia, admirabilis quaedam continuatio seriesque rerum, qua veritates omnes se invicem suffulciant, ut aliae ex aliis nexae, omnesque inter se aptae colligataeque exhibeantur.

Principia theologiae naturalis melius dignoscuntur ac ipsa religio naturalis purior existit, ubi religio Christiana cognita est, et homines revelationis lumine illustrati sunt. Hinc illa religionis naturalis systemata, quae inter Christianos componuntur, summis Dei perfectionibus longe digniora sunt, iis, quae sapientissimi etiam Gentilium de natura Deorum et officiis hominum unquam docuerunt. Ipsae veritates quae principiis rationis nituntur, clarius lumine revelationis videntur ac facilius inde demonstrantur, quam, luce hac negata, ullo pacto fieri potuisset. Hujus ope, ea, quae prius, aut non omnino, aut non nisi obscure viderentur, postea clare observare licet. Sic oculo armato objectum considerantes, nova varia in eo distinguere queamus; unde postea, nudo oculo idem contemplantes, ea, jam deprehensa, etiam aliquatenus discernere fortasse valet.

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Dolendum est magnopere A. A. homines beneficium hoc in libidinem transferentes, inter nos plus satis inveniri. Multi revelatione adjuti, varias in theologia naturali veritates rationi conformes et cum aliis veritatibus connexas vident, quas postea, seposita revelatione, absque ejus ope erui potuissent, absurde ac ingrate profitentur. Dicunt solo rationis ductu inveniri posse totam illam religionem, quae in S. litteris traditur, aut saltem quod in ea praecipuum est. Nihil dictu facilius est illis qui jam cognoscunt religionem istam. Nec illud dicendum fuisset, si per totam vitam de religione hac nihil audivissent. Nunc mihi similes videntur iis, qui, postquam a praeceptoribus, quidquid sciunt, didicerunt, videri tamen volunt *Autodidactoi;* aut, cum de praeclaris inventis audiunt, putant se haec omnia, nisi jam inventa essent ipsos fuisse inventuros. Quod si cognoscere velimus, quid possit ratio hominis in invenianda religione; non nostram rationem consulere debemus, quos verbum Dei in viam deduxit, quos in eadem dirigit, sed rationem illorum quibus hoc verbum est ignotum. Hic vero quae monstra pariet sibi relicta ratio, testantur omnium Gentilium exempla; inter quos fuere plurimi, qui non minus ratione valuerunt ac rationales nostri. Dicam verbo, religio mere rationalis, qualis in mundo reperitur, est religio Gentilium: religio Deistarum est religio illorum, qui, postquam ex sacris litteris omnia depromserunt quae placent, dicunt se ea ratiocinando invenisse.*

Sceptici, qui et a praecipuo sectae suae promacho Pyrrhonii vocantur, rationem humanam ita debilem esse perhibent, ut vexata semper dubiis, quae ipsa sibi nectat, tum de aliis rebus, tum speciatim de Deo ejusque voluntate et cultu satisfacere non possit. Hi theologiam naturalem pro vaga ac valde incerta habent, et hinc de religione, uti et de omnibus ab intellectu humano investigatis, maxime dubitandum esse pronunciant.†

* Vide acutiss. Werenfelsii de Praestant. Rel. Rev., Diss. iii.

† The ancient *scevticism* consisted in doubting of every thing, in affirming nothing at all, and in keeping the judgment in suspense on everything. The origin of scepticism is somewhat obscure. Pyrrho, who lived under Alexander the Great and made the tour of India in his retinue, is usually reputed the author; whence Pyrrhonians and sceptics are ordinarily used indifferently. However, the great dogma of the sceptics had been countenanced, and even cultivated, before Pyrrho, by Democritus, Heraclitus, etc. Vid. *Chambers's Dict. Art. Scepticism and Acatalepsia.*

Many philosophers have been infidels, few men of sentiment. This holds equally true of our sceptics in philosophy and infidels in religion; and it holds true of both for the same reason. What true religion and true philosophy dictate of God and Providence and man is so charming, so consonant with all the finer and nobler feelings in human

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SOCINIANI, rationem in aliis licet tantopere extollentes, tamen in hoc, quod mirum est, eam maximopere deprimunt; adeo ut non dari theologiam naturalem, verum omnem de Deo cognitionem unice derivandam esse, vel ex revelatione vel ex majorum traditione statuunt.

Verum enim vero etsi ratio difficultates saepenumero sibi maximas formet, tum in aliis disciplinis, tum in theologia naturali; multaeque res sint nequaquam satis adhuc explicatae: tamen nullus reperietur homo mentis compos, qui multis veritatibus non lubens adsentietur, et istis plene totoque animo suffragabitur. Quicunque enim principia clara ac indubitata sequendo recte procedat, non potest non experiendo cognoscere et perspicere ipsam rationem, innata sua vi ac potestate, validissimas formare posse conclusiones; sibique de pluribus rebus, absque ulla haesitatione, plene satisfacere.

Quod ad Socinianorum sententiam attinet; licet de fonte cognitionis inter Gentiles, aut de prima traditionis origine et progressu, aut denique de commercio philosophorum antiquorum cum Judeis, non facile est nobis certo dicere; nihilominus cum cognitio de summi numinis existentia, ex rerum naturalium contemplatione, in se prorsus possibilis sit; Gentiles cognitionem hanc per propriam intellectus vim ac usum acquivisse, et inde theologiam quandam vere naturalem habuisse, inferre nobis licet. Hoc certe constat, celeberrimos Gentilium philosophos in rebus divinis tractandis multum occupatos fuisse; et, testantibus ipsis, ex nullo alio hauriebant fonte, quidquid de Deo ejusque providentia differebant, quam ex sola naturae contemplatione; atque inde est, quod illorum doctrina recte appelletur THEOLOGIA PHUSIKE.*

Si autem ad propriam experientiam, AUDITORES, hac in re provocemus. Nonne abunde liquet, notitiam aliquam de Deo et de virtutibus ejus, ex argumentis e ratione deductis, nobis esse

nature, that every man of taste who hears of it must admit it to be true, and I never yet heard of one person of candour, who wished to find the evidence of the Gospel satisfactory, and did not find it so. Dull imaginations and hard hearts can bear the thoughts of endless confusion, etc. The modern sceptical philosophy is as corrupt a body of science as ever appeared in the world.—Vide *Dr. Beattie's Essay on Truth*, part iii, ch. ii.

* Scriptores enim Gentilium varias de Deo rebusque divinis habuisse dissertationes, vel ex celebri illa tritaque Theologiae distinctione in *Muthiken*, *Phusiken et Politiken* colligere licet. Nec est quod quis miretur, ipsos triplex constituisse Theologiae genus, siquidem Deorum rationes in Theatris, Scholis, et in Urbe, a Poetis, Philosophis et Legumlatoribus exponi observaverint.

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claram ac maxime conspicuam? Nonne experimur intellectum nostrum has veritates, ex principiis omni exceptione majoribus, firmiter discernere, ac de illarum certitudine summa cum confidentia judicare? Adeo certe se undiquaque conspicuum fecit Deus, adeo et in omnibus rebus sese pinxit, et existentiae ejus argumenta in nostro praesertim animo impressit et expressit, ut multa de summo numine, ex rationis dictatis, meditari, eloqui, scribere, profecto possimus. Facile attamen concedamus theologiam naturalem, totamque de Deo officiisque nostris cognitionem, quae alias per propriam intellectus vim ac ipsam animae naturam nobis possibilis est, saepissime per negligentiam et pravas affectiones, multum suffocari posse, ut ipso actu non adsit, licet adesse omnino posset.

Pracipua theologiae naturalis dogmata, imo primaria omnis religionis salutaris capita, hisce quinque articulis, a quibusdam complectuntur: nempe, Deum esse; Eum esse colendum; Virtutem et pietatem veram cultus divini esse rationem; A peccatis esse resipiscendum; Et dari praemium bene, et paenam male viventibus post hanc vitam. Ex sententia veterum philosophorum, ea omnia ad haec duo, ut in compendium, potissimum redigere possunt. Videlicet EXISTENTIAE DEI indesinentem rerum humanarum curam agentis cognitionem; Et ANIMAE IMMORTALITATIS firmam persuasionem. His duobus capitibus tanquam basi superstruitur theologia naturalis, alioquin ruitura funditus.* De *priori*, dixit Cicero, *nullam esse religionem, si nullam rerum humanarum procurationem habeant Dii;* et *primus est Deorum cultus, Deos credere; deinde reddere illis majestatem suam*, ait Seneca. De *posteriori*, inter innumera documenta alia, ipse Lucretius, Patriarcha Epicuriorum, vi veritatis coactus haec effudit.

* His assensum praebet doctiss. Stillingfleet. The foundations of all religion lie in two things: that there is a God who rules the world, and that the souls of men are capable of subsisting after death. So that if these things be not supposed as most agreeable to human reason, we cannot imagine upon what grounds mankind should embrace any way of religion at all; for if there be not a God whom I am to serve and obey, and if I have not a soul of an immortal nature, there can be no sufficient obligation to religion, nor motive inducing to it; for all obligation to obedience must suppose the existence of such a Being which hath power to command me; and by reason of the promiscuous scatterings of good and evil in this life, the motives engaging men to the practice of religion, must suppose the certainty of a future state.—Origines Sacrae, book iii., chap. i.

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Denique coelesti sumus omnes semine oriundi;
Omnibus illo idem Pater est.

Cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante,
In terras; et quod missum 'st ex aetheris oris,
Id rursum coeli relatum templa receptant:
Nec sic interimit mors res ut materiai
Corpora conficiat. Lib. ii., 990, &c.

Tandem (cum finem hujus partis desiderem, et omnia si fusius pertractare vellem, non jam oratio sed integer conscribendus esset liber), veritates circa quas theologia naturalis versatur, respectum habent ad summi numinis existentiam, infinitas ejus perfectiones, uti et opera creationis et providentiae. Per hanc enim constat non solum Deum esse, sed ipsi competere sapientiam, potentiam, bonitatem et justitiam; quapropter ei spiritualem naturam attribuendam esse, quae nec dependens sit, nec initium habuerit, adeoque existere nunquam desinat. Docet porro Deum omnium rerum, quas contingenter existere observamus, non tantum conditorem esse, atque ab eo totum hoc universum et conservari et gubernari; verum etiam horum omnium eum esse finem, ut agnoscatur ipse et glorificetur a creaturis ratione praeditis; quae proinde, utpote ab ipso prorsus dependentes, Dei legem observare et summa cura exsequi teneantur. Hinc praecipua etiam officia *pietatis* erga Deum, *justitiae* erga proximos, et *temperantiae* quoad nosmetipsos monstrat haec theologia. Hujus quoque ope Gentiles propriam miseriam quodammodo cognoscunt; cum ipsos legi divinae prout illa hominibus manifestata est non conformes esse, facile ex naturali conscientia convinci possunt; et doctrina de praemiis et poenis etiam post hanc vitam expectendis, ex justitiae divinae idea sponte ipsis fluit. Caetera vero, quae Mediatorem spectant, atque ea omnia quae peccatoris reditum ad Dei communionem ac fruitionem perhibent, salva utraque infinita numinis perfectione, justitia nempe et misericordia, Theologia naturalis prorsus ignorat; uti ex iis quae mox dicenda sunt abunde apparebit.

Sed questio maximi momenti hic nobis oritur. Num nempe religio naturalis ad salutem peccatoris consequendam, tanquam omnibus partibus sufficiens spectanda sit accipiendaque? vel, ut idem, Auditores, aliis quidem magisque perspicuis verbis exprimam; non hic de religionis naturalis praestantia in se spectatae, nobis instituitur disputatio; sed interrogatur, utrum homo peccator, ex solo rationis usu, absque ullo revelationis divinae bene-

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ficio, peccatorum remissionem et jus ad vitam aeternam investigare et obtinere queat?'

Sunt multi, proh dolor! et in nostro orbe Americano eorum numerus mirum in modum augescit: sunt multi qui omnem plane religionem revelatam rejiciunt; strenue perhibentes, hominem secundum solum rationis dictamen vitam degentem, beatam immortalitatem certo consequi posse. Sunt alii qui triplicem dari ad salutem viam opinibantur, per naturam nempe, per legem Mosaicam, et per evangelium. Sunt etiam qui statuunt, homines secundum lumen naturae, tanquam interius quoddam Dei verbum vitam instituentes, Deo posse placare et remuneratorem ipsum experiri. Denique sunt alii, qui aliqua ex parte revelationem admittunt, sed tamen theologiam naturalem sufficientem esse ad consequendam salutem contendunt; existimantes perinde esse, quam quis amplectatur religionem; sive Christianam, sive Judaicam, sive Muhammedanam, sive Ethnicam. Vel ut certus quidem auctor suam suique gregis sententiam exposuit; "Colo Deum talem qualem Princeps vel Respublica me jubet. Si Turca Alcoranum, si Judaeus Vetus Testamentum, si Christianus Novum Testamentum veneror pro religionis meae lege et norma. Papa si imperans, Deum credo transubstantiatum. Si Lutherus, Deus mihi in, cum, et sub pane circumvallatus. Si Calvinus, signum pro Deo sumo. Sicque cujus regio in qua vivo, ejus me regit opinio, et qualis illius regionis Deus fictus, theologicus, vel politicus, talis et ille mihi placet, et placere debet."* Sic ratiocinantur quoque hodierni nostri, Deistae dicam an Libertini? et ex infaustis principiis seipsos, et, metuendum, quid? quod dolendum! multos incautos juvenes, tali doctrinae nimium faciles, ad indifferentismum et fere atheismum practicum deducunt. At quis non facile viderit, hosce homunciones parum intelligere, quid vere sit religio, et minus curare num ulla vera Dei cognitio, cultus vel honos inter homines inveniatur nec ne? perinde enim, ea opinione praediti dicunt, perinde num Deus optimus, vitae auctor omniumque conservator ac Dominus, recte cognoscatur et colatur. Nihil interest utrum veritatem an mendacium sequamur! Praestantissimi profecto rerum divinarum aestimatores! Liberi nimium laxatissimique indissolutae veritatis contemplatores! Quam obtenebrati corde, quam vani in ratiociniis vestris! Videamini vobis sapientes, magis magisque stultescite! Qui

* Theod. Ludovicus Lau, cit. Stapfer Theol. Pol., vol. iii.

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semel a veritate deflexerant, et in deviis itineribus tenebricosisque errabant, hi nihil non offenderunt, incurrerunt multifariam. Secum ipsi pugnant mirabiliter. Atque me deficiat dies, si, quae contraria in eorum scriptis concurrunt, coner expromere. Vel ex recentissimis Bolingbrokii Humiique operibus quam multa possunt proferri pugnantia! Quorum alter, ut plurima minoris momenti transeam, et indubia solum adferam, bonitatem Dei justitiamque ponit, aperteque oppugnat: ejus providentiam contra atheos theologosque, quos pulchre copulat, defendere instituit et tollit: remunerationes et poenas negat futuras, et contendit libros antiqui foederis non profectos a Deo esse, quod eas non doceant: frequenterque indicat necessariam esse patefactionem divinam, quam refutat acerrime. Ea, quae alter disserit de causa et effectu, de experientia humana, deque miraculis, qui considerat et inter se comparat, manifesto deprehendit philosophum maxime disjuncta scribentem atque contraria. Qui idem in fundamenta doctrinae moralis inquirens, evangelica quaedam praecepta sugillavit, aliisque in locis officia, quae praescribunt, mutatis nominibus approbavit.*

Verum ut ad questionem unde haec infelicium stultitia et eorum malesana contra religionem inimicitia nos deduxit revertamur.

Religionem naturalem concedimus ita perfectam esse, ut ipsi nihil plane desit quod ad ipsius naturam et essentiam pertinet; eamque talia praescribere praecepta, quae ex ipsa Dei hominumque natura fluunt. Concessimus porro eam nullo modo mutare posse, neque obligationem et praecepta inde deducta minime tollere, sed omnia ejus officia sarta tecta manere, adeoque illam immutabilem esse. Lubenter denique agnoscimus, insignem usum religionem naturalem habere, in acquirenda Dei officiorumque nostrum qualicumque cognitione; in constituendis porro conservandisque hominum societatibus, dum suppeditet principia atque motiva urbanitatis, aliarumque virtutum; ausam praeterea praebet convictioni peccatorum uberiori; et quod praecipue hic adnotandum, viam sternit agnoscendi religionis revelatae necessitatem et indolem. Est itaque religio naturalis rite intellecta recteque tractata, magni sane momenti atque utilitatis. His vero non obstantibus, eam ad salutem consequendam non esse sufficientem plane statuimus. Adsertum hoc si contra Gentiles probandum sit, ita generatim argumentari licet. Ingentia nempe et

* Vide Cel. Ægid. Gillissen, Orat. de Deistis.

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innumera esse hominum crimina in confesso est. Neminemque dari qui legi naturae non transgressit. Deum vero iis offendi, nec pati ejus justitiam ut impietas inulta maneat: quin et indicia irae divinae quotidie observari posse; quemadmodum et ipsi Gentiles in publico suo numinis cultu, Deum humano generi iratum esse plane agnoscunt. Hinc itaque sequi, vel ipsis fatentibus, reconciliatione quadam opus esse. Eum vero in finem inutilia esse sacrificia atque instituta eorum solemnia, utpote Deo indigna. Neque unquam ab ipso Deo ejusmodi religionem fuisse approbatam. Nulla quoque dari inter Gentiles promissa divinitus facta quibus animus miseri peccatoris in spem beatae immortalitatis erigeretur, ac proinde nihil certi locum habere in eorum religione, nec quidquam lumen naturae conferre ad verum mortalium solatium.

Caeterum plenior hujus propositionis demonstratio his principiis nititur. 1. *Omnes homines peccatis esse obnoxios, universalis testatur experientia.* Neminem enim existere inter mortales qui vere affirmare posset, se in omnibus exactissime religionis naturalis officia praestitisse, abunde liquet. 2. *Satisfactio justitiae divinae pro peccatis absolute est necessaria ac indispensabilis.* Exercitium justitiae omnino esse necessarium, et pro lubitu nunquam dispensari posse, ex *sapientia*, *sanctitate* et ipsa Dei *misericordia* demonstrari potest. His enim virtutibus, nexus inter malum morale et malum physicum, id est, inter peccatum et poenam, constitutus est. Quin et justitia punitiva rationem sufficientem habet in omnibus Dei perfectionibus. Ex hac Dei justitia, SATISFACTIONIS necessitas per se patet. Per legis enim violationem, maximus in rerum harmonia et serie oritur dissensus, et ordinis divinitus constituti perfectio disturbatur. Deus ut Ens perfectissimum, dissensum illum per peccatum introductum ut compenset necesse est. Dissensus hic compensatur et justitiae divinae satisfactio sit, cum Deus dominium ac jus suum summum, legesque sanctas vindicat in peccatorum punitione, vel, cum loco peccatoris, alia equivalens compensatio substituitur. 3. *Peccator ipse hanc satisfactionem praestare nequit, sed alieno liberationis medio indiget.* Hoc, ex finita hominis natura; ex statu peccatoris imperfecto; ac denique ex infinito peccati malo, facile demonstrari potest. Ex his principiis (quae tantum indicare possum), religionis naturalis ad hominem peccatorem salvum faciendum defectus ac insufficientia clarissime liquet.

Cum vero alii, qui Vetus ac Novum Testamentum tanquam revelationem divinam admittunt, tamen religionem naturalem ad

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salutem consequendam sufficientem esse contendunt; propositio nostra, argumentis ex sacris scripturis desumptis, adserenda est adversus illos. Ex plurimis autem scripturae locis clare patet in promptuque est omnibus; *Gentiles verum Deum ignorasse.* Licet eos de unico ac supremo numine quoad ejus existentiam, attributa et opera qualicunque cogitasse conceditur, non tamen scire potuerunt, quis sit verus Deus, qualemque se praestare velit misero sed ipsum quaerenti homini; utrumque autem necessarium esse in dubium vocari nequit. Insuper verus Deus triunus est, et *Trinitatis agnitio*, secundum sacram scripturam, ad salutem consequendam prorsus est necessaria. Sed Gentiles errant in conceptu de subsistentia summi numinis, et lumen naturae Trinitatis mysterium prorsus ignorat. *Mediatoris porro cognitio* ad eum finem omnino requiritur. At Gentiles nullam mediatoris cognitionem habent. Praeterea si Gentiles ope theologiae naturalis ad salutem pervenire possent, sequeretur etiamnum dari justificationem ex operibus. Hanc vero non obtinere, *neminemque mortalium propria justitia coram Deo justum constitui* ex sacra scriptura plene constat. Tandem si salus ope theologiae naturalis obtineri possit, non profecto opus fuisset evangelio ejusque praeconio. Sine ulla tum necessitate Deus Filium suum in mundum misit, atque ejusmodi instituit religionem, quae, si praecipua ejus dogmata respiciamus, immane quantum discrepat ab ea, quae inter Gentiles locum habet. Qui revelationem ergo admittunt, auctoritatemque sacrae scripturae agnoscunt, sufficientem esse religionem naturalem ad salutem consequendam, juste contendere non possunt.

CONCLUDIMUS itaque A. A. religionem naturalem, in se, omnino esse veram atque divinam, semperque obligantem, quippe a Deo ortam et in relatione hominis ad Deum immutabili fundatam; imo, si integer sine ullo peccato mansisset homo, omnibus ad salutem obtinendam perpetuoque fruendam sufficientem. At si interrogatur, num ea peccatori, homini lapso legique divinae inobsequenti ad salutem sufficiat? Hoc est quod sane absque ulla haesitatione denegamus.

Sufficiens nempe dicitur id, quod omnia et singula requisita ad rem qualemcunque efficiendam potiundamque comprehendit; quo posito, nihil amplius ad rei existentiam obtinendam requiritur. Jam vero omnia et singula requisita ad salutem peccatoris procurandam potiundamve in religione naturali non reperiuntur. Sapienti et optimo creatori visum sine dubio fuit, hominem talem initio condere, talibusque dotibus locupletari, quae ad veritates

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religionis naturalis investigandas, et officia inde profluentia praestanda omnino pertinerent sufficirentque. Ratio humana proinde ante peccatum rebus omnibus homini ad salutem in religione necessariis adequata fuit. Lex nihil supra vires praestandum, divina constitutio nil supra intellectum investigandum homini integro proposuit. Quamdiu igitur homo non peccaverit, ipsissimam ejus rationem innatamque vim vividam mentis, modulum et exemplar omnium veritatum et officiorum fuisse libenter concedimus. At non de homine integro, sed de peccatore; non de continuanda sancti hominis felicitate sed de peccatorum remissione, imaginisque divinae restitutione, nunc nobis est questio. A statu hominis primitus constituto, ad presentem peccatoris statum destitutum et pravum argumentari non licet. Quod enim in primo statu sufficiens fuit, de ultimo praedicari nullo pacto potest.

Posito et enim hominis peccato, cum longissimo ejus malorum agmine; quaestio non erit an Deus per infinitum suum amorem benignissimamque misericordiam, vel absolutam suam potentiam peccata remittere queat? Non enim ex his solis attributis misericordiae, amoris, et potentiae, sed et providentiae moralis, sanctitatis, justitiae, sapientiae, et aliis omnibus, quae sunt Deo digna, controversiae hujus explicatio arcessenda est. Salutem quidem non plane impossibilem esse, imo ex innumeris bonitatis divinae in communi providentia vestigiis, probabilem, nos lumine naturae conjecturari fortasse possumus. Sed medium quo hanc salutem consequamur, et modum quo peccator, salvis omnibus virtutibus divinis, ad sanctam Dei communionem readmitti, et peccatorum reatu ac labe semotis, ad priorem perfectionem restaurari poterit; nemo a priori usquam invenerit, nisi cui tota divinitatis plenitudo, omniaque ejus attributa, et singulorum inter se relatio comperta sunt*. Cum autem neque intellectus humanus, neque ulla alia

* But so it is, that reason, not enlightened by Divine revelation, can never satisfy any man in this case. Can the light of nature, without revelation, give any rational satisfaction to these or the like questions? If considering the greatness of sin, the justice, wisdom and holiness of God, and the honor of his government, is it consistent to pardon any sin? If it be, whether he will pardon all, many or few sins? What sins or what degrees of sins will God forgive? If he will pardon without a reparation to the honor of His laws, and without suitable satisfaction to his infinitely offended justice? If he requires reparation and satisfaction, what is it, and by whom is to be performed? How obtain we a right to this satisfaction? If he pardon, will he remit all punishment due to sin, or how much? How shall we know that our sins in particular are pardoned? Will he merely pardon, or will he over and above readmit to grace, and to as entire favor as before man sinned? Will he not only pardon

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mens finita haec pervadere, aut ratiocinando assequi valeat, nulla plane misero peccatori salutis spes relinquitur nisi penes solum Deum, cui nihil arduum est, nihil impossibile.

Res has latentes dum sequor anxius,
Et pertinacis viribus ingeni
Pugno, profundum se chaos ingerit,
Et nocte mentis lumen adobruit.
Labore tandem fessus inutili
Ad te recurro, rex bone coelitum.

Quid? si homo cognoscere poterat, Deum si velit, gratiam dari posse; tamen actu, num dare; vel ullam justitiae suae satisfactionem, sive vicariam, sive ab ipso peccatore praestandam accipere velit? Non ex principiis rationis, aliisve philosophiae documentis, sed solummodo ex singulari Dei revelatione seu divinae voluntatis speciali manifestatione constare potest.

Perfecta igitur et in omnibus partibus absoluta, licet in se sit religio naturalis; sufficiens etiam ad vitam beatam homini nondum lapso perpetuandam: impotentem prorsusque insufficientem eam esse concludimus, vel ad modum remissionis peccatorum investigandum, vel ad pacem conscientiae restituendam, aut denique ad principium purae sanctitatis solidum et efficax stabiliendum. Horum omnium ne modum quidem intellectus ipse suopte nutu novit; et ad praestandum quidquid eorum, cum cognita sint, nullae plane peccatori supersunt vires.

Alterius hinc religionis necessitas, et altera scaturigine haustae, et quae altero principio ac fundamento nititur, abunde liquet: religionis nempe, ubi haud vitiata et imperfecta PECCATORIS obedientia tanquam vitae aeternae conditio constituatur; sed ubi talis quaerendus sit MEDIATOR et REDEMTOR, qualem ratio humana meditando investigare vel opinando suspicari nunquam potuisset.

but also reward the sinner's imperfect obedience? The revelation of the Word of God in the Gospel will furnish us with a rational answer to all these questions, but the mere light of nature can never resolve them. They are not only above the reach of natural reason, but it belongs not to man to decide them. The offence is committed against God; he alone understands what the contempt of his authority, the disorder brought into his government by sin, and the disobedience of his creatures amounts to. He alone is judge what is proper to be done in this case; at his tribunal it is to be tried: man is too ignorant, too guilty and too partial in his own favor to be allowed to judge. The light of nature does nowhere afford us the decision of God in this matter.

Miller's History of the Propagation of Christianity. Chap. I.

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POSTQUAM de universali religionis inter homines professione, et speciatim de religionis naturalis principiis ac defectibus, quantum instituti nostri ratio requirit, locuti sumus; de religione revelata ut accuratius paullo agamus, tempus hic locusque flagitant; ad eam itaque nostra nunc sese vertat oratio. Atque hoc quidem ordine, ut primo de REVELATIONE loquamur; tum in SACRAM SCRIPTURAM inquiramus; denique RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANAE rationem pressius investigemus.

RELIGIO REVELATA consistit in obligatione ad illa officia praestanda quae solummodo ex lumine revelationis dignoscuntur. Religionis igitur revelatae nomen latius sumptum, fidem, spem ac caritatem comprehendit. Definitur per "obligationem actiones suas secundum voluntatem Dei liberatoris, a quo peccator in recuperanda salute totus dependet, semper componendi ac dirigandi." Fundamentum hujus religionis est relatio quaedam, quae intercedit inter Deum et peccatorem; quae relatio consistit in dependentia peccatoris a Deo, non tantum ceu creatore, sed et salvatore. Unde homo in religione revelata consideratur, non modo qua creatura, sed et qua peccator salvandus; cui qua tali, certa praescribuntur officia. Cum autem obligatio hominis ad religionem naturalem cessare non possit, religio revelata omnes religionis naturalis articulos supponit ac confirmit; multosque novos, ad salutem etiam peccatoris cognitu omnino necessarios, addit suppeditatque.

PER REVELATIONEM intelligimus manifestationem veritatum divinitus factam; unde scientia deducitur de Deo, ejusque operibus, ut officiorum nostrorum, quae nonnisi ex testimonio ipsius fallere nescientis Dei cognosci potest. Talem revelationem esse *possibilem* nemo est qui non facile concedat. Plantator auris an ille non audit? Oculi formator an ille non intueatur? Qui ipse est ratio suprema et docet homines scientiam, quique intellectum humanum creavit, nonne poterat ille, tali quoque voce, tantisque claris de seipso testimoniis hominem adloqui, ut certum fuerit, oraculum illud non ab orco, non a superstitione vel mente fanatica, sed ab ipso infallibili Deo profectum esse ac prolatum? Revelatio porro omnium donorum coelestium nobis maxime *exoptanda* est. Unde inter philosophos sapientiores non defuerunt olim, qui voluntatis divinae patefactionem vehementer exoptaverunt: cum iis plane compertum fuisset: *quam sit intutum ac fallax, solo humanae rationis ductu, aliquid de Dei natura, aut de ejus voluntate et operibus pro certo affirmare:* quapropter judicaverunt: *horum*

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omnium nihil recte sciri posse sine oraculo. De revelationis *verisimilitudine* jam ante diximus.—Verum enim vero eam etiam esse omnino nobis *necessariam*, ex religionis naturalis imperfectione, facillime atque praecipue demonstrari potest; et ex officiis a peccatore prestandis, sponte praeterea sequitur. Necesse nempe est A. A. ut homo medium salutis suae noscat. Ex peccato enim liberandus, in toto salutis negotio, totus a Deo salvatore dependet. Ex hac dependentia nova oritur erga Deum obligatio, et inde nova religio. At omnis obligatio vel religio certa officia ab homine praestanda infert. Sed ex principiis rationis non apparet, neque apparere potest, qualia illa peccatoris officia sint; et quo modo praestare queat. Necessarium itaque est ut et illa officia, et principia e quibus deducuntur, homini peccatori revelentur. Ignoti enim nulla est cura; et absque re aliqua intellectui proposita, voluntas nihil appetere valet; nulla vera virtus, nullum pietatis exercitium, nullaque libertas moralis locum habet. Requirit porro religio totum hominem, omnesque ejus facultates; hinc non absolvitur tantum duobus actibus, observantiae scilicet mandatorum, et spei promissorum: tertius accedere debet, *cognitionis credendorum;* qua sublata, nec spes nec observantia dare possunt. Posito igitur Dei decreto de salute peccatorum recuperanda, ponitur revelationis divinae *necessitas.*

Num vero tale supernum coelesteque donum nobis contigerit, questio est a qua pendent spes, vitaque nostra aeterna. Non enim de stillicidiis, de vanis philosophorum somniis, nec de rebus inanis hic controversamur. Sed de re omnium maxima; de Deo; de reconciliatione; de beata immortalitate; unde vel sempiterna salus, vel nunquam desitura calamitas profluit, disputatio instituitur.

Hujus rei investigatio animum postulat docilem, veri studiosum et minime refractarium. Omnis vero investigatio non ejusdem est naturae. Sunt nempe veritates quae ex postulatis sponte notis, geometricarum more, demonstrari possunt. Sunt etiam aliae, quae non minus pro certissimis recte habentur, quorum vero certitudo alia ratione patescit. Haec autem nostra thesis pari nititur auctoritate cum iis, quae vel historiae testimonio, vel experientia, vel ratione, aut denique morali fide perspecta et persuasa habemus; et quae tanquam communis hujus vitae regulam normamque, absque ulla tergiversatione sequimur. Quod ut ostendamus, in ipsam SACRAM SCRIPTURAM nunc inquiramus; cujus natura ut penitius perspecta sit, haec duo distincte consideranda sunt.

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Primo VERITAS eorum quae S. S. narrantur; dein revelationis divinae CRITERIA.

CUM questio de aeterna animae immortalis salute maximi momenti sit; dubitandum non est, revelationem illustrem salutis modum commonstrantem, ita debere comparatam esse, ut sese tanquam divinam hominum conscientiae certissimis notis commendet. Haec autem notae scitu sunt necessariae, ut res divini numinis afflatu referatae, a suppositiis distingui queant. Priusquam vero revelationis criteria enucleanda sunt; requiritur ut *eorum*, quae sacra scriptura narrantur, probata sit *veritas*. Ut notitiam nempe habeamus: prophetos missos fuisse, dona extraordinaria nonnullis concessa, et miracula vere patrata esse. Si autem illa criteria quae in adstruenda historiae alicujus veritate attentionem merentur, sine ullo prejudicio, recta lance libremus; facili negotio adparebit ea omnia esse verissima nostroque adsensu plurimum dignissima, quae in S. Scripturis nobis exhibentur.

Moses certe antiquissimus scriptor est, ejusque historia fundamentum quasi subministrat omnium eorum quae caeteris Vet. Test. libris continentur. Illa ergo adstructa, de aliis partibus facile judicium ferre licebit. Mosen autem extitisse; Israelitarum eum fuisse legislatorem; multisque miraculis eos ex Egypto eduxisse; rempublicam Hebreorum apud montem Horeb suo ministerio fuisse constitutam; et populum sub peculiari regimine positum Canaan postea habitasse; non tantum gens ista olim, et omnes Judaei per latas terrarum oras nunc sparsi, constantissime profitentur; sed et plurimarum gentium ac multorum scriptorum, a religione Judaica alienorum, consensu comprobatur. Nemo etiam est quin testimonium totius gentis, de re sua propria et publica, habere aliquid ponderis concedat: vel qui omni antiquitatis autoritati sese ita opponere velit, ut haec denegare vel in dubium revocare possit. Constat etiam Mosen eos scripsisse libros, quibus nomen ejus praefigitur: eumque fuisse scriptorem fide omnino dignum; nec populo Israelitico imposuisse, vel imponere voluisse. Cur enim si Moses impostor fuit tales condidit leges, quibus grave utique jugum Israelitis imponebatur? Cur ejusmodi suae missionis indicia refert, quae si falsa fuissent, statim ut talia detecta essent miracula? Quomodo enim Israelitis persuadere potuisset, eos sicco pede per medias maris Erythraei aquas transiisse, Aegyptios vero, ipsos persequentes, undis absorptos fuisse? Quomodo populo persuasum fuisset, miram illam columnam nubis, dum Israelitae iter facerent, ipsos

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praecessisse; quae interdiu ab ardore solis eos tegeret, noctu facis ad instar, iis praeluceret? Deum ipsum terrifico quodam apparatu, spectante universo populo, inter fulgura et tonitrua, legem suam pronunciasse? Totum populum per annos quadraginta cibis e coelo missis, et aqua ex rupe educta sustentatum esse? Quomodo haec, et quae hisce sunt similia, si falsa fuissent, Israeli imponere potuit?

Caetera prophetarum scripta quae in Vet. Test. extant, ad ea tempora, eosque scriptores referenda sint, quibus literis consignata feruntur. Constat enim gentem Judaicam singulari quadam reverentia libros suos sacros habuisse, Prophetias imprimis; quas non nisi post accuratissimum examen recipiebant, atque a scriptis omnibus humanis summo studio secernebant.

Idem etiam de Novi Testamenti historia facillime probatur. JESUM CHRISTUM admirabilem quendam planeque divinum hominem, regnante Tiberio Romanorum Imperatore, inter Judaeos olim vixisse; multa eum mirabilia benignissimaque fecisse opera; cruci postea adfixum; morteque ignominiosa adfectum fuisse; non tantum Christiani omnes profitentur; sed et Judaei ac multi scriptorum ethnicorum aperte confitentur; ita ut nulli vel inveteratissimi Christianae religionis inimici, id unquam in controversiam vocaverint; neque ulla est alia historia, pluribus testimoniis comprobata, vel quae hac certior sit. Constat etiam historiam vitae, mortis, ac resurrectionis Jesu Christi, ab iis quibus tribuitur, et eo tempore quo illarum rerum testes etiamnum in vivis erant, conscriptam esse; facileque colligitur hosce homines nec voluisse, nec potuisse alios fallere; adeoque bona fide, quae ipsi per experientiam et fidam relationem edocti erant, posteritati tradidisse.

Argumentum etiam fortissimum desumitur ex historia de miraculosa Spiritus sancti effusione, et dono linguarum rudibus illis Galilaeis concesso. Lucas hanc historiam narravit, et eo tempore quo falsitas ejus, si falsa fuisset, levi opera demonstrari potuisset, imo et debuisset.

Concludimus igitur, Veteris non tantum sed et Novi Testamenti historiam veram esse. Ex hac etiam veritate, certo sequitur: divinae esse originis eandem illam religionem per Mosen ac Prophetas, et per Christum ac Apostolos propositam. Divina enim potentia ad haec omnia praestanda requirebatur; et sane Dei sanctitati, sapientiae et bonitati omnino adversetur, eos tam praeclaro et plane divino modo ornare, qui doctrinas falsas in tanto negotio hominibus tradissent.

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Quod ad CRITERIA revelationis attinet; licet ex principiis rationis demonstrari non potest, quale illud medium sit quo peccator ab omni malo liberatur, quaedam tamen revelationis criteria *a priori* tuto indicari possint. Non omnes divinitatis characteres hic enumerare vellem. Sufficit si potissimum ostendatur, ID quod revelationem necessariam facit, exactissime in S. Scriptura contineri, et FINI propter quem data sit plene satisfacere.

Omnium *primum* coelestis revelationis requisitum est, ut *rationi sit conveniens;* nempe ut, et nihil quod in se absurdum est, aut sanae rationi repugnans doceat; et simul, ut cognita religionis naturalis principia atque praecepta perhibeat. *Secundo* ut sit *sublimis;* veritates Deo dignas, hominibusque lapsis cognitu necessarias, stylo proprio proponens. *Denique* ut sit *practica;* non tantummodo dogmata exhibens theoretica, sed talia quae speciatim ad vitam ejusque modum spectant.

Ex idea revelationis tanquam immediate a Deo proficiscentis, neque ex nexu causarum secundarum progredientis, abunde constat, nullam revelationem posse fieri nisi per *miraculum.* Et cum ea manifestare debet revelatio, quae ex principiis rationis investigari nequeunt, pari certitudine sequitur, revelationem ea continere debere, quae sunt, nonquidem contra, sed omnino supra rationem; et sic in se comprehendere proprie dicta *mysteria;* ad quae rationis lumen nunquam assurgere valuisset, quaeque proinde sola revelatione divina cognoscuntur. Quod cunque igitur pro coelesti revelatione venditatur, quod nihil supra rationem docet; vel quod absurdum et vile tradit; vel virtutibus divinis contradicit; aut viam ad salutem aeternam obtinendam, his virtutibus consentaneam non patefacit; non Dei revelatio, non veritas, sed commentum et fraus et mendacium est.

Haec vero, et quae cunque hujus generis sunt alia, ad unum magisque definitum characterem internum, ex fine revelationis deductum, facile redigi possunt. *Illa revelatio vere divina est, quae peccatorem* TALE MEDIUM *acquirendae salutis commonefacit, quod imperfectionem religionis naturalis plene compensat; quod omnes Dei virtutes illustret; atque demum omne malum tam morale quam physicum, ab homine misero penitus submoveat.* Hoc est primarium, et hoc, tanquam omnia complectens, unicum verae revelationis divinae indicium esto.*

* De hac materia praecipue legi potest quod scripsit Joh. Fred. Stapfer in Institut. Theologiae Polemicae, vol. i., § 979, etc. Quem auctorem eruditum ac de fide Christiana recte sentientem, ut Theologi Americani habeant a me commendatissimum avidissime rogo.

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Hoc autem si ad Alcoranum Muhammedanorum, vel ad inclyta Gentilium oracula, aut philosophorum hodiernorum systemata applicemus; facile ea omnia nunquam coelitus orta fuisse cernimus. Nullum enim salutis medium quod perfectiones divinas illustrat aut hominem ex malo morali ejusque sequelis liberare potest, vel ex parte, vel in totum ostendunt. Nihil etenim in omni eorum farragine proponitur, quo animus peccatoris quietus reddi possit, et, ex argumentis omni exceptione majoribus, firmiter persuaderi queat, eorum auctoritatem et dogmata tuto sequenda esse. At vero, ut in refutandis iis quae pro divinis venditantur, ambages mittamus; sufficit ad institutum nostrum, si tantum paucis ostendamus; sacrae scripturae, quae libros veteris et novi foederis comprehendit, certissimum hocce divinae revelationis documentum et criterium, de quo jure contendi non potest, perfecte convenire.

Sacra nostra volumina si attentis oculis perlustremus, non possumus non deprehendere, summam totius libri in hoc versari, ut medium acquirendae salutis peccatorem ea ratione commonefaciat, qua imperfectio religionis naturalis compensatur; omnesque Dei virtutes illustrentur; et omne malum, tam reatus, quam pravitatis ac poenae, ab homine misero removeatur. Huc enim omnia tendunt, ut peccatori revelet, JESUM CHRISTUM mediatorem Deum inter et hominem esse constitutum; ejusque perfectam obedientiam et ineffabiles perpessiones, loco peccatoris electi praestitas, unicam, cuicumque vere credenti, aeternae salutis causam esse merentem. Omne porro ad vitam aeternam acquirendam necessarium, et quod peccator ipse nullo pacto praestare potuisset, tanquam futurum Veteri, et jam praestitum ac peractum a mediatore, Novo Testamento exhibetur. Hac de re, si alicui scrupulus superesset, evolvat modo, legat, relegatque; et ei manifeste constabit, S. Scripturam sic prorsus ab initio usque ad finem in eo praecipue esse, ut hoc essentialem ejus ac primariam partem constituat. Quo sublato, tota scriptura funditus alto ruit, et nullo pacto intelligi potest. Hoc autem posito, admirabilis divini amoris, justitiae ac sapientiae splendor lucescit; amabile miseris homuncionibus in tenebris hujus aevi degentibus jubar oritur, et religionis naturalis defectus plene compensatur. Ex hoc igitur unico charactere, sacros veteris et novi foederis libros, revera divinam comprehendere revelationem, sine ulla dubitatione aut deceptionis metu, firme credimus, constantur adfirmamus, et publice profitemur.

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Hicce etenim Deus unaquaque in pagina, thesaurum stupendae misericordiae et copiam selectissimarum coelestiumque rerum nobis exhibet. *Hic* (ut pauca quaedam commemorare modo liceat) medium salutis deprehenditur, quod ratio humana propriis suis viribus relicta nusquam assequi potuisset. *Hic*, mysteria inveniuntur haud absurda aut sibi contradicentia, sed sapientissima, omnino necessaria, et maxima. *Hic*, via reconciliationis panditur, quae virtutes Dei infinitas tali modo explicat ut eum tanquam summe justum perhibeat, veracem pariter atque sanctissimum constituit pronunciatque, cum peccatorem credentem propter justitiam Christi imputatam justificet. *Hic*, violationem legis divinae et paenas infinitas ex malo morali ortas ac promeritas, per Christi obedientiam et satisfactionem ad amussim compensari, atque e medio tolli ostenditur. *Hic*, porro optima reperiuntur pietatis incitamenta; summa ad obedientiam ex gratitudine suadendam argumenta et exempla; et sanctiones praemiorum ac poenarum omnium fortissimae. Uno denique verbo, ut vera pietas ad omnia utilis est, et quoad vitam presentem et futuram; sic etiam SACRA SCRIPTURA pacem spiritualem a securitate carnali longe distantem, hac vita, fideli animo confirmat; dum spes infallibilibus promissis nixa manet, tandem beatam illam diem venturam, qua Deus lugubres fidelium suorum questus in carmina triumphalia mutabit, iisque vitam aeternam coelesteque regnum, haereditario jure, Christi causa, largietur. Quid ulterius in revelatione divina desiderare possumus? Haec autem omnia et infinita plura in pandectis nostris sacris deprehenduntur.*

* Egregie de hac re disseruit eruditus plurimumque venerab. Edwards, Coll. Neo Caesariensis Praes.

"It is fit that mankind should be informed something of God's design in the government of the world, because they are made capable of actively falling in with that design, and promoting of it, and acting herein as his friends and subjects: it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that God has given mankind some revelation to inform them of this; but there is nothing else that does it but the Bible. In the Bible this is done. Hence we may learn an account of the first original of things, and an orderly account of the scheme of God's works from the first beginning, through those ages that are beyond the reach of all other histories. Here we are told what God aims at in the whole, and the great things he would accomplish by all. Here we have a most rational account of this matter, worthy of God, and exceedingly showing forth the glory of his perfections, his majesty, his wisdom, his glorious holiness, and grace, and love, and his exaltation above all, showing how he is the first and last.

Here we are shown the connection of the various parts of the work of Providence, and how all harmonizes and is connected together in a regular, beautiful and glorious frame. In the Bible we have an account of the whole scheme of Providence from the

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QUAE vero praeterea A. A. H. H. pro divinitate S. Scripturae facile adduci potuissent, ex aliis INTERNIS ejus NOTIS, quae caetera *doctrinae* capita, *prophetias*, *harmoniam* et *stylum* spectant; vel EXTERNIS CHARACTERIBUS quae *miracula*, *probam scriptorum indolem*, et *integram librorum conservationem* monstrant, in praesenti, missa faciamus. Haec enim, et quodcunque speciatim de *inspiratione*, de *canone librorum*, ut et *lingua originali* sit observandum, tanquam proprie ad cathedram adtinens, ad praelectiones nostras suo tempore, volente Deo, habendas, relegamus.

Sufficit, AUDITORES, nos unico potissimum argumento, ex primario revelationis fine deducto, jam paucis, PRINCIPIA demonstrationis indicasse; quibus probatur, sacram scripturam revelationem revera divinam comprehendere, et illa de causa, ortum suum a Deo solo auctore duxisse. Unde tandem conclusio de VERITATE RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANAE firmiter tutoque colligitur.

RELIGIO CHRISTIANA ea est, quae Jesum Christum Dei proprium Filium, verum esse Messiam, et peccatorum unicum servatorem statuit; eumque tanquam Prophetam summum, Pontificem maximum, ac Regem supremum et divinum, per fidem amplectitur, secundum omnia quae in libris sacris, sive veteris sive novi foederis, de eo scripta sunt. Vocatur *christiana*, cum doctrina de salute per Christum parata, adeoque ipse Christus sit ejus fundamentum.

Ea religio est VERA (uti antea diximus) quae sola vera credenda faciendaque proponit. Talia autem sunt omnia quae religione Christiana continentur.

Non hic de variis variarum inter Christianos sectarum sententiis loquimur; neque nunc de falsi aut veri criteriis inter eas instituitur inquisitio. Sat erit PRINCIPIA religionis Christianae esse vera, et jactum fundamentum perito architecto dignum esse, sciamus. Quisque suo periculo videat, quomodo et quid superstruat; num aurum, argentum, gemmas, ligna, foenum aut stipulam. At principia hujus religionis esse vera et divina, jam jam A. H. audivimus; et hoc pacto DOCTRINAE ex iis principiis rite deductae, ut sint etiam VERAE omnino necesse est.

beginning of the world to the end of it, either in history or prophecy, and are told what will become of things at last; how they will be finished off by a great day of judgment, and will issue in the subduing of God's enemies, and in the salvation and glory of his Church, and setting up of the everlasting kingdom of his Son. How rational, worthy and excellent a revelation is this! and how excellent a book is the Bible which contains so much beyond all other books in world! and what characters are here of its being, indeed, a divine book—a book that the great Jehovah has given to mankind for their instruction, without which we should be left in miserable darkness and confusion.—*History of the Work of Redemption*, f. 395.

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Per singula capita, omnia nunc speciatim persequi longum esset; et rursus ad eadem fundamenta recurrendum foret. Notae vel criteria generaliora ad discrimen inter veram ac falsam religionem discernendum, varie numerantur et ordinantur. Ad haec vero pauca, ea omnia facile redigeri possent. Vera nempe est religio, 1° si doceat hominem veram miseriam in quam delapsus est: 2° si ostendat verum modum quo ex ista miseria liberatur: 3° si tradat veram gratiarum actionem pro ista redemptione promeritam. Vel, illa religio est vera et omni approbatione dignissima, 1° cujus PRINCIPIUM divinae originis argumenta solidissima in se habet: 2° cujus DOCTRINAE summis supremi numinis vertutibus maxime sunt convenientes: 3° cujus CULTUS praescriptus ad Deum solum est directus; ab ipso, ceu unico et summo Legislatore repetitus; et Dei vertutibus nostroque statui misero maxime congruus: 4° denique cujus SUMMUM ARGUMENTUM eo tendit, ut *reconciliationem* cum Deo sancto omnibus numeris absolutam patefaciat; et *spem* salutis obtinendae, salva Dei gloria certissimam, per medium sufficiens nobis suppeditatum, confirmet. Haec autem criteria et quaecunque alia ad hanc questionem pertinentia recte cogitari possunt, si ad religionem christianam adplicentur, eam certissime esse veram, et, nullo dubitationis loco relicto, omnes divinae religionis notas re ipsa possidere, cuicunque nullo praejudicio laboranti notum confirmatumque erit. Quae vero criteria, una cum eorum adplicatione, solummodo nunc memorasse nobis liceat. Sed si hic agendi locus, attentioque vestra A. A. H. H. sinerent, haec omnia, argumentis validis, facilique negotio, per partes singulas, ni fallor, demonstrare valerem.

RELIGIO CHRISTIANA omnes religionis naturalis veritates fundamentales lubenter agnoscit, iisque, tanquam sui ipsius fundamine, partim utitur. *Hinc unius summi numinis existentiam, divinam providentiam, animae praeterea immortalitatem, praemiorum ac poenarum aeternarum certitudinem* atque id genus alia, pro concesso sumit, illustrat, confirmat, inculcatque. Quando autem relicto naturae littore, in oceanum revelationis nos vehat religio haec; totum salutis mysterium, omniaque christianismi DOGMATA, tanquam Deo digna nobisque admodum necessaria sic commendat, ut quanquam captum nostrum infinite superent, tamen fidem, spem, et obedientiam hominis jure optime merito efflagitet. Praesertim, (quod hic maxime adnotandum) cum sint dogmata quae religionis naturalis defectui, in eo cujus causa

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revelatio praecipue necessaria fuit, perfecte suppleant. Quod nempe nobis ostendunt, quo pacto Deus sanctissimus peccatorem a legis jure absolvere et justificare potest, ac salva justitia et majestate sua, sanctum aeternumque beatum reddere polleat velitque.

PRÆCEPTA religionis Christianae si examinemus, ea omnia perfectissima, et omnibus aliis quae aut sunt vel unquam fuerunt, praestantiora inveniemus. Paganorum mysteria et norma plenissima fuerunt omnis crudelitatis et obscoenitatis. Muhammedis religio in armis formata, arma et ferocitatem spirat. At religio Christiana Deum tanquam spiritum perfectissimum, sancto animo, cordeque mundanis cupiditatibus puro, colendum docet; non serviliter poenae sola formidine, sed ut ipsi PATRI ac remuneratori placeamus. Omnem omnino injuriam prohibet haec religio, cum ut alteri faciamus, quod nobis velimus fieri, mandat commendatque. Omnem impudicitam, omneque injustitiae genus culpat, reprehendit, damnat. Ad ipsas vitiorum radices penetrat. Omnia quae suapte natura sunt optima et honestissima instituit. De officiis magistratum et subditorum, parentum et liberorum, omniumque cognitorum, optime judicat, sanctissimisque praeceptis ea constanter inculcat. Dum in iis omnibus quae ad gloriam et beatam immortalitatem ducunt, omni studio pioque cursu perstare, animat atque injungit.

Ex modo quo tradita ac PROPAGATA fuit religio Christiana, argumentum pro ejus veritate rite etiam desumitur, quod silentio prorsus praeterire nequit. Non enim vi, non gladio, nec divitiis, vel civili potestate instructi fuerunt Apostoli, viri ineruditi ac piscatores; sed solummodo veritatis demonstratione, omni simplicitate ac puritate morum ad conscientias hominum provocaverunt. His solis armis, Christo ducente et auspicante, intra annos quadraginta aut circiter, per omnes Romani imperii partes non tantum, sed ad Gangem et Indos usque, evangelium pervenit; hoc autem modo, divina Christi religio propagabitur, ac contra omnem hostium malitiam malaque stratagemata tandem certissime triumphabit.

CONSTAT itaque, AUDITORES, religionem Christianam ex *principio* revera divino ortum suum duxisse; eam *doctrinas* atque *praecepta* sanctissima inculcare, et modo supra humano *propagatam* fuisse; unde liquet religionem hanc tanquam verissimam esse admittendam, ab TESTIMONIA FACTORUM non solum, verum etiam ab ea, quae in hac religione sunt INTERNA VERITATIS CRITERIA.

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VERUM ENIM vero si unumquemque mentis compotem deceat, veritatibus religionis naturalis, sola auctoritate rationis confirmatis, adsentiri; quid ni pariter eum oportet, veritates religionis Christianae, testimonio firmiori et plane infallibile revelationis nempe divinae firmatas fide amplecti? Consensus praedicati cum subjecto dicitur veritas. Inter verum et falsum essentiale datur discrimen. Sophismatibus scepticorum non obstantibus, certae sunt propositiones, quibus non possumus non assensum nostrum praebere; aliasque quibus dissensum. Idem simul esse et non esse, contradictionem involvit. Ex hoc principio indemonstrabili impossibile esse eandem sententiam simul veram, simulque falsam fore, quis inficias ibit? Scientiae principium duplex est; *natura* nempe et *revelatio:* duplex igitur est via per quam in animos nostros illabitur cognitio rerum; *alia* sensuum ac rationis, fidei *alia*. Quodcunque igitur tanquam VERUM, ullo sufficienti argumento, homini innotescit, ID ipsum ut credat; et quidquid tanquam MANDATUM summi numinis, ID ut exequatur, ratio suadet et incontroversum inde manens officium. Nullam certe profiteri religionem debere veritatis criteria non possidentem; nec ad facienda quae sibi adversentur, veritatique opposita sint, nos obligare posse; nemo est sana mente praeditus, qui non facile concedat. Ubicunque vero principia cognitionis adsint, et testimonia veritatis plane valida proponantur, ea perlubentur accipere et in iis FIDEM habere, homine sapiente omnino perdignum est. At religio Christiana omnia veritatis criteria possidet; eam igitur ut fide accipiamus, ejusque mandata ut exequamur, ratio ipsissima postulat, salusque nostra requirit. Quamobrem certa nobis res est, et omni approbatione digna, CHRISTUM JESUM IN MUNDUM VENISSE SERVATUM SONTES. Hoc etiam persuasum habeamus, citius periturum coelum atque terram, quam ut unum iota aut apex unus ex veritate religionis Christianae pereat; quin promissa et comminationes, vaticinia et quaecumque alia in sacris scripturis traduntur, fiant omnia.

QUID? Si religioni huic coelitus revelatae, maxima hominum multitudo, et inter eos multi divites, praepotentes, et coeteroquin sapientes, quibus Evangelii nuntium contingit, aures et corda prabere recusent; imo, eam contumeliosissime rejiciant, odioque prosequantur; nihil tamen hoc, a religionis Christiane veritate, vel valore interno detrahet; sed potius divinitatis ejus argumentum, omni exceptione majus valide ponit. Annunciationis cujuscunque generis veritas vel momentum ab auditorum adsensu aut

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observantia nullo pacto pendet. At haec peccatorum tergiversatio et oppositio, num ex testimonii in religionis gratiam propositi defectu ac penuria oritur? Nequaquam profecto, sed partim ex ignorantia, partim vero, et maxime, ex odio internecino in sanctissima Christianismi dogmata ac praecepta, suum ortum duxit. Leges scilicet divinae, omniaque Evangelii postulata nimis his hominibus austera et severa sunt. Cultus spiritualis, poenitentia, fides, sanctimonia, et id genus alia plura, peccatoribus irregenitis auditu dura diraque sunt, et quae exercere pertinaciter recusant. Haec enim omnia, pravae et vitiosae mentes aut omnino non intelligent; aut si intelligent, dissimulabunt tamen et vera esse nolent, quia trahuntur a vitiis quorum suavitate capiuntur. Nam qui avaritia, et opum inexplebili quadam siti flagrant; qui libidinum stimulis incitati, in immunditiam ruunt; vel qui ambitione inflati, omne studium suum ad honores adquirendos contulerunt; sine dubio, id esse fictum malunt quo desideriis suis renuntiare coguntur; et fidem non facile commodabunt ei doctrinae quae pravos eorum mores condemnat. *Mundus*, dixit ipse Dominus Jesus, *mundus quod suum est amat; me autem odit, quoniam ego testor de eo, opera ejus mala esse; oderunt peccatores tum me, tum patrem meum; oderunt me immerito.* Hinc verus omnis contra Evangelium oppositionis fons detegitur. Haec infidelitatis et parendi dedignationis scaturigo infausta est. Et ex eo est, quod profani similem de religione Christiana, ejusque principio, sacra scriptura, judicium ferunt, ac Achab de propheta Micaja filio Jimla; *est vir quidem*, ait rex improbus, *per quem consulas Jehovam, et ego odi eum, quia non* DE ME *bonum, sed omnibus diebus suis malum prophetat.* Verum, si religio Christiana pravis hominum cupitatibus, malitiae et superbiae indulgeret, aut minus severe contra peccata omnia fulminaret; si summum Numen se minus sanctum, et, in providentia sua morali, justum exhiberet; non oppugnatio talis, non hoc exitiale contra revelationem bellum, vel olim existeret, vel nunc temporis esset. Hac de causa Nero, Diocletianus, aliique tyranni potestate armati, eam gladio, confiscationibus, carceribus et proscriptionibus persecuti fuerunt. Ex his etiam principiis, Voltaire, comes Shaftsburius, multique homines, ingenio et literatura coeteroquin acuti et clarissimi, praeclarum et coeleste hocce argumentum obnixe ludibrio, conviciis et scommatis conati sunt tractare; falsum et verum, pravum et rectum RIDICULO optime internosci affirmantes. Hinc veritates maximi momenti sic subvertunt, et res religiosissimas deformant, ut indignae veneratione

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videantur. Humano capiti cervicem forte equinam pictores isti jungunt, animose clamantes, risum teneatis amici? Haerent audientium et legentium animis ridicula, antequam quid illudatur expenditur; capiuntque inconsideratos improbosque, haud gravatim ea laudentes quibus delectantur. Sed operam et oleum apud prudentiores, inutili conamine ridiculi patroues perdiderunt. His enim jocis scurrilibus nihil aliud efficiunt, nisi ut aperte confiteantur, argumenta quibus religionem Christianam oppugnant, non satis momenti habere; et quod demonstratione frangere non pollent, hoc odiosissimo armorum genere, vulneribus forsitan afficere moliantur. Unde nolentes ipsi veritatem religionis Christianae revera confirmant.*

Tantum potuit suadere libido.

Si vero argumentum nostrum Judaeorum respectu sit considerandum observari omnium prius necesse sit; religionem Judeorum hodiernam immane quantum distare ab illa quam Patres sub vetere foedere amplexi fuerunt. Vera erat religio Judaica olim et plane divina, ac Christianae non exigua testimonia praebet; nunc autem, ubi etiam convenit cum veteris legis institutione, nihilominus falsa dicenda est; cum omnem cultum ceremonialem et totum altaris ministerium, adventu Messiae ejusque passionibus, plene antiquatum esse constet. Contra Judaeos igitur si veritas religionis Christianae probanda sit, demonstrationis PRINCIPIA ex Messiae criteriis solummodo deducenda sunt. Hic enim error Judaeorum primarius est, quod Messiam Veteris Testamenti prophetiis praedictum nondum venisse, sed eum adhuc venturum credant perhibeantque. Hoc eorum proton pseudos;

*Illustris Grotius hoc argumentum egregie tractavit. Ante eum Phil. Mornaeus et post eos innumeri fere auctores, sub hoc aliove titulo veritatem religionis Christianae demonstravere, adversariosque plene refutaverunt.

The three famous Deists, *Collins*, *Tyndall* and *Woolston*, attacked Christianity on different sides. Woolston directed his force against the *miracles*, Tyndall his against the *necessity of revelation*, and Collins levelled all his artillery against the *prophecies*; but they all met with a defeat. Christianity was never defended in a more clear, cool, manly and rational manner. The Bishops, Gibson of London, Chandler of Durham, Sherlock of Salisbury, and Smallbrook of Litchfield and Coventry, the Doctors Lardner, Clark, Bentley, with many other divines, nobly defended the truth and maintained the honor of our holy religion. In the year 1726 Collins boasted that more than thirty-five pieces had been published against his *grounds and reasons*; more than sixty were published before 1731 against Woolston, and a very great number against Tyndall. Since those times this Deistical Triumvirate has caused the publication of books enough to compose a moderate library.—*Claude, Essay on the compos. of a sermon. Notes, vol.* 1, *p.* 318.

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et ex hoc, omnis infelicis hujus gentis infidelitas, imo infausta ejus ab ecclesia excommunicatio derivatur.

Divini Messiae criteria dari indubitata, unde is ab omnibus aliis facile dignosci possit, nemo Judaeorum negabit. Promissiones enim primitus factae de semine futuro, ab hac ipsa gente oriundo, totius theocratiae erant fundamen, et foederis Sinaitici scopus omnino ultimus. Cui, quaeso, aliae fini hujus populi separatio? Unde paries ille intergerinus quo natio Isaacida ab omnibus aliis gentibus excludebatur discriminabaturque? Quis omnium legum Mosaicarum, presertim earum quae ad sacrificia et sacerdotum ministerium respectum habuerunt, finis? MESSIAM horum omnium Alpha et Omega, principium et finem fuisse, extra controversiam ponitur. Sed si singula veteris foederis de Messia praedicta, quae ad ejus personam, exinanitionis et exaltationis status, officia, ut et manifestationis in carne tempus, aliaque coetera ad eum pertinentia spectant, colligantur; et cum iis, quae in novo foedere de Christo Jesu tradita, fideliter collata sint; summum testamenti utriusque consensum esse abunde adparebit; et in EO CONSENSU religionis Christianae veritas contineri videbitur. Cui enim soli prophetiae omnes veteris foederis de Messia conveniunt, eum esse Messiam, haud cunctanter credere et asseverare debemus. At has prophetias omnes in Jesum Nazarenum, et in neminem alium praeter eum plane quadrare, ex tali collatione liquide constat. JESUM CHRISTUM itaque verum esse *Messiam* (semen illud promissum) qui venturus erat, firme credimus, et alius nobis non est expectandus.*

Ex ipso novo etiam Testamento, pro religionis Christianae veritate contra Judeos, acque ac alios omnes, argumentari legitime possumus. Si enim VERA sunt quae ibi scripta extant; si tot miracula patravit Jesus; si tot prophetias edidit, quae deinde sunt eventu comprobatae; si cruci adfixus fuit; si ex mortuis

* For that these prophecies concerning our Saviour, Christ, could have no other original than the immediate supernatural revelation of God Almighty, is evident from the thing itself. And thus do we plainly see that the Scripture prophecies evince a Deity; nor do they only evince a Deity but confirm Christianity also, partly as predicted by them in the several circumstances, a grand one whereof was the Gentiles reception of it, and partly as itself predicting future events, this spirit of prophecy being the testimony of Jesus. Both which Scripture prophecies of Christ in the Old Testament, and from him in the New, are of equal, if not greater force to us in this present age, for the confirmation of our faith, than the miracles themselves recorded in the Scripture, we having now certain knowledge ourselves of many of those events, and being no way able to suspect but that the prophecies were written long ago.—*Cudworth, Intellect. System, Book* 1, *chap. v.*

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tertio die resurrexit; et in coelum receptus, Spiritum Sanctum in discipulos demisit, sicut eis fuerat pollicitus; si haec omnia sic se revera habeant; fatendum quidem, Jesum vere Deum, et simul hominem sanctissimum fuisse quem fraudis, vafritiei, ac simultationis suspectum habere nefas sit. At vero haec omnia sunt VERA. Ille Deus aeque ac homo se Messiam esse palam professus est, factisque probavit: MESSIAS IGITUR FUIT, et ejus religio ut sit etiam vera necesse est.* Sed longius non progredimur, ne vestra abutamur patientia.

CONCLUDIMUS itaque, objectionibus Deistarum, Judaeorum omniumque Infidelium, non obstantibus, VERAM ESSE RELIGIONEM CHRISTIANAM; vero, vereque divino eam niti principio; eamque, salutis viam quae Deo quam maxime digna est, et statui peccatoris approbe convenit, nobis commendare. Quin et unicam esse sub coelo datam religionem, qua sancta conscientiae pax restituitur; remissio peccatorum omnibus Dei virtutibus consentanea promittitur; et spes vitae aeternae, fundamine immoto superstructa, confirmatur.

"Et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,"
"Nunc frondent sylvae, nunc formosissimus annus."

Praestantissimam proh religionem Christianam! Cujus argumentum summum eo tendit, ut nos commonefaciat qua ratione, salva majestate sua, Deus cum peccatoribus miseris in gratiam redire possit. *Quae* docet Deum equidem simplicem et unum esse, sed tres distinctas personas eamdem divinam naturam possidere; PATREM nempe, FILIUM et SPIRITUM SANCTUM. Inter quas ante mundi primordia consilium formatum initumque est pactum gratiae, de certis hominibus a peccato et interitu redimendis, eo modo ut persona prima jus inviolabile Deique majestatem supremam tueretur; secunda mediatorem ageret, et assumpta natura humana, determinato ac praestituto tempore in mundo comparens, diris et multis passionibus peccata omnium electorum expiaret; atque ita justitiae divinae resolveret jura;

* Consule de hoc maximi momenti argumento Librum cui titulus P. D. HUETII DEMONSTRATIO EVANGELICA: quo eruditus auctor veraces esse historias in Novo Testamento scriptas luculenter docet: et praesertim Jesum Nazarenum verum esse Messiam, ex professo et magno literaturae adparatu demonstravit. Parallelismum clarissimorum dictorum ad Christum pertinentium, quae Vetere Test. praenunciata sunt, cum eis, quae in Novo Test. de Christo Jesu narrantur, proponit; singula de Messia praedicta collegit, earumque complementum diligenter confert ac ostendit; unde propositio non in medium profertur solum, sed gravissimis argumentis et demonstratione ipsa comprobatur.

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tertia vero, Spiritus Sanctus, in liberatis a dominio et culpa peccati, ejus quoque elueret maculam, refingeretque salvandos ad imaginem divinam quae consistit in sanctimonia. O religionem vere divinam! quae hominem considerat tanquam peccatorem duplici malo peccati scilicet ac poenae gravatum; proinde, sub utroque, jure merito gementem. Quae nobis exhibet summum hominis finem verumque bonum in communione cum Deo esse positum; atque ad eam obtinendam, reconciliationem cum Deo judice, et liberationem a potestate Diaboli esse necessariam. Quae porro solam perfectam Christi sponsoris justitiam adducit tanquam id propter quod nos justificamur. Hanc pro electis suis Christus consummavit; hanc eandem imputat electis Pater quemadmodum Christo imputavit ipsorum peccata; medium vero quo justitiam Christi, et justificationem ex ea pendentem accipimus, fidem esse innuit;* ejusque ac aeternae salutis certitudinem, per Spiritus Sancti testimonium, animique renovationem, atque promptum ac alacre vitae inculpatae studium, acquirendam esse asserit. Quae denique hominem peccatorem, primum *miseriam* suam; deinde ex miseria *redemptionem;* tum pro redemptione debitam *grati animi* demonstrationem, ordine convenientissimo docet. Hac religione tandem *erudimur, ut impietati*

* Quoniam justificationis doctrina per totum theologiae corpus sese diffundit, et praeclarissimum verae religionis palladium est, adeo ut hoc stet cadatve Ecclesia; lubet sectionem xxiii, nostrae Catecheseos Heidelberghensis verbatim addere: ut indo sententia Ecclesiae nostrae Reformatae Belgicae de hoc dogmate, ex hac publica formula unionis ecclesiarum nostrarum, quam non tantum solemni subscriptione recipimus, verum quoque in conscionibus ecclesiasticis fideliter sectamur, unicuique heic terrarum eo clarius pateat.

Ques. lix. *At cum haec omnia credis, quid utilitatis inde ad te redit?*

Res. Quod in Christo justus sum coram Deo, et haeres vitae aeternae.

Ques. lx. *Quomodo justus es coram Deo?*

Res. Sola fide in Jesum Christum; adeo ut licet me mea conscientia accuset, quod adversus omnia Dei mandata graviter peccaverim nec ullum eorum servaverim, adhaec etiamnum ad omne malum propensus sim, nihilominus tamen, modo haec beneficia vera animae fiducia amplectar, sine ullo meo merito, ex mera Dei misericordia, mihi perfecta satisfactio, justitia et sanctitas Christi imputetur ac donetur, perinde ac si nec ullum peccatum ipse admisissem, nec ulla mihi labes inhaereat; imo vero quasi eam obedientiam, quam pro me Christus praestitit, ipse perfecte praestitissem.

Ques. lxi. *Cur sola fide te justum esse affirmas?*

Res. Non quod dignitate meae fidei Deo placeam, sed quod sola satisfactio, justitia et sanctitas Christi mea justitia sit coram Deo. Ego vero eam non alia ratione, quam fide amplecti et mihi applicare queam.

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mundanisque cupiditatibus valedicentes, frugaliter, et juste, pieque vivamus in hoc seculo; expectantes speratam beatitudinem, adventumque gloriosum magni Dei et servatoris nostri Jesu Christi; qui semel ad multorum tollenda peccata oblatus, iterum sine peccato conspicietur expectantibus se ad salutem. Ast in adventu suo, augustoque coelitum comitatu,

Quantum dissimilis, quantum O mutatus ab illo,
Qui peccata luit cruciatus non sua, vitam
Quando luctantem cunctata morte trahebat!

Haec sunt tremenda religionis nostrae mysteria: *Œternis temporibus tacita, nunc autem manifestata per scripturas propheticas, juxta mandatum aeterni Dei, ad obedientiam fidei per omnes gentes notificata.* Rom. xvi, 25, 26. Hinc Christianismi divinitas evidenter patescit. Quae hominum, quae angelorum solertia, haec tam abdita, tam sublimia, tantoque intervallo omnem omnium creaturarum captum superantia, excogitare potis fuisset? Quam adoranda hic se pandit Dei sapientia, justitia, sanctitas, veritas, bonitas, philanthropia, in inveniendo, dando, perficiendo hoc salutis nostrae medio? Quam placide conscientia peccatorum suorum onere pressa, in tali sponsore, tali sponsione acquiescit? Hic demum animadvertens dignum Deo, securum homini reconciliationis nostrae modum. Quis haec in lumine Spiritus contemplans non erumpat in sanctissimi, justissimi, verissimi, optimi, maximi numinis laudem? O profunditas divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! O mysteria quae cupiunt ipsi angeli perspicere! Gloria PATRI, qui talem nobis sponsorem, excitavit, admisit, dedit! GLORIA FILIO, qui se humana carne vestiens vadimonium pro nobis tam lubenter, tam patienter, tam constanter obivit! GLORIA SPIRITUI SANCTO tantae nobis felicitatis indici, testi, arrhaboni!*

EUGE Patriam meam! euge novum orbis Americani imperium!

O Felix nimium! si jam infidelitatis error
Excidit; O Felix! tua si bona denique noris.

O tu quoque si scires, ac quidem hac ipsa die fausta, quantum religioni Christianae debes? Tibi etenim saluti fuit eritque! Suspice revelationem hanc revera divinam! Recipe, sinuque foveto libros infallibili veritate praeditos! Religioni naturali ad beatam immortalitatem obtinendam, nunquam confide. Nullus enim felix peccatori ad Deum aditus est, nisi per mediatorem; et ratio humana sibi relicta de mediatore continuo silet. Vitam

* Sunt Verba cel. Witsii, Oeconom. Foed. Lib. ii., Cap. iv., § 23.

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aeternam ex foedere operum promerendam ne sperato, neve expectato. Evacuatum et antiquatum est hocce foedus; adeo ut omnis spes coelestis beatitudinis juxta id foedus potiundae, omnibus omnino peccatoribus excidat. Manet quidem lex divina, semperque manebit, tanquam nostri officii norma; sed quatenus conditio foederalis est, cujus praestatione, vel ex toto aut ex parte, ipse homo peccator jus ad vitam comparare queat, revera abrogata est. Ex horrenda igitur miseriae ac maledictionis abysso, oculos sustolle, et JESUM adspice foederis gratiae pacisque principem; illum ceu Dominum justitiam tuam, non gestu solum, sterilique professione, sed renovato corde, fide viva, vitaque sancta, agnosce et supplex venerare!

DIXISSEM, nisi me venerandae Synodi praesentia feriisset, atque de officio commonuisset.

DIGNISSIMA suffragia vestra, reverendi admodum in Christo patres, fratres in Domino dilectissimi, me huic sacrosanctae Theologiae Professioni admoverunt. Hodie vero mihi, ex auctoritate plurimum venerandae Synodi, officium hoc, honoris equidem sed curae simul ac laboris plenum, publice suspiciendum atque inchoandum est. Tanti beneficii, vestraeque de me meisque studiis bonae aestimationis memoriam, sempiterna grati animi benevolentia colam; ac, ut aliquatenus rependerem, minimum hoc vobis polliceor, viri reverendi; me operam daturum, ut ei quo a vobis dignus habitus fui novo muneri, neque labore, nec diligentia, aut fide, a vobis et aliis aequis rerum aestimatoribus, deesse judicer. Sanctum Evangelium, salutiferasque ejus veritates, totis viribus S. Theol. studiosis exponere, ac contra adversarios defendere; ecclesiamque sanguine Christi partam, ea ratione magis et magis stabilire; hoc mihi propositum; hoc, corroborante me quae est in Christo Jesu gratia, jucundissimum praecipuumque opus erit.

Interim, Patres Fratresque semper observantissimi, cum me nunc atque in posterum, amori patrocinioque vestro, submisse et candide commendaverim, non possum quin vos enixe obtester: per Patrem luminum benignissimum, qui divini vos luminis participes fecit; per Jesum Christum cujus servi estis, cujusque dulcissimum nomen super vos est invocatum; per Sacrosanctum illum Spiritum, qui vos obsignavit; per, quod vobis unquam cordi aut curae fuit; oro atque obtestor, ut RELIGIONEM CHRISTIANUM omni nisu atque conatu promulgetis: veritates Christi, auro effosso argentove lectissimo praetiosores, magis magisque ematis ac eas nunquam quocunque pretio venditemini. Expressam formam tene-

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atis sermonum sanorum: praeclarum illud depositum, vita ipsa multo carius, summa fide et sancta diligentia custodiatis. Deus ipse ducat vos omnes, viri venerandi mihique charissimi, per Spiritum Sanctum in omnem omnino veritatem et sanctimoniam; suggeratque vobis perpetim consilia Ecclesiae suae salutaria. Domûs suae opimis rebusque sanctis Templi sui saturemini. Fortitudine igitur Jehovae aggrediamini, justitiam solius ejus commemorate; eamque, et doctrina et vita inculpata moribus que sanctis, fideliter hominibus commendate: tandemque post feliciter decertatum fidei certamen, cursumque absolutum, justitiae atque gloriae coronam vobis gratiose reddat Dominus equissimus judex!

Et nunc vos cujuscumque ordinis cives, ii imprimis in populos quibus est permissa potestas; erorum tenebras evangelii luce depellite. Discite, docete verum; et missum a Deo verbum, religionem, FILIUMQUE ipsum amplectamini. ILLE vobis erit pax, siquando, quod Deus avertat, venerit Assyrius quidam in terram atque, ut nuper, calcaret palatia nostra. O si bene noveritis experientia edocti; quam felices, quam sint revera beati, qui fidem ac spem suam, gaudio amoreque plenam, in DOMINUM NOSTRUM JESUM collocatam habent! Haec, O Respublica, nostra vita erit tua. Hoc tutissimum praesidium, hic honos, hic murus tibi plusquam aheneus esto!

VELIT DEUS ter optimus maximus, protector et unica spes nostra, qui pacem imperio, qui ecclesiae suae rursus quietem dedit; bona haec magni existimanda, diuturna et perennia esse! Conservet religioni Christianae pristinam suam puritatem, et indies eam magis augeat! Patriae nostrae benignus sit proceribus, eorumque conciliis et actis benedicat, atque ea prospera reddat! Ecclesiam ubivis terrarum degentem protegat, et praecipue in tutelam suam recipiat Ecclesias Reformatas, earumque pastores! Scholas et academias augeat et perpoliat! Docentium discentiumque laboribus faveat! Ecclesiarum ministerio evangelii etiamnum egentium memor sit; et operarios, doctrina, fide, moribusque sanctis bene praeditos, emittat in messem suam! Populum Christi, ubicunque oppressus gemit, defendat et ex potestate tyrannorum eripiat! O si denique acceleret beatum tempus, longe ab hinc promissum, quo omnis terra plena erit scientiae Jehovae; quum Dominus noster spiritu oris sui Antichristum illum confecerit; quando plenitudo gentium intrabit, totusque Israel servabitur!

DIXI.

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